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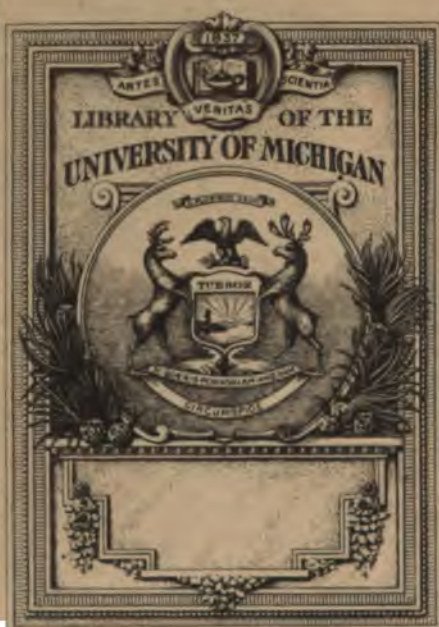
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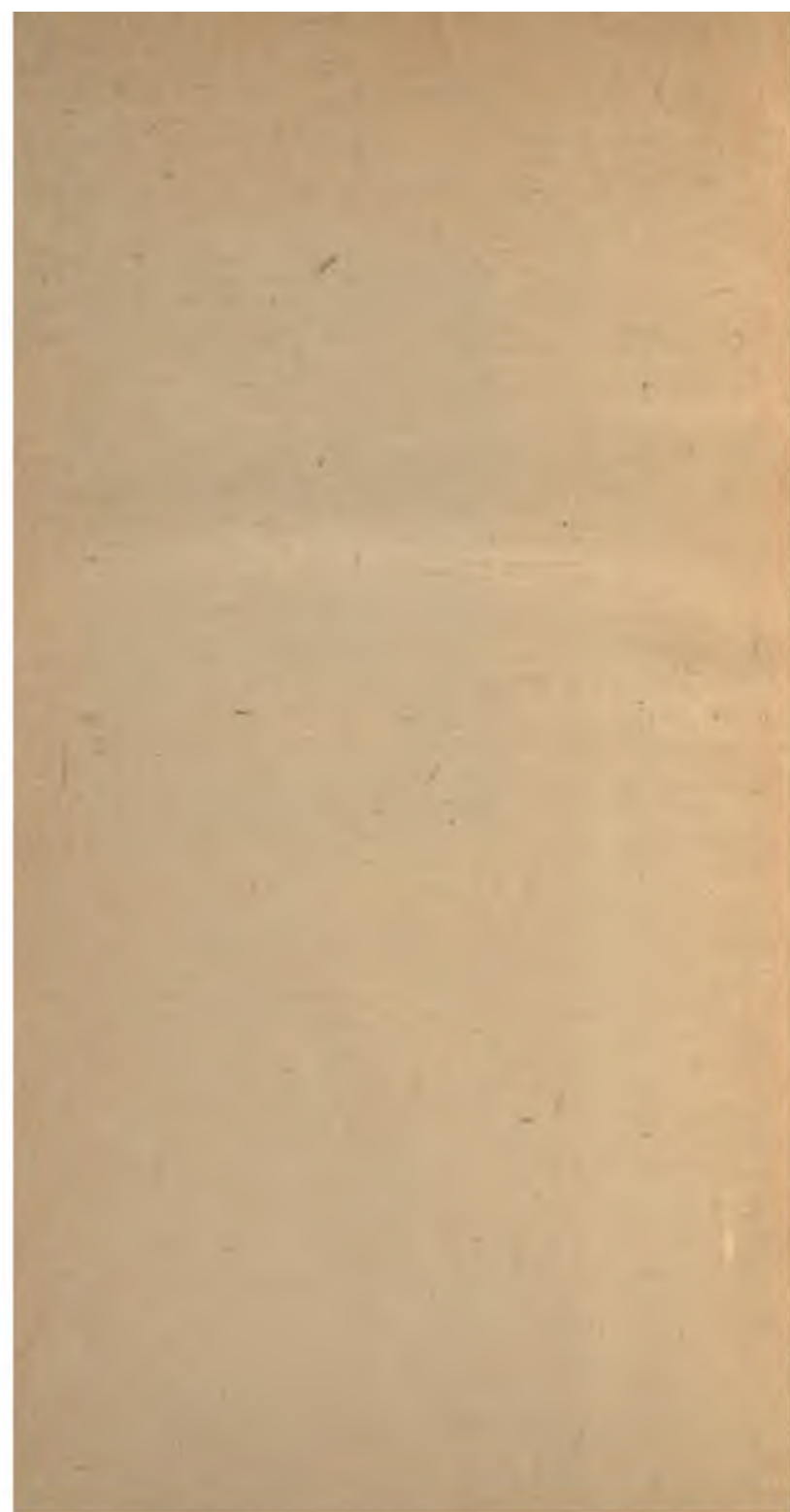
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Huguenot Society of London.

VOL. II.
188⁶~~7~~—1888.



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1889.



THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

(INAUGURATED APRIL 15, 1885.)

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THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.

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MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDMUND F. DU CANE, R.E., K.C.B.

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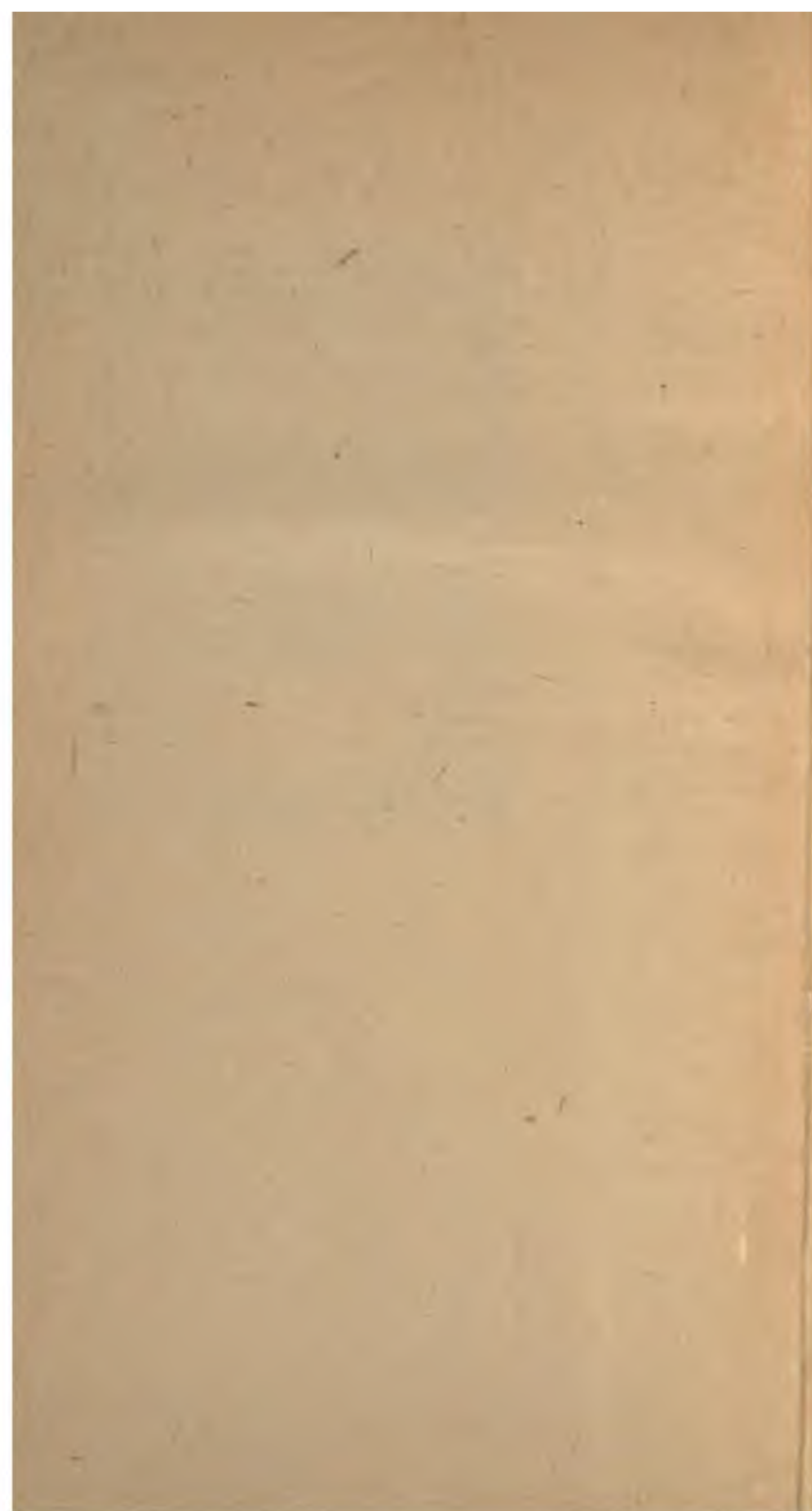
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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

SESSION 1886-7.

FIRST AND SECOND ORDINARY MEETINGS.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1886.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1887.

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FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1886-7.

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1886.

Mr. ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, Member of Council,
in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Second Annual General Meeting, held on June 9, were taken as read.

The following candidates for admission to the Society were elected Fellows:—

Theodore Henry Dury, Esq., J.P. and Deputy-Lieutenant of the County of Derby, late 10th Royal Hussars, Bonsall Leys, Derbyshire, and Reed Court, Rochester.

Colonel G. C. De Prée, Surveyor-General of India.

Alfred Chenevix Trench, Esq., Garden Mansions, Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.

Bunnell Lewis, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Associate of the Society of Antiquaries of France, Professor of Latin, Queen's College, Cork.

Mrs. Faber, 37 London Street, Reading.

Colonel Hubert Le Cocq, Royal Horse Artillery, 20 Northbrook Road, Dublin.

William Page, Esq., 22 Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

Miss Woodrooffe, The Hollies, Burghfield, Reading.

William Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq., J.P. for the County of Somerset, 16 Royal Crescent, Bath.

Charles Henry Spitta, Esq., Allahabad and Lahore, India.

William John Hardy, Esq., F.S.A., 22 Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

Edmund Beckett Faber, Esq., Old Bank, Leeds.

Edwin Walker Lermite, Esq., Thatched House, Muswell Hill, Middlesex.

Miss J. Minet, 18 Sussex Square, W.

M. J. J. van Oordt, Oosterbeek, Arnhem, Holland.

On the recommendation of the Council, the following gentlemen were elected Honorary Fellows of the Society:—

M. Charles Delgobe, Directeur-Général des Mines de Bamble, 16 Welhavens Gade, Christiania, Norway.

M. G. Heshuysen, Secrétaire du Consistoire de l'Eglise Wallonne de Haarlem, Spaarne, Haarlem, Holland.

Edward Whitaker, Esq., Superintendent of Records, General Register Office, Somerset House, W.C.

The CHAIRMAN, after expressing his regret at the unavoidable absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, said that it was his painful duty to preface his remarks that evening by announcing to the Meeting the severe loss which the Society had recently suffered by the death of three of its most valued Fellows and hearty supporters; namely—

Captain Henry Bathurst, late 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Captain Bathurst was only elected a Fellow of the Society in March last; he was descended from the distinguished family of Villebois; was a keen genealogist and antiquary, and prepared to take an active part in promoting the Society's objects and welfare.

Mr. Jonathan Duthoit. Mr. Duthoit was a Director of the French Protestant Hospital, and one of the first Fellows or Founders of the Society, in which he ever evinced a most lively interest, one of the last acts of his life having reference to his connection with it.

Mr. Richard Hervé Giraud, Deputy-Governor of the French Protestant Hospital, and also one of the Founders of the Society. The name of Richard Hervé Giraud is so well known, not only amongst Huguenots, but amongst numberless others who, during his long life of more than fourscore years,

have benefited by, or been witnesses of, his unwearied energy in promoting the happiness and well-being of all whom he could by any possible means assist by word or deed, that it is superfluous to make any detailed statement here respecting him. The noble descendant of a noble race, he will long live enshrined in the memory and hearts of Huguenots.

As was fitting, the Society was represented at Mr. Giraud's funeral by several Members of Council.

The Chairman then proceeded to say that he had to mention one other loss, by resignation of Fellowship, but trusted this was a precedent which would be very rarely followed, and he was exceedingly happy to find that, notwithstanding the thinning of the Society's ranks by the various losses to which he had just referred, the vacant places were filled, and more than filled, by the new Fellows elected that evening. It was a most gratifying fact that the number of applications was larger than, with one exception, had ever been sent in since the foundation of the Society.

As regarded the financial position of the Society, he had much satisfaction in announcing that, after payment of all outstanding accounts, the Treasurer had a very considerable balance in hand, which sum would be further augmented by the new subscriptions shortly falling due, and also, he hoped, by others during the course of the Society's current year.

Every effort was made to reduce the working expenses of the Society to as low a figure as possible consistent with efficiency, in order that the bulk of the funds might be devoted to the most important of the Society's undertakings, viz. the printing of the French Church Registers.

From the Report of the Register Committee he learnt that the first volume of this series, containing the Norwich Register, was making good progress under the able editorship of Mr. Moens, Member of Council, who hoped to have it ready for distribution to Fellows of the Society in the early part of 1887.

Another satisfactory matter to which he had to allude was the Society's Library, which had been lately increased by the following donations :—

BEAUJOUR, SOPHRONYME. *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée de Caen.* Caen, 1877. 8vo.

M. Beaujour is a distinguished authority on the history of Normandy, especially that of his own town of Caen, and having become cognisant of the Society through one of its Fellows, Mrs. Rainier, he at once most kindly presented this copy of his well-known work to the Library, at the same time regretting that circumstances prevented him from preparing an original Paper for reading at one of our meetings. Immediately on receipt of the book, the Hon. Secretary wrote to M. Beaujour, expressing the Society's thanks for his kind donation and sending him a complete copy of the 'Proceedings.'

TOLSTOI, Count Leon. *What I Believe.* Translated from the Russian by Constantine Popoff. London, 1885. 8vo. Presented by the publisher, Mr. Elliot Stock.

DU CANE, Lieut.-Colonel Edmund Frederick, C.B., R.E. (now Colonel Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B.). *Some Account of the Family of Du Quesne, and especially of the branch which settled in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.* London, 1876. 4to. Presented by the Author, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

This beautifully printed book contains much minute and interesting information, and being privately printed, and the work of one of the Society's own members, is a specially valuable and appropriate acquisition.

A sheet containing facsimiles of the signatures of 140 Dutch and French residents at the Cape of Good Hope in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including those of 52 French refugees. Presented by Mr. C. C. De Villiers, of Capetown, a Fellow of the Society.

A photograph, framed, of the Three Brothers Coligny, from the original picture at the Hague. Presented by Mr. W. M. Beaufort, Member of Council.

Two photographs of St. Mark's, otherwise called the Mayor's, Chapel at Bristol, formerly used by the refugees

there as their place of worship. Presented by Mr. R. S. Faber, Hon. Secretary.

Whilst on the subject of the Library, it may be mentioned that arrangements are being made for the mutual exchange of publications with the following societies :—

The ' Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français,' Paris.

The ' Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes,' Leyden.

' The Huguenot Society of America,' New York.

The Council recommend that a sum not exceeding 5*l.* per annum be allowed from the Society's income for the maintenance and increase of the Library.

It is proposed that, for the present at least, the Society's Library be regarded not so much as a separate and independent one, but rather as supplementary to the very valuable and extensive collection belonging to the French Protestant Hospital. The Directors of that Institution have already kindly granted free access to their Library to any of the Society's Fellows who may at any time wish to make use of it, and have also given shelf-room therein to our own books. By a judicious combination of forces, it is hoped that in course of time a really fine collection of works may be formed on the history of French Protestantism in general, and of the Refugees in the United Kingdom in particular.

In speaking just now (continued the Chairman) of our President, I should have said that although absent this evening, he is really present with us in spirit. He is very kindly taking immense pains in collating a number of reports in the Venetian archives relating to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and a paper by him based upon these documents will, I hope, be read at our next meeting.

The Chairman then requested Mr. Faber, the Honorary Secretary, to read a paper on ' The Walloon Church Festival at Haarlem ' (see Appendix, p. 3) ; at the conclusion of which he suggested that Mr. Moens might perhaps have some remarks to offer on the subject.

Mr. MOENS. I am called upon to make some remarks on the Paper we have just heard, but I can only say that I am very sorry I was not present at the celebration to which it refers. I left Holland only two days after the Festival, which I should have had the greatest pleasure in attending had I known of it. We were, however, worthily represented by our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Faber, and I am sure he said everything that we all could have said collectively on the occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. I think this Paper which has just been read by Mr. Faber seems to show that Huguenotism is a kind of Freemasonry, and a very good kind too. I am sure it is very gratifying, not only to myself but to all of us, that so much cordiality and hospitality were shown to Mr. Faber as our representative, and that such brotherly feeling was evinced towards us by the Walloons of Haarlem. Mr. Faber has suggested that the thanks of the Society should be given to the Secretary to the Consistoire, and I feel assured that the meeting will authorise him, as Honorary Secretary, to transmit them accordingly. I think it is the very least we can do in acknowledgment of the great kindness with which he was received.

I will now ask General Layard to read the next Paper on the list, 'Chevalleau de Boisragon' (see Appendix, p. 7).

At the conclusion of the Paper Baron de Tessier remarked with reference to the expression 'Adieu' in the letter quoted by the General, that when staying in France a few years ago he had been struck by the universal adoption of it by Protestants in their morning and evening salutations in place of the usual 'Bon jour' and 'Bon soir.' On mentioning it to a pasteur of his acquaintance, Baron de Tessier was told by him that this particular greeting had been common to all French Protestants for several generations, forming, as it were, a kind of password amongst them.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Honorary Secretary to read Mr. Perigal's paper on Jean Perigal of Dieppe (see Appendix, p. 14)—Mr. Perigal himself being unfortunately absent through ill health—and afterwards proceeded to say—

‘I think this paper seems to exhibit in a very striking degree the faith, constancy and endurance of our Huguenot forefathers, and that it is exceedingly proper that this Society should enshrine in its records such stirring narratives of suffering in the great Huguenot cause. One thing occurred to me as rather an omission in this interesting story: it gives no explanation as to *why* these Huguenots were sent over to England by Louis XIV. I think it would probably be found due to the interference of the English Government of that time, which continued, I believe, to exert more and more pressure on the Government of Louis XIV. in order to bring about a more merciful treatment of the Huguenots.

‘In the Library of the French Hospital we have several accounts of the persecution and escapes of our Huguenot ancestors, and I think they all correspond, at any rate in one or two features—those, namely, of patient endurance under suffering and of a peculiar combination of happiness and gaiety of spirit under the most depressing circumstances. Had it not been, I believe, for that lightness of heart and spirit, that perfect trust in God, which was shown by our Huguenot forefathers, they could not have endured for so many years the persecutions which they were so perpetually called upon to undergo. It seems almost impossible that human nature could have borne the sufferings to which the Huguenot women were subjected, yet amidst them all their natural lightness of heart appears to have kept them up.

‘We have had three Papers read this evening, all of them being in various ways of very great interest and very fully carrying out some of the objects of the Society, and I will now ask you to accord a hearty vote of thanks to the contributors.’

Mr. F. P. LABILLIERE suggested that it would be a great assistance to all engaged in tracing Huguenot genealogies or investigating any branch of Huguenot history, if Fellows of the Society or other persons possessing old family papers of any kind in which mention was made of any Huguenot names, would communicate with the Society with a view to

making more generally available the scattered details practically unused and unvalued.

The CHAIRMAN expressed a hope that Mr. Labilliere's suggestion would be acted upon, and then called upon the R. R. Hoes, of the United States Navy, one of the guests of the evening, to make a few remarks.

Mr. HOES said,—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, assure you I am taken very much by surprise in being called upon to speak to you this evening, knowing as I do that I am standing face to face with so many of much larger experience than myself. I do not feel, however, as though I were altogether a stranger among you, for I share with many of you the honour of descent from the French refugees of the seventeenth century. Most of my father's ancestors were Dutch, but among them were two Huguenot families, who for science sake left their native shores for the strange and certain experiences of the New World.

I wish I might bring you, at this time, cordial messages from the Huguenot Society of New York, but there are several reasons why I cannot do this. In the first place, I have been on leave of absence from the Navy Department for the past year; and, in the second place, I am not a member of the Society at all, as it has been organised within the last few years while I have been cruising in one of our flag-ships, consequently been debarred the privilege of numbering myself in an active manner among its workers. I am, however, acquainted, both personally and professionally, with many of its most active members, and feel perfectly at liberty, in an unofficial and unauthoritative manner, to offer you their cordial salutations, and to assure you that their aims and endeavours are in every way one with your own. Although the immediate field of our research is necessarily more circumscribed than yours, the members of the New York Society are none the less in earnest in their efforts to elucidate the history of oppressed people who in fleeing to the shores of England and America contributed in such a large degree to the subsequent greatness of our English-speaking race. I cannot but regret it as a matter of regret that the more prominent histo-

and genealogical societies, especially those of England and America, have not as yet been brought into more intimate relationship, by annual interchange of delegates, or by correspondence, or otherwise. There can be no doubt that such a course would have a healthful and stimulating effect, and would prove of mutual advantage; for although in the field of historical and genealogical research we are young in comparison with yourselves, our earnest and plodding investigators have gathered a large store of interesting material, both published and unpublished, which would always be at your service in exchange for the perhaps more valuable stores of similar information brought to light by the collectors of the mother country.

Allusion has been made, in one of the Papers read this evening, to liberated galley-slaves sent from France to England by the authority of Louis XIV., and the Chairman has suggested as an explanation that it was accomplished through English influence. I believe his explanation to be the true one, and I can present in corroboration of this view the remarkable case of Elie (or Elias) Neau. He was born about 1661, and in 1679 fled from France on account of his religion, going first to St. Domingo, and thence to New York, where he was naturalised as a British subject. Thirteen years later, while sailing from New York to Jamaica, he was captured by a privateer from St. Malo, carried to France, and upon refusing to renounce his religion was condemned to the galleys of Marseilles. He remained in bondage there and in imprisonment in several castles and dungeons in southern France until July 3, 1697, when through the efforts of the Earl of Portland, then Extraordinary Ambassador from Great Britain to the Court of France, he was liberated and allowed to proceed to England. He expressly states in his Life that he was '*reclaimed . . . in his Majesty's name.*' In 1703 he was commissioned by the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts' as the first catechist of 'Old Trinity Church' in New York, and laboured most diligently in that city until his death in 1722, as the teacher of a large school of Indians and negroes. His Life, previous to his second departure for

America, has been written by the Rev. T. Morin, of Bergen-op-Zoom, in Holland, and the only copy of which I have any knowledge is in the British Museum. Its full title is as follows: 'Histoire Abbregée des Soufrances du Sieur Elie Neau, sur les Galeres, et dans les Cachots de Marseille. . . . MDCCL.'

An English translation of this work is to be found at the close of the second volume of Bateman's abridgment of Fox's 'Book of Martyrs,' London, 1747-8. The copy of this French book in the British Museum is exceptionally interesting, as there is bound up with it an autobiography of Elias Neau, written in English and bearing the following title: 'An Account of the Sufferings of the French Protestants, Slaves on Board the French King's Galleys. By Elias Neau one of their fellow sufferers. Together with a List of those who are still on board the said Galleys. London. . . . 1699.'

Appended to this little work is 'A True and Exact List of the French Protestants, Slaves on board the French Galleys, for adhering to the Profession of the Protestant Religion.' The list consists of 256 slaves, imprisoned between 1683 and 1698, and they are arranged under the three following heads: 1. 'The names of the places of their Birth'; 2. 'Names of the Protestants'; and 3. 'The year that they were sent to the Galleys.' At the end of the list are the following words of explanation:—

'These are the names of such Slaves, which it has been possible to procure, for they are so variously observed, that it is very difficult for them to write, and so there is a great number of 'em whose Names or Country are unknown to us.

'It may be observed in the foregoing List that there are some Foreigners amongst them, and we must add, that there is a great number of 'em, who are English Denizens, or taken in his Majesties service.

'Some, Doubtless, are dead since this List, and 22 were lately set at Liberty by the sollicitation of the Dutch Ambassador of Paris, but they have been sufficiently recruited, seeing 140 Men coming from Orange to pray to God, were sent to the Gallies at once, besides a great many more afterwards.'

Permit me to call your attention to an important source of Huguenot history, which is probably unknown to some of you. Through the courtesy of his Lordship the Bishop of London, I have been permitted to examine quite carefully the large collection of manuscript material relating to his diocese in one of the towers of St. Paul's Cathedral. Here I found the original books in which those who were admitted to Holy Orders by the Lord Bishop of London subscribed to the prescribed oaths. In the great majority of cases the subscribers state their nationality, and I was gratified to find in the lists a large number of Huguenot names. As far as I am aware this fact has never hitherto been brought to the attention of Huguenot scholars, and I shall be glad if what I have said shall prove a clue to the identification of many of the Protestant clergymen who fled from France to England during the trying years of the seventeenth century.

I congratulate the Society upon the zeal with which it is entering upon the work of transcribing for publication the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the older Huguenot churches of England. It is in many respects a difficult and thankless task, but it carries with it to those who perform it its own pleasurable reward. The Registers of the old Dutch Church of Austin Friars, transcribed and published by a member of your Council, has brought within the reach of all a hitherto hidden source of history, which those who are interested in such work will not be slow to appropriate. In America as well as in England the history of the Huguenot and Dutch churches is closely interlinked. For many years I have been collecting material bearing upon the Dutch and Huguenot history of the City of New York and the valley of the Hudson, and in repeated instances I find in the Baptismal and Marriage Registers of Dutch churches a large admixture of the Huguenot element. It will be interesting to at least one of your Council to know that I am preparing for publication the Registers of one of the oldest Dutch churches in America.

In thanking you for your kind attention to my remarks, I venture to predict a brilliant future for your Society, and to

assure you that your success will be quite as gratifying to your kinsmen across the water as it will be to yourselves.

The CHAIRMAN said,—I am sure we must all have listened with much interest to the remarks of Mr. Hoes, and that we shall be glad if he will take back with him to America our cordial greetings to our friends on the other side of the Atlantic. The Huguenot Societies of London and of America have a common origin and a common aim, and have always been on the most friendly terms. Speaking for our own Society, I can confidently say it will ever be a source of real pleasure to us if we can in any way work hand in hand with our Huguenot brethren in the New World in furtherance of the objects interesting both to them and ourselves alike.

A cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman then terminated the proceedings.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1886-7.

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1887.

Mr. ROBERT HOVENDEN, Member of Council, in the Chair.

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on November 10, 1886, which were confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN said he had to announce with great regret the loss of five Fellows since the last Meeting—one by death (Mr. Waterlow) and four by resignation—but he was happy to add that this was more than compensated for by the applications of sixteen new candidates for election that evening. Amongst these it was specially gratifying to find the first that

had hitherto reached the Society from the Antipodes, viz. that of Dr. de Zouche, of Dunedin, New Zealand.

The candidates referred to, whose names had been approved by the Council, were then elected Fellows of the Society; being—

The Hon. Mr. Justice Wills, Clive House, Esher, Surrey.

Edward Cazenove, Esq., Selwood Lodge, Stanwell, Middlesex.

James de la Mare, Esq., St. Margaret's, Chichester Road, Croydon.

James Truman Tanqueray, Esq., 121 Pall Mall, S.W.

General Schomberg, C.B., Royal Marine Artillery, United Service Club, S.W.

Felix Henri Weiss, Esq., 7 Montague Place, Russell Square, W.C.

Thomas Henry Faber, Esq., Stockton-on-Tees.

Charles Mansfield, Esq., 169 Upper Thames Street, E.C.

Marianne Catherine Cabrera, Countess de Morella, Wentworth, Ascot.

Louis F. Achard, Esq., 33 Bonham Road, Brixton, S.W.

The Rev. Rawdon William Hautenville, Mossiel, Palace Road, Tulse Hill, S.E.

George Courtauld, Esq., Cut Hedge, Halstead, Essex.

Isaiah de Zouche, M.D., Moray Place, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Mrs. Arthur Giraud Browning, Spencer Lodge, Wandsworth Common, S.W.

Arthur Frederick Moens, Esq., Holmhurst, Lessness Heath, Kent.

Miss Sophia Minet, 18 Sussex Square, W.

The CHAIRMAN proceeded to say that, including these newly-elected members, the Society now had on its roll 206 Fellows and 18 Honorary Fellows, a total which might be considered highly satisfactory, the Society having not yet completed its second year. He was also glad to announce that the Society's financial position continued very satisfactory. After payment of all outstanding accounts, the Treasurer still had a considerable balance, which would be available for the general expenses during the current year and for the special requirements of the Register Committee.

As regarded the printing of the Registers, the Report of the Committee stated that the Norwich Register was nearly completed, and that they were preparing to begin work upon another as speedily as possible. They proposed that the next Register taken in hand be that of Canterbury.

With reference to the Library, the Chairman announced that it had received a valuable addition since the last Meeting in the new work by Professor Henry M. Baird, of New York University, an Honorary Fellow of the Society. Professor Baird's book was entitled 'The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre,' and had been kindly presented by the learned author, to whom the Secretary had conveyed the Society's thanks for his welcome donation.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Lieut.-General Layard to read a Paper on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which had been prepared by the President, who had recently been making special researches in the Venetian Archives on the subject.

Lieut.-General Layard said he had received a letter from the President, who was still in Italy, expressing his regret at not being present that evening and stating that he had in readiness a further Paper on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, also based upon hitherto unpublished documents in the Archives of Venice, which he hoped to read himself at the Meeting in March.

Lieut.-General Layard then proceeded to read a portion of the Paper on the Massacre, which will be found printed *in extenso* in the Appendix, p. 13.

The reading of the Paper was followed by an animated discussion, in which Mr. Reade very ably maintained the opinion propounded by him in his own Paper on the Massacre, already published in the Society's 'Proceedings' (vol. i. p. 206), viz. that it was not a premeditated act on the part of the French and Papal Courts.

Mr. MOENS, in reply, observed that although Mr. Reade had in his able and studied defence shown a remarkable knowledge of all the complicated history of the time, he had stated many

events quite foreign to the scope of the admirable and convincing Paper of the President, and had attempted to prove his case simply by conclusions drawn by himself from those facts. With the extraordinary knowledge, continued Mr. Moens, of the events which led up to the Massacre, which Mr. Reade has examined from every point of view, it is strange that he has not attended to the pregnant phrase uttered by the then late King of France to William, Prince of Orange, some few years previous to the Massacre, which caused the Prince to make up his mind to take openly the side of those of the Reformed Religion, and to throw himself with heart and soul into the struggle against the oppressions of the Spanish rule, the eventual result of which was the freedom of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. It can hardly be doubted that the Massacre was determined on some years previous to its being executed, and that it was merely postponed until a more fitting opportunity to carry out the evil policy in the most effectual manner possible.

Mr. KERSHAW thought that, considering the conflicting nature of the evidence preserved and the possibility that much important information was now wholly lost to us owing to many of the communications between the French Court and the Pope having very probably been verbal and never committed to writing, it was necessary to take a broad view of the question, though from Catherine's well-authenticated remark that 'her son would have but one religion in his kingdom,' and from various other incidents, it was difficult not to believe that the extirpation of the Huguenots was definitely settled in her own mind, and that she used her influence over the King to induce him to carry her scheme into execution, and had also assured herself of the Pope's approval of it.

Mr. LABILLIERE said that, notwithstanding Mr. Reade's eloquent defence and mastery of historic details, he had failed to bring forward any convincing evidence in opposition to that contained in Sir Henry Layard's Paper. The fact of the Papal Nuncio feeling himself authorised to congratulate Charles on the success of the Massacre before it was possible for him to have received instructions from Rome to do so, was

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a strong argument in favour of the opinion not only that the Pope knew what was being plotted against the Huguenots, but that the plot had his full and unqualified approval. Even however, if it be granted that Gregory was not cognisant of the intended Massacre before it took place, it was undeniable that he afterwards exhibited the utmost delight at it: witness the services held by way of rejoicing, and the medal struck by him to commemorate the event, not in sorrow, but in triumph.

The general feeling of the Meeting was that Sir Henry Layard's summing up of the evidence afforded by the various authorities quoted by him was conclusive in favour of the opinion that the Massacre was a premeditated act on the part of both Charles IX. and Gregory XIII.

Owing to want of time, the reading of the other Paper announced for the evening was postponed to a future Meeting and the proceedings terminated with the usual vote of thanks to the Chairman.

2

Mary H. Gosser

No. 2.

Alton House

Alton

Hants

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Inguenot Society of London.

MARCH 9 to JULY 11, 1887.



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1887.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

(INAUGURATED 15th APRIL, 1885).

President.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR HENRY WILLIAM PEEK, BART.

COL. SIR EDMUND F. DUCANE, R.E., K.C.B.

ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING.

Council.

JOHN EDWIN CUSSANS.

RICHARD DUCANE.

H. MARETT GODFRAY.

WILLIAM JOHN HARDY, F.S.A.

ROBERT HOVENDEN, F.R.Hist. Soc.

HENRY J. JOURDAIN, C.M.G.

FRANCIS P. LABILLIERE.

LIEUT.-GENERAL FREDERIC P. LAYARD.

CHARLES A. J. MASON.

WILLIAM MINET, M.A.

W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A.

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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

SESSION 1886-7.

THIRD AND FOURTH ORDINARY MEETINGS.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9, 1887.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1887.

THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 1887.

SUMMER CONFERENCE.

SATURDAY-MONDAY, JULY 9-11, 1887.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1886-7

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9, 1887.

The Right Hon. Sir HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B.,
President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Second Ordinary Meeting, held on January 12, were taken as read.

THE PRESIDENT said,—Before proceeding further with our business, allow me to express my great regret that I was unable to attend the last meeting of the Society. My brother, General Layard, was, however, good enough to read the Paper on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew which I had prepared in fulfilment of my promise to the Society, and I am much indebted to Mr. Faber for the kind trouble he has taken in seeing my manuscript through the press. I promised, you may remember, that on my return to Venice I would endeavour to ascertain whether the Archives there contained any documents which might throw light on the two great events of Huguenot history—the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. I was fortunate enough to find such documents, and, as I have said, those relating to the massacre were brought to your attention at the last Meeting. To-night I shall have the pleasure of reading a Paper on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes founded upon information derived from the same source. I think that the publication of documents of this kind in our ‘Proceedings’ gives importance to the Society. I hope that some of our members

will occupy themselves in collecting and communicating to us others relating to historical events connected with the Huguenots. I am quite certain that their publication will bring our Society into much more general notice than if we restricted ourselves to mere local and personal matters.

On my return from Italy a short time ago I stopped at Paris, where I had the pleasure of seeing the Baron de Schickler and of visiting his fine and interesting Library, the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, over which I was shown by M. Weiss, the learned Librarian. Nothing could exceed the kindness and courtesy with which I was received by the Baron; and I earnestly advise any Fellow of our Society when in Paris to visit that Library. It contains not only an extensive and most valuable collection of books and manuscripts, but also portraits and autographs of all the leading personages connected with Huguenot history. M. Weiss is always ready to show the Library to any one connected with our Society.

Since the last Meeting we have lost by resignation two members, and by death one—Colonel De Prée. He was in ill-health when he joined us, but was much interested in the Society, and we have every reason to regret his loss.

I cannot help taking this, the first opportunity I have had, of expressing personally my very sincere regret and sorrow at missing from our meetings one whom I greatly esteemed and respected—Mr. Hervé Giraud. His loss to this Society and to all his friends is very great.

I have pleasure in announcing that we have received applications for election as Fellows of the Society from ten ladies and gentlemen. These applications have been carefully considered, and approved by the Council; and I will now ask you to sanction the election of the candidates, whose names the Secretary will read to you.

The SECRETARY then read the names of the following candidates, who were duly elected fellows of the Society:

Walker Baily, Esq., Champion Park, Denmark Hill, S.E.
Mrs. Brine, 17 Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, W.

Thomas B. Christie, Esq., C.I.E., M.D., Royal India Asylum,
Ealing, W.

Mrs. Du Buisson, Wandsworth Common, S.W.

Mrs. Forsyth, 4 Westbourne Street, Hyde Park, W.

J. Stewart Hodgson, Esq., 1 South Audley Street, W.

Charles Le Blanc, Esq., Clifton Villa, North Finchley, N.

Alfred Le Grand, Esq., 100 Bunhill Row, E.C.

F. F. Roget, Esq., 5 Wemyss Place, Edinburgh.

James Duncan Thomson, Esq., St. Peter's Chambers, Corn-
hill, E.C.

The President proceeded to say,—‘The Secretary informs me that we now have 212 Fellows, including the ten just elected, and 18 Honorary Fellows, making altogether 230—a number which I think very encouraging considering the short time the Society has been in existence. In order to continue the work we have undertaken we must all individually exert ourselves to keep up the strength of the Society; and I venture to urge upon all present to make the Society known to their Huguenot friends and induce them to join it. At the same time, I may perhaps mention that it is not actually necessary to be of Huguenot descent to become a Fellow of the Society; we are prepared to welcome others interested in historical and antiquarian research.

I am happy to inform you that our Library has recently received an addition of two books, presented by their respective authors—‘*Le Protestantisme en Brie et Basse-Champagne*,’ by M. Briet of Essomes, and ‘*Geschichte der Colonisation und Industrie in Franken*,’ by Professor Schanz of Würzburg. This latter work gives very full and interesting particulars of the French settlers in Franconia. An article on it will be found in the January number of the ‘*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*.’

Our books are temporarily deposited in the French Protestant Hospital, by kind permission of the directors of that institution; but I hope we shall some day have a building of our own in which to keep our Library and other possessions.

A circular has recently been sent to all Fellows of the

Society asking for particulars relating to their Huguenot descent. Many answers of much interest have already been received, and a brief abstract of them will be printed, the full replies themselves being carefully preserved in the Library. In course of time I hope we may accumulate much valuable information as to the history of the various Huguenot families established in this country.

The Treasurer informs us that the Society's financial position is very satisfactory, there being a balance of 148*l.* after payment of all liabilities.

There are three Papers to be read this evening—one by M. Charles Delgobe of Christiania, an Honorary Fellow of the Society, and another by Mr. Bullock-Webster. I am sorry to say that both these gentlemen, owing to the distance at which they reside, are unable to be present. The other Paper is by myself, and I shall curtail it in reading that it may not occupy too much time; but it will be printed *in extenso* in the next number of our 'Proceedings.'

The President then read a Paper entitled 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, illustrated from State Papers in the Archives of Venice.' (See Appendix, p. 117.)

At its conclusion Mr. STRIDE said,—I am sure that I express the feelings of all here when I say that we are deeply indebted to our President for the amount of time and labour that he has spent among the Venetian Archives, the results of which we have had placed before us at our last Meeting and this evening, and which are of extreme interest and value. In the last Paper it was shown conclusively that the Pope was aware of the contemplated massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day; to-night we have had a very interesting account brought before us from what is to me a fresh source—namely, the Venetian Ambassador's reports of the sufferings of our brethren at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This Paper, like the preceding, will form a valuable contribution to the history of the Huguenots, because nearly all that we have been acquainted with hitherto has been derived from French or English authorities, to which the unpublished Italian documents consulted by the President form a highly important supplement.

The Directors of the French Protestant Hospital having kindly lent their collection of medals commemorative of the Revocation and other events in Huguenot history, Mr. Browning gave a brief description of the collection in general, with special reference to the medals illustrating Sir Henry Layard's Paper.

The HONORARY SECRETARY then read M. Charles Delgobe's Paper on Claude Collart de Verzy (see Appendix, p. 154), and Mr. Browning that on the Dupuis Family by Mr. Bullock-Webster (see Appendix, p. 162), and the proceedings terminated.

FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1886-7.

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1887.

Sir HENRY W. PEEK, Bart., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on March 9 were confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN said,—I must preface my remarks this evening by expressing my own regret at the absence of our President, who is unavoidably detained by business in Italy, and also the regret of the Council at having to report to you the loss of one Fellow by death since the last Meeting, and of one of the very first of the Society's Honorary Fellows—the Rev. David C. A. Agnew.

I am happy to say, however, that applications for election have been received from eleven new candidates, whose names the Hon. Secretary will now read to you.

The HONORARY SECRETARY read the names of the following applicants, who were then duly elected Fellows of the Society :

Mrs. Clay, Rastrick House, Brighouse, Yorkshire.

Ernst Fredrik du Toit, Esq., M.D., Wellington, Cape of Good Hope.

Howard Gilliat, Esq., 4 Crosby Square, E.C.

Arthur Wellesley Gosset, Captain late 2nd 'Queen's Royals,'
10 Mountserratt Road, Putney, S.W.

Joseph J. Green, Esq., Tayspill House, Stansted Montfichet,
Essex.

Villiers La Touche Hatton, Lieut.-Colonel late Grenadier
Guards, 25 Stanhope Gardens, S.W.

T. Mark Hovell, Esq., F.R.C.S. Edin., 3 Mansfield Street,
Cavendish Square, W.

Peter de Lande Long, Esq., 17 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

The Rev. Professor Johannes Isaac Marais, Stellenbosch, Cape
Colony.

Maria Louisa, Lady Monckton, 159 Cromwell Road, S.W.

Mrs. Moss, The Schools, Shrewsbury.

The Chairman proceeded to say : The next matter I have to bring before you is the election of two Auditors to audit the Accounts for the past year. It is enacted by our Bylaw VIII. that two Auditors shall be elected at the Meeting in May each year : and the Council have accordingly decided to recommend to you Mr. Archer and Mr. Norris, who have already kindly undertaken the audit on a previous occasion. I will therefore ask if it is your pleasure that these gentlemen be requested to act as Auditors of the Treasurer's Report, which will be presented to the Annual Meeting on the 8th of next month.

MR. ARCHER and MR. NORRIS were unanimously elected as Auditors.

The Chairman continued.—Since the last Meeting we have received the following donations of books for the Society's Library :

A volume of MS. extracts from Venetian State Papers,

relative to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, presented by our President, Sir Henry Layard.

Registers of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, presented by the Editor, Mr. Moens.

English Travellers and Italian Brigands, presented by the Author, Mr. Moens.

Histoire du Peuple de Genève, by Amédée Roget; presented by Mr. F. F. Roget.

Les Montalbanais et le Refuge, by M. de France, presented by Mr. Browning.

The 36th volume of the 'Bulletin of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.'

The 1st volume of the 'Collections of the Huguenot Society of America.'

The last number of the Bulletin of the 'Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes.'

These last three books have been presented by the Societies by which they are issued, under the arrangement made for the interchange of their publications and our own.

I now come to the question of holding a Summer Conference. Last year, you may remember, when the subject was brought forward it was the general feeling that the Society was hardly then strong enough to attempt anything of the kind. Since then, however, we have grown considerably; and after careful consideration the Council have decided to recommend to you that a conference be held this summer at Canterbury and Sandwich. They propose that Saturday and Sunday, July 9 and 10, be devoted to the former place, and Monday, the 11th, to the latter. Of course it will be at the option of Fellows to attend on any one or more of the days named as may suit their own convenience. If any Fellow present wishes to make any amendment to this plan, or suggest any other places for the excursion, perhaps he will now kindly do so.

No amendment being suggested, the proposal of holding a Summer Conference at Canterbury and Sandwich on July 9, 10, and 11 was unanimously agreed to, and a Sub-committee,

consisting of Mr. Browning, Mr. Faber, Mr. Hovenden, and Mr. Kershaw, was appointed to draw up a programme to be submitted to the Annual Meeting in June in accordance with Bylaw XIII.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, F.S.A. Scot., to read a Paper on 'Huguenots in Scotland' (see Appendix, p. 166), at the conclusion of which Mr. Moens asked if Mr. Hallen could give any information as to the Dutch fishermen at Wick in the North of Scotland, and proceeded to say, with reference to Mr. Hallen's allusion to the Anabaptists, that very many Dutch and Flemish refugees held the opinions of that sect.

They were forbidden, said Mr. Moens, to practise their religion in England. On one occasion there were five arrested, and one or two burnt in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and those who had a tendency to Anabaptism joined the Quakers. I think the name is derived from Quecker. I find in the Act Book of the Norwich church the name Quecker. Perhaps the Shakers were derived from these refugees. It is necessary, in searching for some Dutch names, to search in the Quaker registers, which are admirably kept. There are many Flemish names in this register. There is no doubt that a few French refugees came to this country after the massacre; still very few escaped to come here, and at the commencement of the seventeenth century in the return for Norwich there was only one Frenchman. I think those who are called French were generally Walloons, from the part bordering on France. It is probable that, from the great intercourse between Scotland and France, more French refugees went to Scotland than came to the southern part of the country.

With regard to the convention of burghs in 1601, the result of which was to bring certain strangers to Scotland, I think it is granted for 2,000*l.* Scots. Three strangers at Norwich went to Scotland to teach weaving there (I think that is the origin of Tartan plaids)—Gabriel Bush and two others. They brought so many workpeople with them; they went to different towns in Scotland and taught weaving. No doubt the tartan is of older origin, but with new looms they

multiplied the means of making tartans. They were cheaper after the Flemings came to Scotland.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Mr. Hallen suppose these refugees came to push their trade, or on account of their religion? Would it be mainly on account of religion, or to push their trade?

Mr. HALLEN. I think they were driven out for religion, and they found a good market for their skill. With reference to the Dutch fishermen, I met with mention of these in the Trades Convention. They swarmed up in the islands. The Scotchmen determined to drive them out, so they invented a shibboleth, and this was '*Bread and Cheese.*' If the Dutchmen could say it in the usual way they were to be allowed to remain; otherwise they were to be expelled. As a matter of fact they were driven out, and not permitted to fish. A little later on, in the reign of Charles I., there was a proposition to make Stornoway a royal borough, and the object was to bring in Flemings and Dutchmen there to make a trade—to make red herrings—which the Scotch owe altogether to the Dutch. This raised a dreadful stir in the Convention of Trades, and they represented it as being very likely to prejudice their own industry, and it was withdrawn. There were an immense number of them on the coast, and they were looked on as enemies of the natural fishers.

As to Vaire or Campheir there is a very great deal in the Convention of Trades, which occupy five thick volumes without any index. These I have had to look all through, and I have found a great deal of information in them.

As to the Anabaptists. We had very few Quakers indeed in Scotland. I think either Anabaptists or Quakers would have had short shrift at the hands of the Presbyterians.

As to the mention of so few escaping from France after the massacre, it is curious enough that the father of Esther Langlois was the brother of a minister who was murdered at the massacre. There is no doubt that he was a Frenchman and not a Walloon.

A discussion having arisen with reference to the meaning of *worklooms* and *causeways*, which some members maintained

could only denote looms for weaving and the material known as kersey, Mr. Hallen proceeded to say—

As to the subject of the worklooms and the causeways, I think I have worked the matter out from asking the best authorities in Edinburgh on old words. The word puzzled me a great deal. Worklooms mean the tools. 'Wokeloom' is a tool. It is a utensil—a plough, a spade, or a hammer. It is obsolete. If you refer to Jamieson's Dictionary, it is any artificer's tool. The other word is 'calsey,' which is the old spelling of causeway. There is no doubt that it is not kersey, and never was. There was no weaving in the Cowgate, but there was great need of better paving. The Cowgate was a narrow street in those days, and was a wretched hole, and wanted French causeway-makers to make it passable.

As regards the registers in Scotland. All the parist registers are not so interesting as they are in England. They are not so old, and were badly kept; but now they are better than in England. They are all collected now into Edinburgh into the Register House there, where they can be examined for a trifling fee. The oldest goes back to 1560 or so. There are only nine registers that are earlier than the seventeenth century in the whole of Scotland, principally in Argyleshire. The more rural parishes have no registers at all beyond a few notes made in the record books.

There was no ordinance for keeping registers. In England they were kept as early as 1538 by order of Lord Cromwell.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A. to read a Paper on 'Foreign Settlers at Colchester and Halstead.' (See Appendix, p. 182.)

At its conclusion,

Mr. HORACE ROUND (of Colchester) said: I have listened with very great interest to Mr. Hardy's Paper, which contains fresh information. I have studied the subject incidentally and I am convinced that there is a rich field in the so-called Dutch settlement in Colchester. We have in the municipal records an immense number of lists relating to it. There is one—I think, of 1572—giving a complete list of settlers, and

a complete muster-roll in 1595, and this says that weaving and gardening were their two occupations at that time. That struck me, because I have always looked upon them as weavers. Probably the best gardener in the neighbourhood bears a refugee name. I have also found there were Quakers. It is only recently, with the assistance of Mr. Moens, I was able to identify the name of 'Great.' I find several other names of the same kind about the time of the siege in 1648. They were very hardly treated. At the close of the siege Fairfax exacted 12,000*l.* from the town, and he demanded 6,000*l.* from the Dutch. When he gave back 2,000*l.* only 100*l.* was given back to the Dutch. With regard to the family of Tayspill, two portraits are still preserved, dated 1650, in life size. They seem to have come somewhat later, probably to advance their trade in Colchester.

The proceedings then terminated.

THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 1887.

W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A., Member of Council, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Ordinary Meeting, held on May 11, having been confirmed, the Honorary Secretary read the names of the following four new candidates, who were thereupon duly elected Fellows of the Society.

Samuel John Blackwell, Esq., Brookshill, Harrow-Weald, Middlesex.

Charles J. Cossart, Esq., Funchal, Madeira.

Pieter Hendrik Faure, Esq., The Paarl, Cape of Good Hope.
Clement George Lissant, Esq., Simla, India.

At the recommendation of the Council the Meeting then sanctioned the increase of the number of Vice-Presidents of the Society from two to not more than six, and at the same time sanctioned the consequent necessary alteration of Bylaw VI., Paragraph 1.

Mr. Arthur Giraud Browning, late Member of Council, was then unanimously elected to the office of Vice-President in recognition of his unflagging energy and interest in the welfare of the Society, from the date of its foundation by him to the present time.

The remaining three vacancies in the Vice-Presidentship were left to be filled up as might on future occasions appear advisable.

The Meeting then further sanctioned an alteration in Bylaw VI., Paragraph 2, providing that the President and Vice-Presidents should be enabled to continue in the governing body for more than three consecutive years, instead of, as heretofore enacted, for three only.

The Bylaw, as amended, now stands as follows:—

VI. *The Officers.*

The governing body of the Society shall consist of a President, such number of Vice-Presidents (not exceeding six) as the Society may from time to time elect, a Council composed of twelve Fellows, a Treasurer, and a Secretary. It will have the management and direction of all the affairs of the Society, subject to the control of a General Meeting.

At each Annual Meeting the Council shall submit a list of officers proposed for the ensuing year, and a copy of this list shall be sent to each Fellow a fortnight before the Meeting. No Fellow, except the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Secretary, shall continue in the governing body for more than three consecutive years, and four members of the Council shall retire every year. The Fellows will be entitled to strike out any names from the list prepared by the Council,

and to insert other names in their place. Lists duly authenticated by the signatures of absent Fellows will be admissible, but all voting-papers incorrectly filled up will be rejected. Ladies and Honorary Fellows are not eligible as members of the governing body. The President shall appoint two scrutineers, and at the close of the Meeting he shall declare the result of the ballot.

The Chairman then called upon the Honorary Secretary to read the Annual Report of the Council as follows:—

*Report of the Council to the Third Annual General Meeting ;
Wednesday, June 8, 1887.*

In casting a retrospect over the year that has just passed—the second complete year of the Society's existence—the Council find abundant cause for both rejoicing and regret. They cannot but feel regret that since the last Annual Meeting the Society has been deprived by death of no less than six Fellows and two Honorary Fellows. Believing as they do that all these were heartily interested in the Society's work and welfare, they trust it will not appear invidious if they single out for special mention on this occasion the names of three who were pre-eminently distinguished for love of the Huguenot cause, and for lifelong labours in various ways—either on the past history of the Huguenots, or on behalf of their descendants of the present day.

The earliest, then, of these three losses was that of Mr. Hervé Giraud, Deputy-Governor of the French Protestant Hospital, whose name is, as it were, a household word amongst us, and without whose kindly presence no Huguenot gathering will seem quite complete to those who have been accustomed to see him take a leading part on all such occasions.

Next was taken from us the veteran genealogist whose name has headed the list of Honorary Fellows from the foundation of the Society—the Rev. David C. A. Agnew of Edinburgh. His best memorial will be those noble volumes

which he himself has left to us—volumes which have long been, and long will be, the indispensable works of reference for all who are concerned with the history of the 'French Protestant Exiles and their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland.'

The last name to record in the roll of losses is that of Dr. Charles W. Baird, of Rye, New York State, the historian of the 'Huguenot Emigration to America,' whose death has occurred quite recently. The Council have as yet received very scanty particulars of Dr. Baird's illness and closing days; but the Honorary Secretary has written to Mr. Wittmeyer, Secretary to the Huguenot Society of America, asking him to express sympathy with Professor Henry M. Baird (who is also one of this Society's Honorary Fellows), and to send such information as may enable them to insert a fitting notice of Dr. Baird in the forthcoming number of the 'Proceedings.'

Besides eight losses by death, there has also been a diminution in the number of Fellows by the withdrawal of eleven through resignation or default; making a total loss during the whole year of nineteen.

Turning now to a brighter aspect of affairs, the Council have great pleasure in announcing a gain of no less than fifty-one new Fellows and three new Honorary Fellows since last June. Comparing losses and gains together, the actual increase has been thirty-four Fellows and one Honorary Fellow, which, the Council trust, will be considered a sign that the Society has now established itself on a firm footing, and, though still young, is growing steadily, and at the same time with sufficient rapidity to satisfy the most sanguine hopes of all its members.

This large increase in the number of Fellows will naturally lead to the assumption that the financial position of the Society is correspondingly sound and satisfactory, and that such is in fact the case will be proved by the Treasurer's Report submitted to the Meeting this evening. This Report and the whole of the accounts have been examined and verified by the Auditors elected for that purpose by the last Ordinary Meeting, and the balance of 84*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* will, it is hoped, show

that the Society's funds have been carefully and efficiently administered.¹

Perhaps nothing is so dependent on the state of the Society's income, and no part of its work so important, as that of transcribing and printing the French and Walloon Church Registers and similar documents. This is both a laborious and expensive undertaking, and one that requires more time, thought, and money than might at first sight be supposed.

The Register of the Walloon church at Norwich, which will form the first volume of the Society's publications of this kind, is now all in type; and, in order to expedite its delivery to Fellows of the Society, the Council propose to issue it in two parts. The first of these will contain the Register proper, together with other interesting lists of names, from returns of strangers and the subsidy rolls (also a great variety of additional illustrative matter which the editor has succeeded in collecting), and will be ready before the end of the present month. The second part (which will follow as soon as practicable) will consist of the preface and index, and also of an introduction giving the history of the Church and foreign settlements in Norwich.

The Society's best thanks are due to Mr. Moens for the very able manner in which he has edited this difficult Register, and for the generous way in which he has ungrudgingly devoted an immense amount of time and labour to it with the view of making the first instalment of this series of publications as complete and accurate as possible.

The Society is also indebted to Mr. Moens for his kind offer of transcripts of the Registers of Colchester and Thorney Abbey, which he will lend whenever the Society's funds admit of their being printed.

The next Register published by the Society will be that of Canterbury, and a competent transcriber has already been engaged for it. In order to enable him to proceed with the

¹ This balance is that on December 31, 1886, the end of the Society's financial year. The actual balance at the date of the meeting was 250*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, in addition to an invested capital of about 90*l.*

work uninterruptedly, special subscriptions have been kindly given by several Fellows of the Society, and it is hoped that by this means the transcription may be completed sooner than could otherwise be the case.

The Council have pleasure in announcing that Mr. Hovenden has kindly undertaken to edit the Canterbury Register—a task for which he is peculiarly well qualified by his intimate knowledge of Kentish history and antiquities.

The Council also desire to express their thanks to Miss Layard for her presentation of lists of French names in the Registers of St. Patrick's Cathedral and other churches in Dublin. These lists, the Register Committee recommend, should be printed in the 'Proceedings,' either in one or more portions, as may be found convenient.

On receiving the first numbers of the second volume of the 'Proceedings,' Fellows will no doubt have noticed that it was printed in London instead of, as heretofore, at Lymington. This change seemed desirable to the Council on account of the inconvenience caused by the 'Proceedings' being printed at a distance from London, which involved a great deal of unnecessary correspondence and delay. The Registers, however, will continue to be printed at Lymington, where the work will have the advantage of being from time to time supervised if needful by a member of the Register Committee, Mr. Moens, who resides near that town.

Owing to the many and more urgent claims on the Society's income, the Council have hitherto abstained from spending anything upon the Library with the exception of a trifling outlay on the necessary binding of a few foreign works originally in paper covers. But notwithstanding that no books have been as yet purchased by the Society itself, the Council are able to report with great satisfaction that the Library has been increased during the past year by the addition of nearly thirty volumes, for all of which the Society is indebted to donations, partly from its own Fellows, partly from various kind friends both at home and abroad.

The Council have on a former occasion expressed their thanks to the Governor and Directors of the French Protestant

Hospital for permitting the Society's books to be kept for the time being at that institution, and they now gladly avail themselves of the present opportunity to thank them for a further act of generous courtesy. A complete catalogue of the Hospital Library having been recently privately printed by the Directors, they have most kindly allowed the Society's books to be included, with a distinctive mark, in it. The Society's Library therefore enjoys, so far, the advantage of a printed catalogue, and the Directors of the Hospital have further added to their kindness by presenting a copy of the catalogue, interleaved with blank pages for the insertion in manuscript of future accessions.

In conclusion, the Council would repeat their invitation of last year to all Fellows of the Society to aid them in furthering its objects and usefulness. There are many ways in which this may be done, and the variety is so great that employment may be found by members of widely different tastes and pursuits. But in order that the Society may take a fitting place beside the sister Societies of France and America, and beside other literary and antiquarian Societies at home, it is necessary that it should be distinguished by systematic original research and by the collection and publication of matters of real genealogical and historical importance. It is obviously impossible that this can be continuously done by the efforts of only some few Fellows, however zealous and hardworking. The Council therefore appeal, and appeal confidently, to the Society at large to help in making it worthy of its name—that name of *Huguenot*, which has ever been synonymous with honourable purpose and thoroughness of execution.

Under Bylaw VI. four Members of Council retire and four new members are to be elected at this Meeting. The names of four Fellows of the Society who, on the invitation of the Council, have consented to offer themselves for election, are given in the balloting-list which has been distributed. The President, Vice-Presidents and Members of Council, whose names remain on the list, offer themselves for re-election. They desire also to record their thanks to their colleagues who now retire from office for the help they have rendered to the

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGENOT SOCIETY ON LONDON
From January 1 to December 31, 1886.

	Dr.	£ s. d.	Cr.	£ s. d.
1886				
Jan. 1. To Balance brought forward from 1885 . . . 89 2 4			By Extracting Norwich Registers . . . 85 0 0	
Dec. 31. " Subscriptions from Fellows (146) . 153 6 0			" Printing Proceedings, &c . . . 65 13 11	
" " Ditto paid in advance for 1887 . 7 7 0				100 13 11
" " Entrance Fees from newly elected Fellows (55) . . . 57 15 0			" Advertisements 0 10 0	
" " Composition Fees from four Fellows . . 42 0 0			" Assistant Secretary's Salary 50 0 0	
			Honorarium . . . 15 0 0	
			Disbursements . . . 8 11 6	
				73 11 6
			" Stationery 19 4 4	
			" Hire of Room for Meetings . . . 5 5 0	
			" Shorthand Writer 7 10 0	
			" Petty Disbursements (Treasurer's) . . 3 17 0	
			" " (Hon. Secretary's) 12 1 6	
			" Bankers (Cheques, &c.) 0 3 8	
				122 2 7
			" Purchase of 41l. 6s. 1d. Stock in New 3 per Cent. Annuities, with Commission 42 0 0	
				222 16 6
			" Balance in hand of Treasurer on Dec. 31, 1886 . 84 13 10	
				£ 349 10 4

Audited and found correct,

A. NORRIS.
 THOMAS ARCHER.

London: May 27, 1887.

Society during the past year, and to express the hope that their interest in its welfare may not be diminished.

The Report of the Council having been approved by the Meeting, the Chairman called upon Lieut.-General Layard to read the Address sent by the President for the occasion.

Address to the Third Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London. By the Right Hon. Sir HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., President.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I greatly regret that unavoidable absence from England prevents me from having the honour of presiding at the Annual General Meeting of our Society. As I am unable to address you in person, I trust that you will permit me to do so in writing, and forgive me if I confine myself to a few general remarks, as at this distance from home I have no access to the sources of information upon subjects connected with Huguenot matters which would enable me to prepare an address worthy of the occasion.

As I have had the advantage of seeing the report which the Council will present to you, I may without hesitation offer you my congratulations upon the present condition and future prospects of the Society. Fifty-one Fellows and three Honorary Fellows have been elected during the past year. On the other hand, we have lost, by death and withdrawal, nineteen members; which reduces our actual gain to thirty-five members. We now number altogether 222 Fellows and sixteen Honorary Fellows.

When the Society was founded I scarcely anticipated that it would so speedily attain to its present comparatively flourishing condition. I attribute our success both to the interest that it has excited among the descendants of the many eminent Huguenot refugees who settled in England, and to the want that was evidently felt of some such association for bringing together in friendly intercourse those who could claim a common origin and desired to preserve the memories of their ancestors who had heroically suffered for conscience' sake.

Nor is the Society less indebted for its success to the

zealous exertions and prudent management of those who had the principal share in its foundation, and who have since had the direction of its affairs. It was specially fortunate in obtaining for its first honorary secretary Mr. A. Giraud Browning, who, with singular disinterestedness, gave much time, of inestimable value to one in his profession, to conduct its business and to promote its objects. It was only the deep interest that he takes in all matters connected with the Huguenots and their history, and his earnest desire that we English of Huguenot descent should not be behind our brethren in France, in Holland, in the United States, and elsewhere in associating ourselves with the object of preserving the records of our French Protestant forefathers who suffered for their religion and sought refuge in this country, that could have encouraged him to undertake the arduous work which the foundation and organisation of a society of this nature requires. In the prosperity of the Society he has found his only reward. It was not until it was fairly launched and had given promise of the success that it has now achieved that he could bring himself to resign his honorary office. But he continued to give us most useful guidance and aid as a member of our Council. It is with true pleasure that I have learnt that it is proposed to elect him one of our Vice-Presidents, in which capacity, I feel convinced, he will render us further valuable services.

The Society has been not less fortunate in obtaining as Mr. A. Giraud Browning's successor our present Honorary Secretary, Mr. Reginald Faber, who with great zeal and ability, and with the intelligent help of Mr. Overend, our Assistant Secretary, now directs its affairs. I am particularly desirous of referring to the care and judgment with which Mr. Faber edits our 'Proceedings'—a task which requires close attention and no little critical skill. I may speak on this point with some confidence, as he has corrected for the press, and passed through it, two Papers which I have contributed to them, and which, from the extracts in foreign languages and the numerous foreign names they contained, required very careful editing. I acknowledge with gratitude

the service that he has rendered to me, and feel bound to express at the same time my regret at the trouble that my Papers must have given him.

Our acknowledgments are further due to those who have been and are still giving their time and labour to collecting information relating to the history and genealogy of Huguenot families established in England, and have contributed valuable Papers to our 'Proceedings' on these and kindred subjects, or have given us interesting information when taking part in the discussions at our evening Meetings. I may especially mention Mr. Moens, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Stride, and Mr. Hovenden—gentlemen who, as active members of our Council, have rendered further good service to the Society.

The interest which has already been shown in this Society by our Huguenot brethren, not only in Great Britain but in other countries in which there are families of Huguenot descent, as well as in our colonies and dependencies—at the Cape of Good Hope, and in Australia, India, and New Zealand, each of which has contributed Fellows to it—has fully justified the anticipation of those who founded it. In mentioning the Cape of Good Hope, I wish specially to remind you of our colleague Mr. C. C. de Villiers, whose efforts to promote the welfare and extend the operations of the Society in South Africa have been most indefatigable. We must now exert ourselves to prevent this interest from flagging. This can best be done by making our Society more generally known, and by continuing to publish in our 'Proceedings' Papers and information of value and interest to persons who claim Huguenot origin, wherever they may reside. To the first object our members may individually contribute—and I venture earnestly to exhort them to do so—by bringing the Society to the notice of their friends, whether of Huguenot descent or not, and doing their best to induce them to join us. It would probably be impossible to estimate, even approximately, the number of persons of Huguenot origin in England; but I think we may assert without fear of contradiction that there are more than enough to supply materials for a very large and flourishing Huguenot Associa-

tion. I have so often been asked the object of our Society, and have been so much surprised at the ignorance which appears to prevail generally as to Huguenot matters, whilst a desire has been expressed at the same time for information on the subject, that I feel that it only requires a little active propaganda on the part of our members to add very considerably to our numbers.

Although the pleasure and satisfaction of bringing together in social and friendly intercourse those who are of Huguenot descent may prove inducements to many to join our Society, its permanent success, and the interest which we wish should be also felt in it by persons who have no claim to Huguenot blood, must depend mainly upon the work which it can accomplish, and consequently upon its publications of various kinds. There is always a danger in Societies of the nature of ours that either really valuable materials, which it is one of their principal objects to collect and publish, become exhausted or that the contributors to their 'Transactions' for one reason or another gradually fall off. Their annual publications are consequently apt to lose their interest both for their members, who one by one withdraw, and for the general public. In either case the result is damaging to their prosperity. I trust and believe that we may avoid any such fate; but in order to do so we must rely upon our own exertions.

Abundant materials for contributions to our 'Proceedings' are not wanting. They include a vast range of subjects from the domestic histories of Huguenot families that fled to England—their origin, their descent, and the position to which their members may have attained in their adopted country as statesmen, soldiers, artists, and men of letters and science—to the part played by the Huguenots in some of the most important events recorded in history. Within it are to be found episodes of the highest dramatic interest; records of cruel persecution and terrible sufferings borne with marvellous courage, patience, and resignation; examples of faithfulness to religious convictions and of resolution to obey the dictates of conscience which no tortures, however excruciating, could shake; heroic deeds in war, wise and

prudent counsel in affairs of state, discoveries in science, pre-eminence in letters, and excellence in art. Every branch of human knowledge, every Christian virtue, every noble and generous quality which can distinguish men in peace, in war, and in domestic life can be illustrated by a Huguenot name. Such being the place held by the Huguenots in the world's records—a place of which we who are of Huguenot origin may be justly proud—surely ample materials can be found to render interesting and instructive a yearly publication referring to and throwing light upon their history.

I see by the last 'Bulletin' of our kindred Society, *La Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, that it has published its 'Transactions' for thirty-six years. Yet it appears to be in no want of materials for the indefinite continuation of them, and its latest 'Bulletin' is full of interesting matter. We may not, I hope, be considered too sanguine if we venture to predict an equally long period of prosperity for our Society. I see no reason why we should not flourish for that, and even a longer, period, not only as offering a bond of union between the descendants of Huguenots, wherever they may be found, and whatever may now be their nationality, but as a means of preserving and commemorating their memorable history, which furnishes such splendid examples of steadfastness in suffering for conscience' sake, and of devotion to the great principle of religious liberty. The farther, indeed, we are removed from the days when our forefathers were driven by persecution from their native country, and came as refugees to this hospitable and liberty-loving land, the more necessary, it seems to me, a Society of this kind becomes, in order that their history in all its details should be preserved, and that the example they set should ever be held in remembrance and be before us.

We have our public and private records, and our family traditions—in many instances still preserved in the memories of the descendants of those refugees—of the sufferings, privations, and wonderful escapes of those who succeeded in reaching these shores. One of the main objects of our Society should be to collect and publish such records and traditions. How

much valuable and interesting information relating to the Huguenot families established in England, which is now no longer to be obtained, might have been preserved had such a society as ours been in existence a century ago! I know of family records which contained such information having been wantonly destroyed, and I have heard persons of Huguenot descent lamenting the loss of family papers which they remembered to have seen or heard of in their youth which gave most striking accounts of the adventures and escape of their ancestors. Among our members there may be some who may still discover such papers and who would be willing to place them at the disposal of the Society. I do not suppose that any one who might possess such documents in England would refuse to lend them—as I was informed at Paris had been the case in France—on the ground that their publication might furnish evidence of religious persecution, which would be considered offensive to the Roman Catholic Church—their owners declaring that they would destroy them rather than permit them to pass into Protestant hands.

Family and other papers thus communicated to us, or committed to our care, might appear as opportunities offered in our 'Proceedings,' and form a resource for future publication. I would suggest that such MSS., when not published, should be added in our infant Library, which would thus, in course of time, grow to a very valuable deposit of Huguenot family history and lore.

Whilst we can make use of our own records, public and private, foreign archives are also open to us. There are few which do not contain important documents relating to the Huguenots, who for nearly two centuries took a part—and frequently a very leading and distinguished one—in the principal events of their time. Some of these archives may have been fully examined, and matter they contain referring to the Huguenots may have been published in some form or another. But others have not. Those of the different Italian States and those of Spain, relating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, do not appear to have been thoroughly searched with this special object. In pursuance of a promise I made to you

at one of our meetings last year, I have looked into the Venetian archives with a view to ascertaining whether they contained any documents which might throw light upon the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The results of my researches have been communicated to you in two Papers which have been published in the second volume of our 'Proceedings.' My inquiries were limited to those two events, so deeply important to the Huguenots and so highly interesting to the general historian.

It is probable that if the despatches and reports of the Venetian Ambassadors and other agents of the Republic in different countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, preserved in the splendid collection of archives so admirably arranged in the vast disestablished convent of the Frari at Venice, were thoroughly examined, much valuable information relating to Huguenot history might still be discovered in it. Any person desirous of undertaking such researches would receive every assistance from the learned and courteous keeper of those archives, Signor Cechetti, to whom I am indebted for much help in carrying on my inquiries. There are also in the Library of St. Mark written and printed documents which may throw light on the same subject, and furnish interesting details with respect to it, which I hope to have leisure some day to examine.

I believe the same to be the case as regards the archives preserved at Florence, and in other Italian cities which were formerly capitals of independent States, and especially those in Rome, which, I understand, are divided between the Vatican and the Institution of the Propaganda. Probably, however, the latter are not yet accessible to those who might make use of materials referring to so delicate a subject as the persecution of the Huguenots.

From information which I have received from Spanish friends—well competent to give it—I have also reason to believe that important documents relating to the Huguenots are to be found in the well-known archives kept in the Castle of Simancas, which have already furnished such valuable materials for history. As yet I have only been able

to procure the copy of one document preserved there—an account of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew written by an eye-witness, who appears to have been an agent of the Spanish Government at Paris, which differs in some respects from other accounts hitherto published of that event. I have placed this copy in the hands of our Honorary Secretary for publication in our 'Proceedings.'

The publication of historical documents relating to the Huguenots, obtained from these and other sources, and even the republication of others which have already appeared in works out of print, or difficult to obtain, or little known, will add greatly to the value and interest of our 'Proceedings,' and will be an inducement to persons who are not of Huguenot descent, as well as to those who are, to join our Society. I may here mention that I wrote some time ago to Lord Acton, as requested by the Council, to ask his permission for the reprinting by the Society, to be included in its 'Proceedings,' of his very remarkable article on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, published in October 1869 in the 'North British Review.' I have not as yet received an answer to my letter.

It has given me great pleasure to learn from the report of the Council that my colleagues, the Governors of the French Protestant Hospital, have allowed the books and MSS. which belong to our Society to be kept in their Library, and have included them, with a distinctive mark, in the catalogue which they have had privately printed. Our collection as yet only comprises between forty and fifty volumes, mostly donations. There is every hope that in the course of time it may be considerably increased. But it appears to me that a question arises as to the necessity for two Huguenot libraries in London. I venture to suggest for your consideration whether it would not be better that there should be only one, to be placed, if feasible, under the care and management of the Governors of the French Hospital. It will be long before the funds at the disposal of our Society will enable us to buy books, and especially early works, relating to the Huguenots, which, for the most part, are rare and costly, and yet are absolutely necessary to a complete Huguenot library. I would further

suggest that not only books and MSS. but a collection of portraits, autographs, medals, and other objects illustrative of Huguenot history, should form part of our Library. Some of our members might be able and disposed to contribute to such a collection.

We might hope to see in London not such a library as that most munificently placed at the disposal of the public in Paris by the Baron de Schickler—for this would, I fear, be quite impossible—but one founded on the same principle. I was conducted over that library some months ago by M. Weiss, the curator, himself a learned and diligent writer on Huguenot subjects. I was greatly interested in and struck by its contents, which comprise a most valuable collection of MSS. in the handwriting of Theodore Bèza, and other celebrated Protestant reformers, and the portraits and autographs of most of those—women and men—who took a part in, or were in any way connected with, the great Protestant movement in France.

I rejoice to find that our 'Proceedings' are exciting the interest of kindred Societies in France, Holland, America, and elsewhere, and have been favourably noticed by them. Our relations with those Societies are most friendly and cordial, and I doubt not that they will continue so as long as our communications are carried on with them with the courtesy, good feeling, and tact shown by our late and present honorary secretaries. We can mutually assist each other, and it is highly desirable that we should work as much as possible together. I may mention, as an instance of the desire on their part for our co-operation, that in the 'Bulletin' for last April of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, its members invite 'their colleagues of the Huguenot Society of London to undertake serious and persevering researches in order to discover whether Denis Papin,' the celebrated physician, and alleged inventor of the steam-engine, a Huguenot refugee in England, and a member of our Royal Society, died, as his latest biographer, Dr. Ernest Gerland, believes, in London. I hope that some member of our Society may be induced to answer this appeal, and to make the researches which our French friends suggest.

The transcription and publication of the Registers of the French and Walloon churches in England—an important work in which we are engaged, and upon the progress of which the Register Committee has submitted to you its report—are also looked forward to with much interest by the descendants of Huguenots in all parts of the world. By the help of these Registers the histories of many Huguenot families, which would otherwise be lost or forgotten, may be traced. They may thus be of much use to such as desire to ascertain what became of their forefathers after the great exodus and dispersion of the Protestants of France in consequence of the religious persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and especially on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This desire has shown itself of late years in France, and has probably been to a certain extent promoted there, as elsewhere, by the Huguenot Societies which have come into existence. I had personally a somewhat curious proof of it a short time ago. I received by post a letter with the cards and compliments of the members of a French family residing in the south of France, of whom I had never before heard, who claimed descent with myself from a common ancestor of the name of Caumont, which my family anciently bore. Even this desire to show a relationship, and to establish a friendly intercourse between families in France who have remained in their own country and have retained their ancient religion, and those branches of them which were driven to abandon both, may have some effect, slight as it may be, upon the friendly relations which ought to exist between the two nations, and which it should be the duty of every one who has at heart the interests of humanity and peace to promote.

The last, though certainly not the least, important matter to which it is my duty to refer is the state of our finances. I am truly glad to have to state that, owing in great measure to the able management of our Treasurer, Mr. Roumieu, we may be well satisfied on this point. We have a balance in hand of 84*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*, which, together with the income of the ensuing year, will, I hope, enable us to carry on the useful work of transcribing and printing the French church Registers,

and the publication of our 'Proceedings' in a form not unworthy of the Society. I should, of course, be glad to see a considerable increase in our income, so that we might be able to extend our operations, and to render them still more useful and interesting; but if the Society continues to progress as steadily as it has done hitherto, I think we need have little fear as to its future.

In conclusion, I must again appeal to your forbearance when I express my great regret at not having been able to preside at this Annual General Meeting. I earnestly hope that you will not consider my absence as showing that I do not continue to feel a lively interest in the Society. Such, I can assure you, is far from being the case. Although far away at Venice, I am in spirit with you, and the Society has my very sincere and hearty good wishes for its future prosperity.

On concluding the President's address, Lieut.-General Layard invited Mr. Moens to make some supplementary remarks on the operations of the Society during the past year, in compliance with which request Mr. MOENS gave the following

Review of the Society's Past Work and Future Prospects.

We all must much regret the absence of our President at this our Annual Meeting, and this regret is felt by no one more than by me, because, although we have, by the ever-thoughtfulness of Sir Henry Layard, had a most excellent written Address of his read to us, I have been called on to take the chair he would have filled.

As chairman this evening, it is necessary for me to say a few words to you concerning the work we have done during the past year and what we may hope to accomplish in the future. Why I should be thus called on I am at a loss to conjecture, when we have so many present who would be able to undertake this duty in a far more able manner.

In the first place, I feel sure that you all will agree with me in placing on record our appreciation of the able and excellent Address that has been read to us—an Address that

cannot but encourage those amongst us who have been giving their time and energies to the work that is necessary for the very existence of the Society—work that must be done to prove that the Society is not only a mere name but that it may show a good and lasting result. Not only does that Address cheer up and encourage the workers amongst us, but it cannot fail to draw others into the numbers of workers, for it is impossible that among the now large numbers of Fellows there are not others who will come forward to share the work that has to be done, and fit themselves to replace those of the Council who retire annually by rotation.

As does our President, so do I, and I am sure you all, rejoice that Mr. A. Giraud Browning, whom we may call the founder of the Society, has been elected a Vice-President. Those of us who have had the opportunity of seeing his extraordinary ability and unwearying exertions in promoting the welfare of the Society, cannot but rejoice in the unanimous vote which has elected him to that position—one which we must all fervently hope he will long occupy, and which will enable him to give his uninterrupted help and aid to the Council.

I must also testify to the ability and unsparing trouble and pains shown by Mr. Faber, our Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Overend, our Assistant Secretary; few but those behind the scenes know how much and what laborious work has to be got through, and how many letters have to be considered and answered.

Our President alludes to the great number of persons of Huguenot origin in this country—persons bearing Huguenot names, who will, no doubt, sooner or later be induced to join the Society. To these a greater number may be added who are descended in the female line from Huguenot families, and who cherish the memory of their ancestors driven by religious persecution from the Low Countries and France. These latter, as soon as they learn that information concerning those whose names they hold so dear is to be obtained through our work, will rally to our ranks as lately Mr. Joseph J. Green has done who reveres the names of Tayspill and de Walle.

We may hope confidently that we shall have more new Fellows from those descended from the Dutch-speaking Huguenot refugees.

There is but little fear that the principal objects of our research will soon be exhausted ; we have to collect the history of the foreign or Huguenot settlements of Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidstone, Colchester, Yarmouth, Lynn, Southampton, Thetford, Halstead, Canvey Island, Thorp le Soken, and other smaller places, to say nothing of the numerous churches of London. There are the existing Registers of some of these towns to transcribe and print ; there are the State Papers to look through and select from for copies or abstracts of matters concerning the past history of the strangers in England ; there are the collections of wills at the principal and district Registries. There is so much of importance and interest, that we shall have to make the very most of our limited means, for transcribing and printing are expensive work. Our prosperity will assuredly grow with the publication of original and important matter. The harvest is plentiful, but the real labourers are few. Impatience, therefore, must not be felt at the slow realisation of promised work. We are tapping virgin soil, and nuggets are turning up in unexpected quarters ; we are young yet as a Society, and the surface of the ground of our labours has been scarcely turned over.

With regard to the archives preserved in the Castle of Simancas alluded to by our President, there is the account and calendar of documents relating to the Netherlands, edited by the late Monsieur Gachard and published in Belgium in 1846.

Our President mentions his visit to the important Library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, over which he was conducted by M. Weiss, the Curator. The similar collection at Leiden is also of very great importance, over which I was conducted by my friend Monsieur Dozy, the able and indefatigable archivist of Leiden. In this collection are preserved many Act Books, original Registers, and transcripts of the Registers of the Walloon churches of Holland which have ceased to exist, which valuable MSS. have been

found and rescued from destruction and oblivion by our sister Society in Holland. We have, I believe, the various catalogues of this Library; and it is to be hoped that we shall soon be able to add those of the collection at Paris to our small but growing Library.

Our President alludes to the want of those sources necessary to enable him to write all he desired concerning our doings during the past year; I therefore may be perhaps permitted to say a few words on this subject.

It is to be regretted that unavoidable delays connected with preparing the contents of Part IV. of the first volume of our 'Proceedings' has long delayed the printing and issue of that part; but, these difficulties having been surmounted, the first volume is now completed, and all must join with me in congratulations on the value of the able Papers contributed by Mr. John Traviss Squire, Colonel Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B., Mr. G. H. Overend, and Miss Florence Layard, besides the various items in the Notes and Queries. These I shall allude to later. We have also to express our hearty thanks to Mr. Faber and Mr. Overend for the able manner in which they have indexed the contents of this volume—a task which requires not only great skill (it being a subject index) but hard work.

The first part of the second volume of the 'Proceedings,' being those of our second year just terminated, contains the interesting narrative of Colonel Louis Chevallean de Boisragon, being a Paper read by Lieut.-General Layard; the story of John Perigal, contributed by his descendant, Mr. Frederick Perigal, which gives the valuable list of the *pasteurs* of the Reformed church of Dieppe from 1557 to 1675. It gives also the name of ninety-four persons who were brought from various prisons (where they had been confined on account of religion) to Dieppe in March and April 1688 to be shipped to England by an order dated April 27 of the same year; the places whence they came are also given.

We have also the important and most valuable Paper, written from original sources in the Archives of Venice, by our President, Sir Henry Austen Layard. Much has been written

on this subject, but perhaps nothing has ever appeared of so much authority as this account of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which so amply confirms statements made from other sources. It is a most remarkable and damning fact that, like documents on the same subject in other archives, the volume containing the despatches from the Venetian ambassadors at foreign Courts for the year 1572 is also missing. It is, however, a most fortunate thing that copies of the despatches of Michiel and Cavalli on the Massacre were made by special decree of the Senate for preservation in the State Archives, as well as the abstracts made in the 'Rubricario.' The abstracts, however, of the most important dates appear to have been also suppressed. The importance and interest of this Paper cannot be overestimated. It is these treatises from original and inedited State Papers that will make our 'Proceedings' of great value in time to come.

Following comes the genealogy of the De Zouche family, communicated by Mr. J. J. de Zouche Marshall, which gives full dates and places, as such notices should always do to make them of value.

An interesting and touching prayer of David Bosanquet, communicated by Mrs. C. Meyer, completes Part I. of vol. ii.

We are much indebted to Mr. Squire for the appendix to his Paper upon the Huguenot settlement at Wandsworth, read on May 12, 1886, giving the monumental inscriptions in the burial-ground of Mount Nod at Wandsworth. Among these are many of families with well-known Huguenot names. Mr. Squire, with most commendable diligence, has added abstracts of the wills and acts of administration of the majority of those who died before 1786. These inscriptions were professed to be copied some few years ago, and were then printed by the proprietors of the 'Wandsworth and Battersea District Times,' but many inscriptions were omitted and errors made. This Paper and appendix of Mr. Squire will by itself make our 'Proceedings' prized by all genealogists.

Our Vice-President, Sir Edmund Du Cane, has communicated a most interesting 'chanson' on the celebrated victory of the Dutch fleet over that of Spain on September 8, 1639,

in the English Channel, between Folkestone and Deal. This 'chanson,' composed by Isaye du Lobeau, an *ancien* of the Walloon church at Canterbury, came into the possession of our Vice-President's family through Pierre du Quesne, his lineal ancestor. Our friends in Holland will assuredly prize highly this contemporary poem, written by the son of one of those who had been driven from his country by the persecutions of the Spanish rule. An account of this victory of Marten Harpertsz Tromp is given in the 'History of the United Netherlands,' by Jean le Clerc, Amsterdam, fol. 1730, vol. ii. pp. 386-389; also in Kok's 'Woordenboek,' Amsterdam, 8vo. 1793, vol. xxix. pp. 31-33, and van der Aa's 'Woordenboek,' Haarlem, 4to. 1876, under Tromp.

We have also to thank our indefatigable Assistant Secretary, Mr. Overend, for the valuable list of French ministers and the widows and orphans of the French ministers receiving allowances from the Royal Bounty fund in this country in the year 1717. This list, copied from the Treasury Papers, 'P. R. O.', vol. ccvi. No. 47, is also valuable for the mention of the Conformist French churches at Dover, Rye, Thorpe-le-Soken, Exeter, Barnstaple, Colchester, Stone House (Plymouth), Bristol, Plymouth, Faversham, Greenwich, and Hammersmith, the Registers of all which, with the exception of Thorpe-le-Soken, have unfortunately disappeared. Mr. Overend has also communicated a memorandum by the Assistant Deputy Keeper of the Irish Records, of a volume of 641 pages, of autographs and statements of 590 French pensions taken in 1702. Also of many other documents in a parcel (No. 6 G, 8-14).

Our able and industrious friend, Miss Florence Layard, has also contributed to our Journal a most useful abstract from the Registers of St. John's Church, Dublin, of all the entries of French names, arranged most admirably in alphabetical order. Communications of this kind are most valuable, and it is to be hoped that we shall have many of the same nature. As Mr. Labillière and the Rev. Mr. Hallen have pointed out, our Parish Registers are full of Huguenot entries, especially of marriages and burials; even in country places, as I can testify for Lymington and Boldre, there are many to

be found. These might well be extracted by those of our Fellows who will put their shoulders to the wheel. We cannot get these all at once, but gradually we must hope to add at least the entries from the London and suburban Registers to our Library.

There is a new feature to be noticed in connection with our Journal; that is, the addition of 'Notes and Queries.' Very many short notices of great value and interest are constantly cropping up; our 'Proceedings' have found a nook for these at the end of each volume.

I must incidentally mention the very important present of twenty-four Registers and Act Books of the Walloon and French churches of Sandwich, Canterbury, Thorpe-le-Soken, and various London churches, including the Act Book of the meetings of the Synods of the French churches in London, sent by the representatives of the late Mr. John Sotherden Burn to the French Hospital. Some of these, especially those relating to Sandwich and Canterbury and the Act Book of the synodal meetings of the French churches in London, are of the highest importance, the two former being of a very early date, and supplying information of the names of the early refugees, not to be obtained elsewhere. It is to be hoped that many of the other missing Registers, which are probably stowed away unheeded in the libraries or closets of descendants of the last elders or deacons of churches which were closed long ago, will be looked for and found. Now that these volumes are being looked up, it is trusted that, as in Holland, they will be handed over to those who value them and are ready to give their contents for the benefit of all.

In Part II. of vol. ii. of the 'Proceedings,' now in the press, is the important Paper by our President, Sir Henry Layard, on 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of its Effect upon France,' illustrated from State Papers in the Archives of Venice. The events following the Revocation are fully traced, showing the crushing influence exercised upon the Huguenots, who were estimated by Venier, the Venetian envoy, to number no less than 1,600,000 souls.

The Paper following it is a most interesting one, by our

Honorary Fellow, Monsieur Charles Delgobe, on the career of Claude Collart de Verzy, who, belonging to the Reformed religion, went from France to seek his fortunes in the Court of Sweden in 1554.

A memoir of the Dupuis family completes all that is at present in type. This latter Paper, written by Mr. A. Bullock-Webster, gives all the recent particulars, the earlier details having been collected by Colonel Richard Dupuis at the commencement of this century.

The Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, F.S.A.S., at our last Meeting read a very able Paper on 'The French Refugees in Scotland,' followed by a second Paper, compiled by Mr. William John Hardy, F.S.A., on 'The Foreign Settlers at Colchester,' from materials at the Public Record Office, which will greatly lighten the labour of whoever undertakes the work of editing the Register of the foreign church at that town.

Our most hearty thanks are due to all these gentlemen who have given so much time and trouble to collect the necessary materials to write these Papers, and, considering how young the Society is, we must congratulate ourselves on the large amount of valuable information which has already been published in our 'Proceedings.'

I have to mention some Huguenot reunions to which we have received cordial invitations. There was the Walloon Church Festival on September 5 of last year at Haarlem, to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the church's establishment in that town. Our Fellows being scattered and away from town at that time, our Secretary, Mr. Faber, most kindly went over to represent our Society, and he received a most hearty welcome from Messrs. Enschedé and Heshuysen and the other representatives of the Walloon church of Haarlem. We have all to thank those who so kindly entertained our representative.

Quite lately some of our number have also received pressing invitations from M. le Baron F. de Schickler to come to the General Meeting of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français at Rouen on the 2nd of this month. It was with great regret that I found engagements prevented me

availing myself of this invitation; but I trust that others have been more fortunate and have been able to represent our Society at that meeting of our brethren in France.

Turning to a sadder subject, we, with all members of kindred Societies, have, in addition to the losses we have sustained by deaths alluded to in the report submitted to you by the Council, to deplore the loss of two eminent men, who as enthusiasts have ever spent their time and energies in collecting matter concerning Huguenot history and family particulars, not only for their own gratification but for the benefit of all. None amongst us ever thought that before the issue of those grand folio volumes which had been looked for with so much interest, their author, the Rev. David Carnegie Andrew Agnew, would have been taken from us, leaving us to deplore an irreparable loss. The third son of Sir Andrew Agnew, the seventh baronet, and Madeline, daughter of Sir David Carnegie, Baronet, he was born May 3, 1821; and married, April 18, 1855, Eleanora, daughter of George Bell, Esq., F.S.S., by whom he had a son—Andrew David Carnegie—and a daughter—Agnes Madeline Eleanora. It has fallen to the mournful lot of this sorrowing daughter to make the necessary arrangements connected with the issue of the third edition of the 'Protestant Exiles from France, or the Huguenot Refugees and their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland.'

Fifty copies only of this wonderful monument of life-long industry and enthusiasm were printed, and of these at the date of issue ten only were unsubscribed for, which are offered to the public at 7*l.* 10*s.* each, the subscription price having been 5*l.* These cannot but soon be absorbed, considering the interest of the Huguenot family history, both of the earlier and latter immigration, contained in them. The examination of the two volumes shows that the second edition published in 1871, succeeding the first edition of 1866, has been entirely recast and greatly augmented, there being in the two volumes of the second edition 563 small 4to. pages; and in the third or index volume, published in 1874, containing an analysis of the two earlier volumes, 284 similar pages; while in the edition just appeared there are 1,004 folio

pages. The untimely death of the devoted author left his last labour of love without a preface, and with the index incomplete; but the latter necessary work has been finished by a friendly hand. These noble volumes were veritably a labour of love, because the small return will hardly cover the cost of printing.

The other loss I have referred to is that of the American Huguenot author, Dr. Charles Washington Baird, D.D., son of the Rev. Robert Baird, D.D., author of 'Religion in the United States of America,' originally published at Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1844, and again in a revised edition at New York, 1857.

Charles W. Baird was born August 28, 1828, and though suffering well-nigh all his life from a most trying malady, was endowed with such indomitable will and energy that he was enabled not only to discharge his pastoral duties with unwearied devotion, but to devise and carry out extensive plans of study and research. The latest and, to us, most interesting of these literary labours is the 'History of the Huguenot Emigration to America,' published in New York in 1885 in 2 vols. 8vo. with illustrations, a copy of which he presented to our Society. It begins with an account of Ville-gagnon's expedition to Brazil in 1555, followed by a sketch of the French settlement in Canada and the Walloon emigration to New Netherland. But perhaps the most original and interesting chapter of the first volume is that on the Huguenots in the Antilles, their connection with those islands having never before been treated of. Dr. Baird's second volume relates the flight of the Huguenots from various parts of France and their settlement in New England chiefly. He was engaged at the time of his death on another work descriptive of their establishment in the Middle and Southern States; and it is to be hoped this sequel will be eventually completed and published by his brother, Professor Henry M. Baird, or some other competent person.

With regard to the work for the coming year, we must congratulate ourselves that a most able volunteer has come forward to edit the Canterbury Registers, which contain

entries of so very many important Huguenot families of both immigrations. We must all tender our most hearty thanks to Mr. Robert Hovenden for this renewed mark of his devotedness to the cause. His remarkable knowledge of all appertaining to the genealogical and county history of Kent makes him peculiarly adapted for the task, which, I can assure you, is no easy one. Many of us can, however, lighten in some way his labour by undertaking to search out and copy details concerning the history of the church and settlement at Canterbury. From all that I have been able to gather, and from personal observation, Mr. Tallack, who has been engaged to transcribe the Canterbury Registers, is a most competent man. He reads the old writing excellently, and he has always taken great interest in the French names to be found in the old Registers at Norwich, and at one time was the manager of the property of the old Dutch church of that town. I understand there are hopes that our new Member of Council, Mr. H. Marett Godfray, will be able to complete this year the transcription of the Southampton Walloon Church Registers, which also contain many entries of French families. We may be assured that this gentleman, who possesses most remarkable powers of historical research, will collect all that pertains to the history of the Southampton settlement and church. Our warmest thanks we must also give to him for undertaking this work, which, like that of the other churches, is so laborious. When these great works are completed we shall hope to see an army of volunteers compete for the honour of attacking the Threadneedle Street series of Registers, which are so numerous and heavy. The earlier volumes of these having been indexed, reference to their contents is comparatively easy.

It would be most desirable that all the Parish Registers that have been printed should be carefully gone through in order to extract upon prepared slips the entries of foreign families, which, when a sufficient number have been collected together, might be arranged alphabetically and printed—either apart, or in our 'Proceedings' with separate pagination. The examination of the St. Botolph Parish Registers, which are

being so ably edited by our Fellow the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, show the great number of strangers whose names appear in the Parish Registers. As a rule these were all buried in the churchyards of the parishes in which they lived. We must hope that special donations will be liberally given to aid in publishing for presentation to the Fellows of the Society these all-important Registers, which are the backbone of genealogical knowledge of the Huguenot refugees to England.

It will be necessary for Fellows to bear in mind that Papers are necessary in order to keep up the interest in subjects connected with Huguenot history. The materials are ample and varied in subject. Political, Church, trade, and family particulars await those who will give a little time and thought to the preparation of Papers. The increasing number of Fellows who attend the Meetings testifies to the interest taken in the subjects brought to their attention. For myself, should the subject be considered sufficiently interesting, I shall be happy in the somewhat distant future to read a Paper on the persecution of the foreign churches in England by Archbishop Laud, which at that time was thought so prejudicial to the interests of the nation that it formed one of the chief accusations against him in the trial which terminated with his execution.

It is to be hoped that Fellows will communicate the subjects they may select to the Secretary, who will willingly aid them in every possible way in pointing out sources of information, &c.

There is one thing more I would urge on all—that is, to obtain new Fellows. Numbers are strength. All might easily bring one recruit each. It is not necessary that all should have a Huguenot descent; but it is natural that those possessing Huguenot blood in their veins should take a greater interest in our work. With accession of numbers we can more easily and sooner complete the work that is before us. We may be sure that there is much not yet visible. Our example will animate our brethren abroad, and before many years are over we shall be able to work up the histories of families with ease.

The programme of the proposed arrangements for the Summer Conference at Canterbury and Sandwich was then read, and the assent of the Meeting given thereto, and the proceedings terminated with the Chairman's announcement of the result of the ballot as below.

Officers and Council for the year June 1887 to June 1888.

President—The Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Austen Layard, G.C.B.

Vice-Presidents—Sir Henry William Peek, Bart.; Colonel Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, R.E., K.C.B.

Treasurer—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Hon. Secretary—Reginald Stanley Faber, M.A.

Members of Council—John E. Cussans, Richard Du Cane, H. Marett Godfray, W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., Robert Hovenden, Henry J. Jourdain, C.M.G., Francis P. Labillière, Lieut-General F. P. Layard, Charles A. J. Mason, William Minet, M.A., W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A., Edward Ernest Stride.

The name of Mr. Arthur Giraud Browning was also added to the list as a Vice-President in accordance with his election to that office as previously sanctioned by the Meeting.

SUMMER CONFERENCE

AT

CANTERBURY AND SANDWICH,

JULY 9, 10, 11, 1887.

In the unavoidable absence from England of the President, Sir Henry Layard, the general direction of the proceedings was undertaken by Mr. A. G. Browning, Vice-President, aided by Mr. Hovenden and Mr. Kershaw, Members of Council and of the special Conference Committee. Messrs. Beaufort, Cussans, and Stride, Members of Council, were also present; and of

other members of the Society and their friends were assembled Messrs. C. B. Bosanquet, J. Du Boulay, T. Du Buisson, Rev. H. H. D'Ombraïn, A. L. Foucar, C. A. Govett, W. Grellier, Rev. R. C. Kinchant, Major Lambert, F.S.A., H. Merceron, Rev. J. A. Martin, B.D., C. Norris, B. B. Portal, C. F. Rousselet, C. H. Shoppee, and a considerable number of ladies. Baron de Schickler, President of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français and an Honorary Fellow of the Society also came expressly from Paris for the occasion.¹

By kind permission of the Mayor (S. Prentice, Esq.) and Corporation, the Conference opened at 10.30 A.M. in the Guild hall, Canterbury, where the Town Clerk (R. W. Flint, Esq.) read from the Corporation books many interesting extracts referring to the settlement of the French and Walloon refugees in the city, tracing their arrival in the middle of the sixteenth century, their subsequent trades and occupations to the zenith and decline of these in the year 1720. (The admission book of freedom, preserved in the civic archives, are especially rich in foreign names and in orders for the regulation of the manufactures in which the strangers were engaged.) Mr. Strid having proposed a vote of thanks to the Town Clerk for his able and interesting contribution, the Rev. J. A. Martin, B.D. pastor of the French Church at Canterbury, presented an illuminated address of welcome to the Society as follows:

'A Messieurs les membres de la Société Huguenote de Londres

'Messieurs,—J'ai l'honneur de vous présenter, au nom du consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Cantorbéry, nos salutations les plus cordiales à l'occasion de la première visite de votre société à notre ancienne cité, si renommée dans l'histoire et toujours si hospitalière envers les pèlerins.

'Nous avons appris avec une vive satisfaction la fondation

¹ Baron de Schickler has compiled some valuable critical notes on the *'Actes de l'Eglise des étrangers de Cantorbéry,'* which it is proposed to print in the Society's *Proceedings*. His remarks refer to a recently discovered folio volume containing resolutions of the Consistoire of the Crypt Church, 1581, and throwing much light on the internal life of its congregation and its almost Calvinistic severity of its 'Discipline.'


de votre société, et nous lui souhaitons une bonne fortune et une existence prolongée. Elle servira à mettre en lumière l'histoire de nos ancêtres dans la foi, histoire dont la valeur est grande tant au point de vue de la religion qu'à celui du patriotisme français et des relations de la France et de l'Angleterre. Elle empêchera que le temps et les circonstances puissent jamais séparer les enfants des Huguenots de leurs vœux, et augmentera leur foi et leur amour par les souvenirs de la fermeté chrétienne qui, pour la cause de la vérité, a su braver l'exil.

‘ Représentants de l'Eglise Huguenote établie depuis plus de trois siècles sous l'aile hospitalière de la Cathédrale de Cantorbéry, nous vous offrons un accueil fraternel, tout en espérant que notre histoire puisse vous aider dans vos recherches, ainsi que dans les vœux d'amitié et d'appui mutuel qu'exprime le programme de votre Société. Nous réclamons votre sympathie pour cette Eglise qui, nous osons le dire, aura sa place dans le passé ; et nous vous invitons cordialement à assister aux services de notre Anniversaire qui auront lieu demain.

‘ J. A. MARTIN, Pastor.

‘ Samedi, 9 Juillet 1887.’

Mr. Browning having made a suitable reply to the address, and a vote of thanks having been passed to the Mayor for his hospitable reception of the Society, the party next proceeded to the Cathedral, being met there by the Hon. and Rev. Canon Fremantle, who acted as a most efficient guide to all points of interest, specially remarking on whatever related more particularly to Huguenot annals. In the choir, the tomb of Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Chastillon, who died at Canterbury, attracted much attention ; it is a plain brick structure with no name or other memorial. A house said to have been inhabited by the Cardinal is near the Cathedral precincts. The crypt was afterwards visited, and the chapel of St. Gabriel, in which are some recently discovered fine frescoes of scriptural and other subjects. These paintings and the history of the crypt form the theme of a critical essay by Canon Scott



Robertson, which is contained in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xiii., and has also been reprinted separately. It includes a description of the French Church. In the cloisters, chapter house, and library were noticed many objects of interest—in the cloisters being several monuments (the inscriptions on which have all been copied) in memory of Huguenots. In the library the Society was received by Dr. Sheppard, who had kindly placed on view the Corporation books, now preserved there, which contain many entries and allusions to the foreign population of Canterbury. The Society also had access to the fine collection, numbering some 10,000 volumes, of the late Archdeacon Harrison, who died in March last and bequeathed it to the chapter library. It may be incidentally noted that several of the former Cathedral dignitaries claimed refugee descent, and amongst those who have added lustre to the list may be noted: Isaac and Meric Casaubon, John Castillion (afterwards Vicar of Minster in Thanet), Maximilian de l'Angle (buried at Chartham, near Canterbury), David Durel, Pierre du Moulin (son of the celebrated Du Moulin), Louis Herault, and others. Much interest was evoked by allusion to the Archbishop's Palace (which used to stand near the west end of the Cathedral and of which but a fragment of wall now remains), because in it there was once a French Chapel, the members of which seceded for a time from the Walloon Church in the crypt and were called the 'French Uniform Church,' probably from their adopting the liturgy of the Church of England. This congregation lasted from about 1710–1745, when it rejoined the older one. The relations between the foreign churches of London and Canterbury should not pass unnoticed; Queen Elizabeth had recommended the cause of the London congregation to Archbishop Parker, who, in his turn, influenced the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to give relief, as they did, to the distressed refugees in that city. (*Strype's Memorials*, ii. 290.)

In the afternoon a visit was paid to St. Augustine's, now a missionary college, but formerly the monastery that for fame and wealth equalled its great rival of Christ Church. The noble entrance gateway (one of the original portions

built by Abbot Fyndon *circa* 1808) leads to the quadrangle, around which are grouped the different college apartments, which Canon Jenkins, Rector of Lyminge, described to the Society. The Canon also read a very interesting sketch of the history of the monastery, the greater portion of which is here given, as follows :

The twin foundations of Christ Church and St. Augustine's represent in miniature and from its earliest period that great conflict between the national and Roman churches, the seculars and regulars, which has been carried on with more or less vigour in every country in Europe since the day when the papal power established its reign and introduced among its converts the theory of the Petrine autocracy. Founded in the closest proximity to each other, almost at the same time, and by the same hand, they seem like Esau and Jacob to have struggled in the very womb, and to have carried on their hostility until the day when the monastic system was crushed at the Reformation, and the framework of the national church alone was left. The picture of the grand Cathedral, which survived and rises before us in all its beauty, and of the ruins of the great Abbey which was once its rival and now ministers to the missionary needs of our church, is indeed a very suggestive and significant one, and shows us how, out of the relics of that monastic system which perished from among us, the conservative and constructive power of our church has been able to build up an institution worthier of that world-wide influence and universal intercourse by which alone in our age Christianity can be truly and wisely extended and established.

The conflict of the two systems, so vividly illustrated in these contiguous foundations, began in a very early day. In the charter of King Oswyne in 689, in which a portion of the lands belonging to the King at Lyminge is granted to the Monastery of St. Augustine, it is described as the 'Monastery of St. Peter the Apostle, over which Adrian is known to preside, and which is under the government of the city of Rome.'

It was the custom of the Papacy, in order to plant a fortress for itself in every diocese, controlling and overriding the power of the episcopate, to confer on certain churches or religious orders in every diocese what are termed in the canon law 'the liberties of the Holy Roman church.'

How soon these liberties became inconsistent with, and even destructive of, every other liberty, how soon it was necessary to vindicate the freedom of national churches against this Roman

licence of ecclesiastical anarchy, must be known to all who remember the great struggle of the Gallican church and its fatal end, and who represent, as those of our Huguenot Society do, the still more courageous and sanguinary conflict which led to the expatriation of her best and most enterprising sons, and so enervated the French kingdom as to render it powerless in the face of the revolution, and to paralyse religion itself.

The controversy came even before successive Popes, whose interest was manifestly involved in sustaining the claims of the Augustinians who acted as their Janissaries against the rival foundation which was ever resisting their usurpation. Archbishop Richard in 1180 made heavy complaints to Pope Alexander III. against the exemptions by which the episcopal power was reduced to a nonentity by the monastic claims. He alluded to this memorable letter, especially to the case of St. Augustine's, and even ventures to draw a parallel between the Roman Pontiff with his 'many flocks and herds' (the David of his age) and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Uriah) with his single ewe lamb, which, if no evil passions had arisen in his neighbours, 'he might still,' he says, 'have cherished in his bosom.'

After recounting the early changes of the monastery, the Canon went on to say that it had fallen into such decay about the year 1100, that it appears to have been altogether rebuilt at that time, or, as the fashion of speaking now is, 'restored,' for restoration in our degenerate days rather means rebuilding after the caprice of the architect, than reverently preserving the historic features of an earlier age. In 1168 this restored building was destroyed by fire, and of this restoration we see many remains in the present ruin. Probably it suffered as much in the storm and flood which did such unprecedented damage in Canterbury in the year 1271, and much that we see around us may belong to this period. But though the building was thus renewed, and its area extended and amplified, there is much yet remaining to give us indications of the site of every portion of that earlier church whose restoration about 1090-1100 is described so carefully by Goscelinus, a monk of the foundation.

The first restoration was on much more extended foundations than that which it succeeded. The Abbot Scotland, who appears to have superintended if not designed the work, erected a tower of great height and dignity between the aisles; and, being anxious to

extend the nave, broke down the wall in which many of the royal and saintly relics were preserved, and left these precious treasures lost in the ruins. Never was a more ruthless spoliation of ancient walls than in this restoration: equally the cruel destruction of the stately St. Ethelbert's tower in a much later day, and greatly resembling it in the violence with which it was effected.

We have no such connected narrative of the rebuilding of the church after the utter destruction of Goscelinus' building by the fire of 1168. I think, however, that we may reasonably conclude that it was raised on the same foundations as those which we now see, as no further extension could be needed after that which it had already undergone, and the restoration of the relics of the many kings and saints to their proper places of precedence had become an imperative duty to the pious Augustinians. The monastery was moreover involved in so many controversies with other foundations on the fruitful subject of relics, that it was not likely to enter into any new disputes, or to give occasion for them without necessity. Even in Goscelinus' time it had had to defend the authenticity of the relics of St. Mildred against the monks of St. Gregory—a foundation of secular canons which Lanfranc, whose vindication of the claims of the secular clergy were ever so practical and effectual, had established in Canterbury as a new thorn in the side of the Augustinians. The great Norman archbishop in the monasteries and hospitals he had raised around him in Canterbury had built up a succession of strongholds against the Augustinians and the Papacy which might well prepare us for the day when the foreign power was thrown off for ever and the 'Italian priests could no longer tithe and toll in England.'

The dissolution of the monasteries left Christ Church alone in the field, transformed into a cathedral and metropolitical church, and the glorious fabric of its rival was handed over to the king (Henry VIII.), under whose destructive hands it was gradually dismantled and destroyed, the various buildings of the abbey passing away one after another for the sake of their stones and lead, only the vast fragments of its walls remaining.

The beautiful tower called St. Ethelbert's was destroyed in the memory of the older inhabitants of this city, and its massive walls needed, as in the days of Goscelinus, mechanical means to break them down.

I can myself remember the gateway with the other buildings when they were used as a brewery, and the inner court as a bowling green! From this last stage of desecration these ruins were

redeemed by my old college friend Mr. Beresford-Hope,¹ through whose munificence, with the aid of many others, the Mission College which has borne so many fruits worthy of the missionary labours of the great apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, has carried on the work he had before him in prophetic foresight, realising the words of the poet :

Old decays but foster new creations,
Bones and ashes feed the golden corn,
Fresh elixirs wander every moment

Down the veins through which the live past feeds its child, the life
unborn.

At the conclusion of Canon Jenkins' Paper, and after visiting the hall, chapel, and other portions of the building the Society proceeded to inspect the remains of the abbey under the guidance of Mr. F. W. Cross, author of 'Ramble round Old Canterbury.'

After viewing St. Ethelbert's tower and the vestiges of the walls of St. Pancras' Church, the party visited the Church of Holy Cross, which, with St. Dunstan's, St. Alphege's, and St. Etheldred's, retains in the Registers more refugee memorials than any other in the city. In the churchyard many of the visitors lingered to identify the names of their ancestors on the various monuments therein. It is not needful to mention here more than a few of these names, such as *Boudry, Decafour, Fremoult, Le Grand, Saquez, Six*—all of the having been copied for future publication. Mr. Meadow Cowper, F.R.Hist.Soc., who has edited the Registers of the and of St. Dunstan's, read an interesting Paper on 'The Foreign Element in the Parishes of St. Peter and Holy Cross Canterbury, 1575-1684,' which will be found in the Appendix p. 197.

The Society then inspected the interior of the West Gate (the only one left of the six gates formerly existing, and curiously resembling that at Avignon) and the ancient hospital Eastbridge, hard by the little river Stour, which once supplied the refugees with the means of working their various mills. Their weaving-hall was also in the immediate neighbourhood known as the Blackfriars.

¹ The restoration and rebuilding was by Mr. Butterfield, the architect.

In the evening the Society dined at the Fountain Hotel, entertaining the Mayor, Canon Fremantle, and other guests.

On Sunday the 10th the Society attended morning service in the Cathedral, the sermon being preached by Canon Fremantle, and were afterwards most kindly conducted by the Bishop of Dover and Mrs. Parry through their house and grounds, from which were obtained grand views of the Cathedral, 'the matchless fabric of Christendom,' as it has been called, and also of portions of the monastic buildings. A similar kindness was extended by the Dean, who opened the deanery grounds also to the Society.

In the afternoon the Society attended the special Anniversary service in the Cathedral crypt, celebrating the foundation there of the French Church. The Church of England evening service was read in French by the pastor, the Rev. J. A. Martin, B.D., the preacher being the Rev. Brooke Lambert, Vicar of Greenwich, who took as his text St. Matthew x. 34. A pleasant visit was afterwards paid to Canon Fremantle's grounds and St. Martin's Church.

Some of the Fellows now returned to town. Those who remained left on Monday morning by the 10.15 train for Sandwich, where they arrived at 10.55.

Their first visit was to the Chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital—a fine example of early English architecture now undergoing restoration. Its chief interest to the members of this Society lies in the fact that the northern half of the Chapel was at one time used by the Dutch of Sandwich for the purposes of Divine service. The following Paper giving an interesting sketch of the history of the Hospital from its foundation to the present time, and describing the chief features of the proposed restoration of the Chapel, was read by Mr. R. J. Emmerson.

The Hospital of St. Bartholomew belonging to Sandwich is ~~quite~~ just without the town on the west side of the public road leading from Sandwich to Dover. It was originally surrounded by wall or fence in which on the side next the road was a large entrance gate, but no vestige of it now remains. The wall or fence enclosed the farmhouse and outbuildings, a chapel, and sixteen

small houses with gardens for the Brothers and Sisters, who are widows and decayed tradesmen.

It appears by a bull of Pope Innocent IV. to have been founded by Sir Henry de Sandwich about the year 1244 in honour of St. Bartholomew for the support of the weak and infirm; but it is clear from the evidence of the Hospital that the institution commenced some years before.

Some manuscripts give the merit of the first foundation to Thomas Cranthorn and Maud his wife of the family of De Sandwich in 1190.

The first grant to the Hospital appears to have been made by William Bucharde, and it is witnessed by Sir Henry de Sandwich who was living about 1280. The benefaction was of five marks to the Brothers and Sisters for the maintenance of a Chaplain.

Another grant of money to the Brothers and Sisters is dated 1227, from which it seems that the establishment for fixed inhabitants was made at least in the thirteenth century; but it is believed that it was begun at a much earlier period, and designed originally for the accommodation of pilgrims and travellers, where they might be furnished with lodgings and provisions on their journey.

In the Customal of Sandwich there is mention of three priests employed by the Brothers and Sisters to officiate in the Chapel for the souls of certain benefactors. Such as were most liberal in the donations to hospitals and other religious foundations acquired the names of the first, second, and third founder. And thus several of the family of De Sandwich were successively entitled the founders of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, till Sir Nicholas de Sandwich in 1379 assigned the patronage of it to the Mayor and Barons of Sandwich, who from that time became the Governors.

Before the Reformation, on the Feast of St. Bartholomew, the Mayor and Commonalty visited the Hospital in solemn procession, the laity of Sandwich leading the way—some with instruments of music, others followed bearing wax lights provided for the occasion by the Corporation, after which the clergy in their proper habit chanting hymns and carrying tapers.

It does not appear that the Hospital was actually incorporated by royal patent till the 27th Henry VIII., who confirmed the dispensation which Archbishop Cranmer made to it in 1534, which authorised the Master, Brothers, and Sisters to hold the Hospital with all their possessions in as ample a manner as their predecessors had done, reserving to the Mayor of Sandwich all right and interest in the premises.

The total number of Brothers and Sisters seems to have been always sixteen.

From the Custumal it appears that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, though the Brothers and Sisters had separate rooms or chambers, they had not their distinct houses as now. The whole was one connected building, with a public hall, bakehouse, and kitchen.

The Hospital now consists of sixteen tenements, which contain sixteen aged men and women, each of whom receives an annual pension of 40*l.* per annum.

The Hospital is under the government of the charitable trustees of the borough of Sandwich, who regulate the affairs and appoint the inmates as vacancies occur from residents in the town who have been reduced from better circumstances.

The income of the Hospital is about 900*l.* per annum, derived from a farm and lands consisting of about 340 acres.

These seem to have been the benefactions of private persons, but the Hospital moreover experienced the munificence of royalty in a grant from King Edward III. of the profits of the ferry between Sandwich and Stonar in 1349, an exemplification of which was obtained by the Hospital from Henry VIII. in 1525. This passage over the haven in a ferry-boat being at all times inconvenient, an Act of Parliament was obtained in 1755 for building a bridge between Sandwich and Stonar, in which a clause secured to the Hospital from the revenue of the bridge the annual sum of 62*l.* It was afterwards commuted for a sum of money and laid out in the purchase of land.

The Chapel.

The Chapel, as may be perceived, is now undergoing restoration, and may be said to be of great interest and architectural value, dating back as it does to the thirteenth century, and is really a double work of that period, the southern half with the remarkable doorways in the south and west front, forming the original nave and chancel, being of that or even in part of an earlier date; while the northern half, with the beautiful range of windows in the north wall, and the fine eastern lancets are undoubtedly the best style of that century added to the original chapel.

This arrangement of two chapels, so to call them, placed side by side or separated by an arcade, renders the building an unusually fine and interesting specimen of the best period of Early English work.

There is an altar monument covered with a slab of Sussex marble, on which is carved the figure of a man completely cased in coat of mail, with a shield over his body, and a sword lying along left thigh.

PROCEEDINGS OF

...intendedly meant for Sir Henry de Sandwich, and the
...was a cenotaph designed to commemorate him as the
...an examination of the supposed tomb some years ago
...under coffin nor any other mark of sepulture found.

...columns on the side of the windows on the north
...the sides of the eastern lancets are of Purbeck marble.
...window (before a recess) in the north wall has
...opened out and restored. It has been called the Lepers
...as they were always in the chancel and were not
...crossed by shutters, this window cannot have belonged to

...lancets were filled with stained glass representin
...in 1872, by Richard Harrisson, Esquire (the then
...the Trustees), and the work executed by Mr. Bell.

...window in the north wall on the west side of the two-light
...opened out) is filled with stained glass representin
...the patroness of music, and was put in to the memor
...of Walmer (who for some years assisted in the se
...organ), in 1874, by her brother-in-law, the Rev. Dr. J
...of St. George's, Deal, the esteemed Chaplain to the
...who officiates once a fortnight, commencing the fir
...the month, and also on St. Bartholomew's Day.

...right-hand lancet in the north wall is filled with stain
...representing the aged Simeon receiving the infant Jesus
...and was put in by S. H. Payne, Esquire, in memory

...left-hand lancet is filled with stained glass representi
...and was put in by the Brethren of the Sandwi
...Freemasons in 1875.

...work in the last-named window and lancets was executed
...& Brothers.

...a niche on the outside wall between the two lanc
...to have contained a figure.

...an anonymous donor presented 200l. to the then Ch
...Hospital for the east window in the main body of
...representing the Ascension, which was executed by Mes
...Birmingham.

...year Sir Gilbert Scott visited the Chapel v
...archaeological associations, and subsequently plans
...were furnished by him at an estimated out

...having no internal resources for the purpos
...approval was made, not only to the residents in

immediate neighbourhood, but to all lovers of art and archæology who might be willing to contribute to the preservation of so fine a specimen of mediæval workmanship; in this the Rev. Thomas Wood of Northbourne Rectory (one of the Trustees) took an especial interest; the sum of 600*l.* or more was raised, and the restoration of a portion of the South Chapel was effected, viz. the eastern part of the roof and nave, the chancel and chancel arch.

Again in 1880 an anonymous donor (believed to be the one before mentioned) sent 100*l.* to the Chapel restoration fund; and further contributions having been obtained, the sum of 765*l.* was in 1883 expended in further restoration of the South Chapel, viz. the western part of the roof and the opening out the entire nave (part of which was previously shut off by a partition including the doorway on the west front) and the arch on the north side of the nave.

It was intended at the time to complete the restoration of the South Chapel and its fittings, but it was postponed in consequence of its being unexpectedly found, in the prosecution of the before-mentioned work, that the roof of the North Chapel was decayed in places, and that the greater part of the north wall and portions of the gable walls needed repair, the cost of which was not provided for.

It is stated in a manuscript, and confirmed by the Rev. William Temple, of Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury, now in his ninety-first year, that in the North Chapel, in which the Dutch congregation used to have Divine service performed, there had been a ceiling of painted boards and ornamented with fresco painting representing the Evangelists with emblems and angels. Some portions of the boards had fallen away and had been covered over with white plaster. The painting was slightly discernible here and there on the ceiling lately taken down for the purpose of the restoration.

Mr. Thomas Dorman (the present Chairman of the Trustees) has lately munificently offered to restore the North Chapel at his own expense, and the Restoration Committee have taken upon themselves the responsibility of providing funds for the restoration of the South Chapel.

A complete restoration of the Chapel is now being effected in strict accordance with the plans of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, every ancient feature being retained, and it is hoped the entire work will be finished by the 24th August, St. Bartholomew's Day. (Estimated cost, 900*l.*)

In the North Chapel.

The north wall has been removed and rebuilt, and the windows opened out, which are to be glazed (until the stained glass is determined

upon) with transparent glass to match that of the other windows, and the gable walls and copings repaired with new crosses. The wooden floor has been removed to receive concrete, and will be repaved with red tiles.

In the South Chapel.

There are to be new altar rails, altar table, sedilia, credence, lectern and pulpit, and the steps at the altar-rail and to the dais within are to be of polished black and white Devonshire marble; also short return steps of marble next the tomb on the north side of the chancel.

An ancient screen which in modern times had been placed across the nave a short distance west of the chancel, is to be erected in the chancel arch as a chancel screen. There will be a raised step of Portland stone under the chancel arch from the nave into the chancel, the floor of which is to be raised from the chancel screen up to the altar kneeling-step and paved with ornamental tiles. There will also be a screen on the north side of the chancel under the centre arch, with oak stalls. There will also be oak benches and seats in the nave.

In repairing the nave in 1883 a granite tomb or slab in good preservation was found under the floor of the Chapel in the centre about three feet from the chancel arch on the west side with a quantity of copper coins beside it.

Further examination was made in depth and on each side, but no coffin or any other mark of burial could be found. The slab is now lying on the western side of the nave, together with another slab which was afterwards found in another part of the nave.

The doorway leading from the South Chapel into the North Chapel with the recess or window over, and the two windows on the eastern part of the south wall of the nave, were discovered and opened during the progress of the first restoration.

The west window in the main body of the Chapel has lately been filled with stained glass representing St. Bartholomew, the patron saint of the Hospital, in memory of Mr. Richard Harrisson (late Chairman) and Mr. Thomas Harrisson, by their nephews and nieces.

At the conclusion of the Paper an old communion cup belonging to the Chapel was exhibited, and a visit was paid to one of the almshouses.

A vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Emmerson, the Fellows went on to the Town Hall, where they were received in the Court Room by the Mayor, Mr. H. S. Watts.

After a few cordial words of welcome from his worship, Mr. Thomas Dorman read a Paper upon the foreign refugee settlement in the town, compiled from the Corporation records, the most ancient of which were exhibited upon the table.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Browning, Major Lambert, and others took part, and Mr. Dorman replied to questions prompted by the points raised in his most interesting Paper.

In compliance with a wish expressed by several of the Fellows present, Mr. Dorman has since included in his Paper most of the valuable lists and documents relating to the refugees which are contained in the comparatively scarce history of Sandwich by Boys.

It will be seen by the Paper, which is printed in the Appendix, that the foreign settlers in Sandwich were all Dutch and Walloons of the earlier immigration, and that, strange to say, the French Huguenots never took up their permanent abode there. This is partly explained by the Order of the Privy Council of 1635, quoted by Mr. Dorman, from which it appears that the later refugees, while permitted to land, were not allowed to reside in the town, but were obliged to repair at once to some more inland place.

A vote of thanks was then accorded to Mr. Dorman, and the meeting adjourned to an upper room, where the Corporation plate was shown to the visitors. It consisted of three maces, none of which, however, were of any great antiquity, and an old communion cup which had belonged to one of the churches of the town. Perhaps more interesting than the plate were a curious hog-mace, formerly carried by an officer appointed to see that no damage was done by the pigs feeding upon the town walls; and a horn by the sound of which the town councillors used to be summoned to their duties. Two other ancient manuscripts were exhibited here, after which the visitors entered an adjoining room, where they were shown some early historical pictures and carved wood-work.

On leaving the Town Hall, the party, accompanied by the Mayor, Mr. Dorman, the Town Clerk, and other guests, went to the Bell Hotel for luncheon.

This being over, the visitors walked by way of the quay to St. Clement's Church, examining on the road one of the ancient town gates, and the curious drawbridge over the river. They were received on their arrival at the church by the Vicar, the Rev. A. M. Chichester, who, having welcomed them, read the following address :

' I assume from its name that this Society is primarily interested in the French refugees who fled from France at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—from 1685 to the end of the century.

' I have referred to our church registers to see if I could find any new names appearing at that time in this parish, but I have failed to trace any. I question whether the Huguenot refugees came to this town to settle at all. The Dutch and Walloon refugees of the century before had probably occupied all the available ground.

' The only thing bearing directly on the Huguenot immigration which I have found is in the Churchwardens' Account for the year 1688. It is headed, " Money collected for the relief of the French Protestants, in the Parish of St. Clement, in Sandwich, May 7, 1688." I understand this to mean that the money was collected in this parish, not that the French were residents in it. The amount of this collection, to which forty parishioners contributed, was 1*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* The name of each contributor, even of a few pence, is given, and at the head of the list stands the name of one of my worthy predecessors in this office, Mr. Alexander Mills, vicar of this parish.

' It is pleasant to read the record of this act of Christian charity on behalf of the distressed French, for probably few English towns had suffered more pecuniary loss and damage at the hands of that nation in former centuries than Sandwich. The war-ships provided by Sandwich as one of our principal Cinque Ports are said to have harassed the French so much that they not unnaturally made this town a special and constant object of reprisals.'

The Vicar then alluded to various attacks on Sandwich by the French, notably that in 1456, when they set St. Mary's Church on fire.

Continuing his remarks, he said :

' It is pleasant to turn from such troubled and sanguinary scenes to the helping hand held out to the French exiles escaping from persecution in their own land some two centuries later.

' Certainly the amount of the collection made here may not seem very large, but at any rate it formed part of the very large sum of 40,000*l.* which was raised in England at a time of much national

confusion for the help of the 50,000 Huguenot exiles who are said to have found a refuge in this country.

'The only other matter besides this entry in the Churchwardens' Accounts which has any special connection with the period in question is the carving of the royal arms, which has been placed for your inspection, and which was formerly over the Mayor's seat. It bears underneath, the royal motto used only by William, Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., viz.: "*Je me tiendrai*"—I will maintain, and was doubtless first put up in this church about the period of the Huguenot exile.

'As regards the Dutch and Walloon refugees of the century before, you have no doubt already heard all that is interesting from Mr. Dorman at the Town Hall. They were allowed, I believe, to make use of this church (and at another time of St. Peter's Church) for service. Here the Dutch contributed one-third of the annual amount of the church expenses, according to an agreement made in 1617, which is given in full on p. 846 of Boys's "*History of Sandwich*." In the Churchwardens' Account Book to which I have referred, you may read (on the next leaf to that where the collection for the French is recorded) one of these annual payments: "Rec^d: of John Allaby, one of the Elders of the Dutch congregation, &c. 6*l*."

'Dutch names, generally distinguished by the explanation "*a Dutch man*" or "*a Dutch woman*" (or sometimes "*a Pfrow*"), are plentiful in the registers of the period, but French or Huguenot names you will, I think, look for in vain.'

The Vicar then called attention to the fact that a Register of Christenings belonging to the Presbyterians of Sandwich, beginning in 1690, was at Somerset House, which might contain foreign Nonconformist entries. He next pointed out the chief architectural features of the church, after which the visitors went to the vestry, where the parish books were laid open for their inspection, and a very cursory examination was sufficient to show the almost complete absence of the Huguenot element from the foreign colony in the parish.

St. Peter's Church, which was also used by the refugees, was next visited under the guidance of the rector, the Rev. H. Gilder, who very kindly pointed out everything of interest.

Some of the Fellows now returned direct to town, while others broke the journey at Canterbury to dine at the Fountain Hotel before going home.

Thus concluded the Society's first 'Summer Conference,' which may fairly be called a brilliant success. Thanks to the care and foresight of the Committee entrusted with the general arrangement and conduct of the proceedings, to the hearty co-operation afforded by the Fellows and their friends attending the Conference, and last, but not least, to the most kind way in which the Society was welcomed by all the local authorities and antiquaries at both Canterbury and Sandwich, and to the ready help and valuable information given by them, the three days passed most pleasantly and profitably, unmarred by any mishap.

The success of this first Conference gives good reason to hope that next year a similar excursion may be feasible to some other place connected with the history of the Refugees. There are several such central points of attraction which would yield ample and interesting matter to the investigations of the Society, and even those which happen to lie at a somewhat greater distance from London than the scene of this year's gathering may still be considered as within fairly easy reach of a large proportion of the Society's members.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Huguenot Society of London.

NOVEMBER 9, 1887, to MARCH 14, 1888.



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1888.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

(INAUGURATED APRIL 15, 1885).

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THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.

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MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDMUND F. DUCANE, R.E., K.C.E.

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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

SESSION 1887-8.

**FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD ORDINARY
MEETINGS.**

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1887.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1888.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1888.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1887-8.

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1887.

Sir HENRY W. PEEK, Bart., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held on June 8 were read and confirmed.

The following twenty-two new candidates were elected Fellows of the Society :—

The Rev. Henry J. Browne, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Barnet.

His Honour Judge Caillard, Wingfield House, Trowbridge.

Daniel Chamier, Esq., Queda, Bickley.

George T. Clark, Esq., F.S.A., Talygarn, Llantrissant.

Cecil Clarke, Esq., 5 Westbourne Terrace Road, W.

Lionel Cust, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum, and 13 Eccleston Square, S.W.

Major Henry de Berniere, 1st Worcester Regiment, Junior United Service Club, S.W.

Baron de Ferrières, Bays Hill House, Cheltenham.

Robert Walker Dixon, Esq., Wickham House, East Park, Northampton.

Henry Sydney Grazebrook, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., Grove Park, Chiswick.

2. Pearson Barry Hayward, Powderham Crescent, Exeter.

Charles Hazard, Esq., Bedford Villa, Teddington.

George Lewis Hazard, Esq., 4 Mayfield Road, Merton, S.W.
Edward Charles Malan, Esq., School House, Sherborne,
Dorset.

George W. Marshall, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., Rouge Croix;
College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

David Martineau, Esq., South Road, Clapham Park, S.W.

Arthur Perigal, Esq., M.D., New Barnet.

Henry Perigal, Esq., 9 South Crescent, Bedford Square,
W.C.

Alfred L. Sacré, Esq., 5 South Villas, Camden Square, N.W.

The Lady Charlotte Schreiber, 11 Portland Place, W.

J. E. Ernest S. Sharp, Esq., The Ferns, Bushey Heath, Watford.

William Pugin Thornton, Esq., St. George's Place, Canterbury.

M. Jules Cordonnier, of Ypres, and M. Émile Lesens, of Rouen,
were elected Honorary and Corresponding Fellows of the
Society.

The CHAIRMAN referred to the very great loss sustained by
the Society in the unexpected death in August of Mr. Chris-
toffel Coetzee de Villiers of Cape Town, and spoke of the un-
varying interest he had always manifested in its work and
welfare, and of the energy with which he had endeavoured to
make it known to other descendants of the Huguenots in
South Africa.

The HON. SECRETARY then read a Paper by the Rev. H. G.
B. Le Moine on 'Huguenots in the Isle of Axholme' (*see Ap-
pendix*, p. 265). It was illustrated by several large photo-
graphs, which the writer had kindly had taken for the purpose,
and which he presented to the Society. A silver flagon,
formerly belonging to the French Church at Sandtoft, was
exhibited, together with maps of the locality. During the
discussion which followed a considerable amount of informa-
tion on the subject was given by Mr. Moens and Mr. Overend,
which will be found appended to the Paper.

Lieut.-General LAYARD read a Paper on 'Sir Theodore de
Mayerne' (*see Appendix*, p. 332), and the proceedings ter-
minated.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1887-8.

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1888.

Mr. ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on November 9 were read and confirmed.

The following fifteen new candidates were elected Fellows of the Society :—

William Amhurst Tyssen Amherst, Esq., F.S.A., M.P., 88 Brook Street, W., and Diddington Hall, Brandon, Norfolk.

Mrs. Anderson, Much Wenlock, Shropshire.

Charles H. Athill, Esq., Bluemantle ; College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

William Job Collins, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S., 1 Albert Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.

John William de Grave, Esq., Fairfield House, Leatherhead.

Albert de Rutzen, Esq., 90 St. George's Square, Pimlico, S.W.

Frederick Augustus Ducroz, Esq., 52 Lombard Street, E.C., and Courtlands, East Grinstead.

Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., V.P.S.A., British Museum, W.C.

Bennett Alfred Groves, Esq., 144 Marylebone Road, N.W.

John Lane, Esq., 37 Southwick Street, Hyde Park, W., and Kingswood Park, Bristol.

Baron August von Lecoq, Darmstadt.

Sydney Herbert Hiram Lissant, Esq., Old Court House Street, Calcutta.

Mrs. Morrison, Hampworth Lodge, Downton, Salisbury.

Frank Tayler, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Endsleigh, Chepstow Road, Croydon.

V. H. Wyatt Wingrave, Esq., M.R.C.S., 8 Vernon Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

The CHAIRMAN alluded to a misconception which appeared to have arisen in some quarters as to the Society being of a religious or political nature. He stated that this was a totally erroneous idea, the Society having been founded simply and solely for purposes of historical and antiquarian research. It was not what is commonly called a religious society, nor was it in any way whatever a political one.

The Chairman also suggested the publication in the *Proceedings* of a 'Huguenot Calendar,' giving, for every day in the year, if possible, the date of some interesting event in Huguenot history, with brief references in the case of the more important to the books specially bearing upon them. He stated that he had already himself collected many items of the kind, and invited similar information from other Fellows of the Society.

A Paper was read by Mr. Page on 'Huguenots in Portugal' (Appendix, p. 340), and one by Mr. de Labilliere entitled 'History of a Cevenol Family' (Appendix, p. 352), and the proceedings terminated.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1887-8

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1888.

Sir HENRY W. PEEK, Bart., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on January 1 were read and confirmed.

The following five new candidates were elected Fellows the Society :—

William Blades, Esq., 28 Abchurch Lane, E.C.

James Roberts Brown, Esq., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.N.A. Copenhagen, 14 Hilldrop Road, Camden Road, N.

Emile Joseph Foucar, Esq., Moulmein, Burmah.

Ferdinand Louis Foucar, Esq., Consul of the German Empire for the Province of Tenasserim, Moulmein, Burmah.

Harley Mair Grellier, Esq., F.S.I., Downs Side, Epsom.

Dr. Richard Béringuier, of Berlin, was elected an Honorary and Corresponding Fellow of the Society.

The CHAIRMAN alluded to the present homeless condition of the congregation of the French Church, late of St. Martin-le-Grand, their church having been recently demolished on account of the site being required by the Post Office. It was resolved that the Society should give any assistance, other than pecuniary, that might seem advisable towards enabling the French congregation to obtain another suitable building within the City boundaries.

A Paper was read by Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., on 'Foreign Refugees at Rye' (*see* Appendix, p. 406) and another by Mr. W. Minet, F.S.A., entitled 'Isaac Minet's Narrative' (*see* Appendix, p. 428), and the proceedings terminated.

The following works have been added to the Library since the publication of the last number of the *Proceedings* :—

'Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes'; Bulletin, tome ii. *La Haye*, 1885-7. 8vo.

— Bulletin, tome iii. Livraisons 1, 2. *La Haye*, 1887-8. 8vo. Presented by the *Commission*.

D'Aubigné, Agrippa. 'Histoire Universelle.' Édition publiée pour la Société de l'Histoire de France par le Baron Alphonse de Ruble, tome i. *Paris*, 1886. 8vo. Presented by the Baron de Ruble.

Davila, E.C. 'History of the Civil Wars in France.' *London*, 1678. 4to. Presented by R. St. A. Roumieu, Treasurer.

Douen, O. 'Essai Historique sur les Églises Réformées du Département de l'Aisne.' *Paris*, 1860. 8vo. Presented by C. F. Rousselet.

* *Französische Colonie*, Die. Zeitschrift für Vergangenheit

und Gegenwart der französisch-reformirten Gemeinden Deutschlands.' *Berlin*, 1887. 4to. Presented by the Editor, Dr. Richard Béringuier.

Friedrichsdorf. 'Chronique de la Colonie Réformée Française de Friedrichsdorf.' *Hombourg-ès-Monts*, 1887. 8vo. Presented by Sir Henry W. Peek, Bart., Vice-President.

Green, Emanuel. 'On Some Flemish Weavers settled at Glastonbury, A.D. 1551.' *Taunton*, 1881. 8vo. (Reprinted from vol. xxvi. of the *Somerset Archæological Society's Proceedings*.) Presented by the Author.

Hozier, L. P. d'. 'La Maison d'Hozier.' Folio. Presented by Major C. E. Burgess.

Leibbrandt, Rev. H. C. V. 'Rambles through the Archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700.' First Series. *Cape Town*, 1887. 8vo. Presented by the Author.

Lewis, Bunnell. 'The Antiquities of Saintes.' 8vo. (Reprinted from the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv.) Presented by the Author.

Perigal, Frederick. 'Some Account of the Perigal Family.' *London*, 1887. 8vo. *Privately printed*. Presented by the Author.

'Registers of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate.' Parts I.-VI. *Alloa*, 1886-8. 8vo. Presented by the Editor, Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen.

Roget, F. F. 'A Criticism of Current Ideas on Calvin.' *Edinburgh*, 1885. 8vo. Presented by the Author.

'Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.' Bulletin, tome xxxvii. *Paris*, 1887. 8vo.

— Bulletin, tome xxxviii. Nos. 1-3. *Paris*, 1888. 8vo. Presented by the Société.

'Société d'Histoire Vaudoise.' Bulletin, Nos. 1-3. *Pigneron et Torre Pellice*, 1884-7. 8vo. Presented by the Société.

'Société Jersiaise.' Bulletin Annuel, 1876-87. *Jersey*, 4to.

— Manifeste des États de l'Île de Jersey du 5-15 Mars, 1645-6. *Jersey*, 1886. Folio.

— Publications, 1-3 et 5-8. *Jersey*, 1876-83. 4to. Presented by the Société.

Theal, G. McCall. 'History of South Africa, 1486-1691.' London, 1888. 8vo. Presented by the Publishers, Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co.

'Vidar; Tidsskrift for Videnskab, Literatur og Politik.' 8de og 9de Hefte. Christiania, 1887. 8vo. Presented by Charles Delgobe.

Zwergius, Dettlev Gotthard. 'Siellandske Clerisie,' a MS. translation in French of portions of. Presented by the Translator, Charles Delgobe.

The following donations have also been received:—

Eight photographs, presented by the Rev. H. G. B. Le Moine to illustrate his Paper on the Isle of Axholme.

Portrait of John Dollond, engraved from the original picture at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, presented by Miss Florence Layard.

An etching of the Huguenot Burying-ground, Mount Nod, Wandsworth, presented by the artist, Mr. C. R. B. Barrett.

Photographs of members of the Costebadie family, presented by Mrs. Bowdoin.

Copies of the Society's Publications, as under, may be obtained on application to the Hon. Secretary. They are sold to Fellows of the Society only, and other persons desiring copies must obtain them through a Fellow.

		£	s.	d.
Proceedings.	Vol. I., No. 1	0	5	0
"	" " 2 (<i>out of print</i>).			
"	" " 3	0	5	0
"	" " 4	0	5	0
"	Vol. II., " 1	0	5	0
"	" " 2	0	5	0
¹ Les Églises Françaises de Londres.	Par M. le Baron			
	F. de Schickler	0	1	0
² A Huguenot Relic.	By Lieut.-General Layard	0	0	6
³ Refugee Inscriptions in the Cathedral and Churches	of Canterbury. By S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A.	0	0	6

¹ Reprinted from *Proceedings*, Vol. I. No. 2.

	£	s.	d.
¹ The Bearing of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes upon the English Revolution of 1688. By the Hon. and Rev. Canon Fremantle	0	0	6
¹ Geneva, the Protestant City of Refuge. By William Westall	0	0	6
Second Annual Report of the Council, June 1886 . .	0	0	3
² The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, illustrated from State Papers in the Archives of Venice. By Sir Henry A. Layard, G.C.B., President	0	2	6
³ The Walloon Church of Norwich: its Registers and History. Edited by W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A. Part I.	1	1	0

¹ Reprinted from *Proceedings*, Vol. I. No. 2.

² Reprinted from *Proceedings*, Vol. II. Nos. 1 and 2.

³ This forms the First Part of the First Volume of the Society's Series of Foreign Church Registers.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Huguenot Society of London.

MAY 9 to JULY 25, 1888.



Printed by
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1889.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

(INAUGURATED APRIL 15, 1885.)

President.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR HENRY WILLIAM PEEK, BART.

ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDMUND F. DE CANE, R.E., K.C.B.

W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A.

Council.

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RICHARD DE CANE.

H. MAEETT GODFRAY, B.A.

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WILLIAM JOHN HARDY, F.S.A.

ROBERT HOVENDEN, F.S.A.

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S. WAYLAND KERSHAW, F.S.A.

CHARLES A. J. MASON.

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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

Session 1887-8.

FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9, 1888.

FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13, 1888.

SUMMER CONFERENCE.

TUESDAY & WEDNESDAY, JULY 24 & 25, 1888.

FOURTH ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1887-8

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9, 1888.

The Right Hon. Sir HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., President,
in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on March 14
were read and confirmed.

The following ten new candidates were elected Fellows
of the Society :—

The Rev. Canon Cazenove, Vicar of St. Mark's, Reigate.

Frederick A. Crisp, Esq., Inglewood House, Grove Park,
Denmark Hill, S.E.

Knobel du Gué, Esq., Venice, Italy.

Samuel Egar, Esq., Wryde House, Thorney, Peterborough.

Francis H. Hendré, Esq., 8 Gauden Road, Clapham, S.W.

William Lintott Lord, Esq., Duntroon, Edge Hill, Wimble-
don.

Mrs. Horace Meyer, 1 Rodney Place, Clifton, Bristol.

Sir John Everett Millais, Bart., R.A., 2 Palace Gate, Ken-
sington, W.

Cuthbert Edgar Peek, Esq., J.P., Wimbledon House, Surrey.

Raymond Louis Roumieu, Esq., Norton Chambers, Great Or-
mond Street, W.C.

Mr. Archer and Mr. Norris were elected Auditors.

It was resolved in accordance with a recommendation of the Council that the Summer Conference should be held at Norwich on July 24 and 25, and Messrs. A. G. Browning, R. S. Faber, R. Hovenden, S. W. Kershaw, and W. J. C. Moens were appointed as a committee to make the necessary arrangements.

The PRESIDENT invited Sir John Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice and President of the Legislative Council of the Cape of Good Hope, and Fellow of the Society, to address the meeting. Sir John replied:—

Mr. President, I did not expect to be called upon to address this meeting this evening, and I regret that the Cape Colony is not better represented on the occasion. My namesake Mr. Christoffel de Villiers would have been able to do much more justice to the subject than I possibly can. His mind was full of the subject by day and night. He has left some valuable records of his researches in regard to the Huguenot families at the Cape of Good Hope. It is a very wide subject indeed, and it would take too much time to enter fully into it. I may say generally that the idea of English people with regard to the inhabitants of the Cape is that they are disloyal Dutchmen. Of the so-called Dutchmen at the Cape the majority are of French descent. The Huguenots who emigrated from France were sent out by the Dutch Government in 1688, so that this year is the bi-centenary of the introduction of the French Huguenots into the Cape of Good Hope. About eight ship-loads were sent, and the names of every one are given in records still existing.

On the one hand, the Dutch Government was very friendly towards the Huguenots in sending them out to the Cape; on the other hand, they were determined upon making thorough Dutchmen of them, and the first step was to prohibit the use of the French language in the churches, and also to prevent the teaching of French to the children of the Huguenots. In a very few years the French language completely died out. But there was another cause more potent still, and it was that there were no French ladies for the Huguenots to marry, and they were compelled to marry Dutch ladies, and the ladies,

being great patriots, compelled them to speak Dutch instead of French. If anyone will take the trouble to go through the list of members of Parliament at the Cape, English as well as Dutch, he will find one-half of them are French names, and if he will consult the names of members who are Dutch, he will find that one-half of them are corrupted from French names. They have spread through the whole of South Africa, and the greatest interest is being taken in South Africa in the publications of the Huguenot Society here. It has been proposed to start a local Huguenot Society, and I have objected to it because I think we ought rather to join and support the Home Society. It may form a kind of connecting link between the two countries. It has been considered hitherto that we are perfect aliens. People say we are not of the great Anglo-Saxon race, and they cannot really take much interest in us, and we cannot take a very great interest in them. The fact that so many of us are of Huguenot descent, and that so large a number of people in this country are of the same, ought to form a kind of connecting link between the mother country and the colony.

I should have liked, if I had had time, to prepare a paper to read to you on this subject, but I have only been two weeks in England, and have to leave in a few days. I can, therefore, only thank you for your kind welcome and assure you that I will do my best to promote the Society's interests in South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: We are very much indebted to Sir John de Villiers for his remarks, and perhaps when he goes back to the Cape, where he has more leisure—if he ever has any leisure—he will write a paper for us. It would be very interesting to publish the names of the Huguenots sent to the Cape in 1688, if he will kindly send copies of them. I most cordially concur in the remarks which Sir John has made with respect to the union of the Huguenots of the Cape with ourselves. It might have a very good effect by creating a friendly feeling between us and those of the same descent in South Africa.

A paper was read by Mr. W. M. Beaufort entitled 'The Last of the Huguenot Churches' (*see* Appendix, p. 491), and the proceedings terminated.

FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

HELD AT

THE CRITERION, PICCADILLY, W.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13, 1888.

The Right Hon. Sir HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., President,
in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on May 9 were read and confirmed.

The following eight new candidates were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, Bart., Ketteringham Park,
Wymondham, Norfolk.

Joshua Whitehead Butterworth, Esq., F.S.A., 45 Russell Road,
Kensington, W.

Edward Alexander Cazalet, Esq., Villa Boston, Lausanne,
Switzerland.

J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., Carrow House, Norwich.

Henry M. Lester, Esq., Member of the Huguenot Society of
America, New Rochelle, N.Y.

H. Hamilton Palairret, Esq., Chatley House, Norton St. Philip,
Bath.

William Richard Portal, Esq., 1 Idol Lane, E.C.

J. M. W. Schwartz, Dr. Jur., 23 Maliesingel, Utrecht,
Netherlands.

The PRESIDENT then called upon the Honorary Secretary to read the Annual Report of the Council, as follows :—

*Report of the Council to the Fourth Annual General Meeting,
Wednesday, June 13, 1888.*

It is the custom of the Council in presenting their Annual Report to preface it by mention of those Fellows who have

passed away from the Society during the by-gone year. Last June eight such losses had to be recorded; this evening there are happily only two, but of these one is, and long will be, very greatly felt and lamented. Few, if indeed any, Fellows of the Society now resident in England had the privilege of being personally acquainted with Christoffel Coetsee de Villiers, but those Members of Council, and others, who from time to time corresponded with him, and so became in some slight measure aware of his kindness of heart, his geniality of manner, and his enthusiastic interest in everything connected with the Society, can realise to the full what a good friend and valued fellow-labourer has been taken from them.

The other Fellow lost to the Society by death is Edwin Walker Lermite, who, though prevented by circumstances from attending the Meetings here, always took a warm interest in the Society's proceedings, and will be deeply regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, whether personally or only by letter.

The Council feel much regret in having also to report the loss of three Fellows by resignation and default, although at the same time it is satisfactory to remember that this number compares very favourably with the eleven similar losses in the previous year.

At the Annual Meeting in 1886 the Society numbered 185 Fellows; at last year's Meeting 222; whilst this evening the Council have the great pleasure of announcing that there are now on the list 279 Fellows and 19 Honorary Fellows, making together a total of 298.

Of those who have joined the Society during the past year the majority are naturally more or less closely connected with various Huguenot families, but the Council notice with satisfaction that many others have joined out of interest in and sympathy with the history of the Refugees, and for the sake of helping in the genealogical and other researches in which the Society is engaged and of obtaining its publications. The Council also wish to draw the attention of Fellows to the world-wide field occupied by the Society, which now has representatives in Europe: in France, Belgium, the Netherlands,

Norway, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; in Asia: in India and Burmah; in Africa: at the Cape of Good Hope and Madeira; in America: in the United States; and lastly in New Zealand.

Turning to the financial position of the Society, the Council gladly avail themselves of this opportunity to express their sense of the Treasurer's able management of the funds during the past year; also of the time and care so kindly given to the examination and verifying of the accounts by the Auditors, Mr. Archer and Mr. Norris, this being the fourth time they have acted in that capacity. The result is that the Treasurer's abstract annexed to this report shows a total income for the year ending December 31 last of 462*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.*, and a total expenditure of 416*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.*, leaving a balance of 46*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* at that date. The actual balance this evening is 257*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*, in addition to the invested capital of 144*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*

Shortly after the Annual Meeting last year the first part of the 'Registers and History of the Walloon Church of Norwich' was issued, and the editor, Mr. Moens, now announces the practical completion of the second part. This will be the final completion of the whole work, with the exception of the index, which has yet to be set in type, and is a matter requiring great accuracy, and consequently cannot be printed hurriedly. This second part (which will be distributed at the earliest date possible) contains a most exhaustive history of the Walloon Church of Norwich and of the foreign settlers in that city, together with an additional appendix and facsimile of a rare map of old Norwich. A special edition, limited to 150 copies, of this history will be printed in a separate form apart from the ordinary edition accompanying the Register portion. The Hon. Secretary will receive the names of those Fellows who wish to subscribe for these special copies. The Council would once more thank Mr. Moens for the mass of interesting information he has so ably collected at the expense of much valuable time and constant labour during the past year.

It was stated in the last Annual Report that the Norwich

Register would be succeeded by those of Canterbury, and the Council are happy to announce that the whole of the Canterbury Registers have been since transcribed, and are now in the hands of Mr. Hovenden, the editor. As, however, they are very bulky, and will occupy a considerable time in being finally arranged, the Council propose to issue in the meanwhile the Register of the Southampton Church, which is far smaller and has been already prepared for the press under the editorship of Mr. H. M. Godfray.

The Society's thanks are again due to Miss Florence Layard for her kind presentation of a transcript of the foreign names in the Registers of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Botolph, in the City of London, and for many other marks of her interest in the Society's work and welfare.

Under Bye-law VI. four Members of Council retire by virtue of seniority, and four new Members are to be elected at this Meeting. The four retiring Members this evening have held office from the very foundation of the Society, and from that time to the present occasion have attended, with scarcely a single exception, every Meeting of Council and every Meeting of the Society, two of them having also served on the Register Committee. In parting, therefore, from these their oldest colleagues the Council feel it would be ungrateful in the extreme if they did not record their sense of how much they and the Society at large, owe to Mr. de Labilliere, Lieut.-General Layard, Mr. Moens, and Mr. Stride, for the unwearied energy and unvarying interest always manifested by them in the Society's behalf, and for the ever-ready help and advice given by them to their fellow-members of Council. The latter trust that they will, although relinquishing office, nevertheless continue to feel the same interest in the Society as heretofore, and that they will also, if re-elected on any future occasion, consent to resume their seats at the Council with the same goodwill and benefit to the Society with which they have hitherto occupied them.

The Report of the Council having been approved by the Meeting, the President proceeded to deliver his Annual Address.

Address to the Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London. By the Right Hon. Sir HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., *President.*

THIS is our fourth Annual General Meeting since the foundation of the Society, and it affords me sincere pleasure to preside at it. Last year, to my great regret, I was unable to be present on a similar occasion. I was engaged to take part in an undertaking of considerable importance to Venice—a city which, I may say, has become a second home to me—a National Italian Exhibition, which was opened by the King and Queen of Italy. I ventured, therefore, to send you a written Address, which I hoped would at least prove to you that, although absent, my thoughts were with you, and that I had not ceased to take a deep interest in the progress and prosperity of our Society. It was kindly read to you by my brother, General Layard, to whom my thanks are due, as they are very specially to our friend Mr. Moens for taking my place in the chair, which I feel assured he filled far better than I could have done. His intimate acquaintance with all that relates to Huguenot matters and with the work of our Society enabled him to supplement my Address with much useful information which was beyond my reach, and which had much interest for those who were present to hear him—information which it is desirable should be brought to your notice on occasions like the present, when we meet together to consider the prospects of our Society and the work that it is doing and has done. Allow me, therefore, to pass very shortly in review its proceedings during the last year and some of the events connected with Huguenot history which have occurred during that period.

In the first place let me offer you my congratulations upon our prosperous condition. I am inclined to doubt whether any of those who took part in the foundation of the Society—even our most energetic and sanguine colleague Mr. Giraud Browning, whom we must look upon with veneration as our first parent—could have anticipated that within the comparatively short period of three years it would have comprised 300

members, a considerable proportion of whom are, I am glad to say, ladies, who appear to take as great an interest and pride in Huguenot history, and in their descent from a noble race, as any of our fellow-members of the other sex. Our Society now comprises descendants of many of the illustrious Huguenot families which took refuge in this country and have contributed so much to its renown in politics, in literature, in science, in art, and in commerce. I need scarcely mention their names, but I may remind you that I had the pleasure of proposing to you as a Fellow at our last Meeting Sir John Millais—not only one of the most eminent painters of the English School, but one of the most delightful illustrators of episodes in Huguenot history, which he has portrayed with as much feeling as grace. In his fine imagination, in the brilliancy of his colouring, and in other artistic qualities characteristic of our French forefathers we may trace his Huguenot blood.

The considerable yearly increase in our members—and, I may add, the success of our social meetings—prove, I think, that what we have done and are doing has had the result contemplated by the founders of the Society—that of creating a more general interest in Huguenot history, and of inducing persons of Huguenot descent to meet together in friendly intercourse and to contribute to preserve the memory of their ancestors who so nobly bore the direst sufferings and braved every danger for conscience' sake. I feel convinced that the more the objects and work of our Society become known, the more not only will our brother Huguenots, but others who do not claim Huguenot descent but who occupy themselves with historical research, take an interest in it and be induced to join us. I therefore venture to exhort you, as I have done on other occasions, to invite your friends coming under either category who have not yet become members to enroll themselves amongst our Fellows. You must remember that increase of numbers means increase of funds, and that increase of funds means increase of usefulness and of the power to carry on the good work in which we are engaged—the collecting of materials for the particular history of those

Huguenot families which sought refuge from persecution in these islands, and whose descendants are desirous of obtaining information with regard to their ancestors, and the publication of documents and papers which may throw light upon events connected with the Protestant movement in France.

Most people like to trace their pedigrees and to learn something of those from whom they are descended. I understand that applications are frequently made to our Honorary Secretary by persons claiming Huguenot descent for information regarding their families. It is principally the registers of the Walloon, French and Dutch Churches established in England, and the examination of other Church registers in the United Kingdom for the purpose of discovering Huguenot names, which can furnish this information. It is this fact which gives importance, as far as we Huguenots are concerned, to the work undertaken with so much labour and self-sacrifice by Mr. Moens—the transcript and publication for the Society of the registers of the Walloon Churches at Norwich. As you are aware, the first volume containing these registers has already been published. The second and concluding volume, as we have heard to-night, is now all but completed, nearly the whole of it being already in type. It is only those who have had practical experience of such work who can appreciate the labour that it involves. I feel certain that you will join with me in conveying our cordial thanks to Mr. Moens for the time that he has given and the great trouble he has taken in our behalf.

To Mr. Hovenden, a member of our Council, we are greatly indebted for his valuable services in editing the Canterbury Registers; to Mr. Godfray, for undertaking those of the French Church at Southampton, which will shortly be published. Other registers will be examined and copied, and we may express a hope that when the objects of our Society become more generally known, clergymen in different parts of the country may take an interest in supplying us with any information relating to Huguenot families which may be found in registers and other documents in their charge. We shall thus be able,

in the course of time, to publish complete, or nearly complete, lists of Huguenot names connected with England.

With respect to the contributions we have made in our 'Proceedings' to general Huguenot history, I may mention the following papers, which will be contained in the volume about to be published. First, the interesting account furnished to us by Mr. Le Moine of the Huguenots in the Isle of Axholme, with the very valuable supplementary notes of our Assistant Secretary, Mr. Overend. Mr. Page has given us a paper upon an entirely new subject, the Huguenot Refugees and their descendants in Portugal, which has not even been touched upon by the French Protestant Society, although it has done so much to illustrate by its publications Huguenot history. The French Refugees at Rye are the subject of a very interesting paper by Mr. Hardy; and my brother General Layard and Mr. de Labilliere, the first in his account of the Mayerne family, and the second in that of his own Huguenot ancestors, have shown us how much may yet be done to illustrate the history of Huguenot families by the examination of family papers and monuments. I must not omit a reference to the most interesting relation of the sufferings and escape from Calais of Isaac Minet and his mother, written by the former, and communicated to us by his descendant, one of our members, Mr. William Minet. The casual discovery of this narrative leads me to hope that similar documents may be found among other family papers. I may perhaps be allowed to refer, when alluding to the materials for general Huguenot history published in our 'Proceedings,' to the two papers on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, contributed by myself, and the copies of documents existing in the Venetian archives referring to them which accompany these papers. They do not pretend to be full and complete accounts of those two events so intimately and fatally connected with Huguenot history. Their principal, indeed, I may say their only, interest consists in the contemporary accounts of what occurred on both occasions and of the impression made by them upon such impartial and clear-

sighted statesmen as the Venetian Ambassadors at the Court of France who witnessed them.

It is the publication of these materials for the illustration of family and general Huguenot history which has given importance to our 'Proceedings.' They are now spoken of and quoted in the Bulletins of kindred Societies abroad, and are useful to those who are engaged in researches connected with the Huguenots. When I last had the pleasure of seeing Baron de Schickler, who is, as you are no doubt aware, engaged in writing a history of the French Protestant Churches in England, he expressed his opinion in very favourable terms of our publications, and particularly mentioned the use which Mr. Moens' extracts from the Norwich Registers had been to him.

The papers read at our Meetings have in many instances given rise to interesting discussions, during which some of our members, who were specially acquainted with the subjects of which they treated, and who chanced to be present, gave us very valuable information.

At our last ordinary meeting we were privileged to hear from Sir John de Villiers, H.M. Chief Justice at the Cape of Good Hope, and one of our members, an interesting account of the Huguenots and their descendants in that colony. I do not think that the information he gave us is generally known, and I trust that Sir John will kindly fulfil his promise of sending us, should his leisure permit, a paper on the subject. The Cape settlement, it would appear, owes much of its civilisation and prosperity to the Huguenots. How much has their influence contributed for good in many parts of the world! The Dutch Government sent over eight ship-loads of Huguenot refugees to their then colony of the Cape at the end of the seventeenth century. Lists of these emigrants still exist and might with advantage be published in our 'Proceedings.' It seems that the Dutch Government, or perhaps the local authorities, had no desire that these Huguenots should retain their national character. They were to be turned into Dutchmen, and with this object every

endeavour was made to compel them to abandon their national language and to adopt that of the country in which they had sought refuge. One of the most effective means of conversion to which the authorities had recourse was to marry the Frenchmen to Dutch wives. Sir John de Villiers further pointed out that many names known under a Dutch form at the Cape were really of French origin. Still a large number of the descendants of these Huguenot refugees, his own family among the number, have retained their old French names. He further mentioned the gratifying fact that the descendants of the Cape Huguenots are amongst the most loyal subjects of the Queen, which, I fear, is not quite the case with those of pure Dutch blood. I was much struck by his statement that he had opposed the formation of an independent Huguenot Society at the Cape, and had urged his Huguenot friends to enroll themselves amongst our members on the ground that such a course might in some measure tend to strengthen the bond of union between the colony and the mother country. His advice has been followed, and, as you know, amongst our members are many of Huguenot descent at the Cape. We have recently had to deplore the loss of one of them, a distant connection of Sir John de Villiers—Mr. Christoffel de Villiers, who since the foundation of the Society had done his utmost to promote its interests. Sir John informed me that among the Huguenot refugees who were sent by the Dutch Government to the Cape of Good Hope were three brothers de Villiers, from whom all those bearing that name in the colony are descended. You will find in the number of our 'Proceedings' about to be published a notice of an interesting work, relating to the French settlers at the Cape, by the Rev. H. Leibbrandt, a member of our Society, entitled 'Rambles through the Archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.' Another work, noticed in our 'Proceedings,' 'History of South Africa, 1486 to 1691,' by W. George McCall Theal, also gives some highly interesting particulars of the Huguenot settlers at the Cape.

Last year in addition to our usual Meetings in London a Conference was held at Canterbury and Sandwich, which was

attended by several members of the Council and many Fellows of the Society. To my regret I was prevented by absence from England from being present. A full account of what took place on the occasion will be found in the second volume of our 'Proceedings.' Our friends experienced the most kind and hospitable reception from the local authorities and clergy, under whose guidance they visited the principal monuments of a city so deeply interesting to us Huguenots. They attended divine worship in the crypt beneath the cathedral, where the Protestant refugees from France had been permitted for more than three centuries, from 1550, to pray in their own language. Amongst those who attended the Conference was our distinguished Honorary Fellow the Baron de Schickler, who came expressly from Paris to take part in the proceedings, and who has expressed himself as highly gratified by his visit. He has, as you have been informed, compiled some valuable critical notes on the Huguenot Church at Canterbury, which we hope to have the privilege of publishing. Several interesting and valuable papers were read at the Conference. I may specially mention one by Mr. Dorman upon the Dutch and Walloon Church at Sandwich, where, however, no French Huguenots appear to have settled.

The success which attended this Conference, and which our Honorary Secretary in his report has termed 'brilliant,' is to be mainly attributed to the exertions and the care and tact of the Committee appointed to manage it, consisting of our Vice-President, Mr. Giraud Browning, Mr. Hovenden, and Mr. Kershaw, to whom I take this opportunity of tendering the grateful thanks of the Society. This marked success of the Conference at Canterbury has induced the Council to propose that a similar Conference should be held this year in the month of July at Norwich, a city also intimately connected with the Protestant refugees in this country.

The past year was marked by the anniversary of more than one important event connected with Huguenot history. Shortly before our Conference at Canterbury our French friends of the 'Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français' held their Annual General Assembly—the thirty-fourth

since the foundation of the Society—at Rouen, a city renowned in Huguenot annals for the heroic courage displayed, and for the sufferings endured, by its persecuted and steadfast Protestant community. On this occasion the French Society celebrated the centenary of the promulgation by Louis XVI. of the edict, known as the ‘Edict of Toleration,’ in favour of his Protestant subjects. The meeting, which was held on June 2, in the fine old sixteenth-century Church of St. Eloi—made over to Protestant worship in 1803—was of the highest interest. It was attended by almost all the pastors of Protestant communities in Normandy, and, as a striking proof of the triumph of religious liberty and brotherhood in a city once notorious for religious persecution, by a considerable number of Roman Catholics. The ancient Church, which had witnessed, in days happily gone by, the sufferings and torture of numberless unhappy Huguenots, re-echoed with the solemn old hymns which many of them had sung when going to the stake. The meeting was opened by a most eloquent address from its President, the Baron de Schickler; others spoke and papers were read. One of the pastors, M. Bersier, concluded a most interesting discourse by the following striking remarks upon the influence for good which the Huguenots and French Protestantism might have had upon the French national character, and the services which the ‘Société du Protestantisme Français’ had rendered by its publications. ‘Such,’ exclaimed the orator, ‘are the glorious annals which your Society has revived; such the immense service which you have rendered to science, to your country, to justice, and to truth. Ah! I know that our Protestants, so long persecuted, awaken very sorrowful reflections; a certain severity of character attaches to them; they have suffered too much to retain that smile and that grace which have led France to pardon everything. Even their seriousness has been made a reproach to them, yet in it there was that alloy necessary to form the national character, the counterpoise of our native levity, the ballast which might have saved the ship from many a wreck. I say it with the profoundest conviction—those men were necessary to France. What modern nation has registered in its anna

many mournful dates in so few centuries—the St. Bartholomew, the Ligue, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the “Terreur,” the Commune? To save her from those terrible errors she required other qualities than intelligence, and even genius itself—she required consciences and characters, and those men offered them to her. Alas! we cannot revive the dead; but let it be our duty and our consolation to recall what they were in order to prepare for ourselves a better future by inspiring ourselves with a great past.’

The Edict, the centenary of which was then being celebrated, was the first that accorded some liberty and protection to the Protestants of France since the Revocation of that of Nantes. In the words of another orator on the occasion, ‘the law had not recognised with respect to them the right which Nature accords to every human being—the right to be born, to live, and to die in peace.’ But this was only an edict of toleration—an odious word when applied to freedom of religious opinion and worship. French Protestants were still subjected to various disabilities, which were, however, soon after entirely swept away by the Revolution, when entire equality of rights and absolute liberty of worship were accorded to them, and they were in public official acts spoken of as ‘nos frères les Protestants.’

To fully understand the position of the Protestants in France previous to the Edict of Toleration you should read a very interesting paper by M. Charles Dardier in the Bulletin of the French Society for last October, entitled ‘Le centenaire de l’Edit de Tolérance de 1787.’ They were excluded from all the liberal professions, from the army, and from all Government employments. Yet by their industry, their intelligence, and their universally recognised probity they acquired wealth and influence, and contributed greatly to the prosperity of France by their skill and success in agriculture, commerce, and finance. They were the principal and most trusted bankers in the kingdom, and the greater part of the silk trade and manufacture was in their hands. M. Dardier mentions the curious fact that when the Maréchal de Richelieu visited Nîmes, out of the two hundred principal merchants of the city who went out to meet him clothed in scarlet robes, and

riding richly caparisoned horses, one hundred and ninety-five were Protestants and only five Roman Catholics.

Yet all civil rights were denied to these industrious, law-abiding, and useful subjects. Their pastors could only baptize their children in secret places or in 'the desert,' as these places were termed. Only women who were Roman Catholics could act as midwives, and they were bound under the severest penalties to announce the birth of the children of Protestants to the authorities, who could have them at once forcibly baptized in the nearest Catholic church. If these children were being brought up as Protestants they could be seized under *lettres de cachet*, placed in convents and other public establishments, and compelled to abandon their religion. Marriages between Protestants celebrated according to the Protestant rite were not recognised by the law, and their issue was declared illegitimate. Those who had contracted them could marry again with the sanction of the Church, their first marriage being considered as null and void. Their children, being illegitimate, could not inherit, nor were their Protestant wives entitled to dower, and all the property they left could be claimed by their Roman Catholic relatives. Their children, moreover, being declared illegitimate, and their births not having been registered according to law, there was no proof that they were French subjects. It was said that M. Guizot when Prime Minister of France was not a Frenchman, having been born of Protestant parents before the Edict of Toleration. When that edict was issued Protestants crowded to have their marriages legalised, and thus to legitimatise their offspring. French Protestants could only be buried, as they were baptized and married, in secret. Their bodies were dug up and exposed to every manner of insult and indignity, dragged on hurdles through the streets and thrown on dung-heaps. It was only by a royal declaration of the King in 1736 that secret burial was allowed to Protestants. By an article of the Edict of Toleration the local authorities were commanded to find a convenient and decent spot for the interment of French subjects and strangers to whom ecclesiastical burial was denied.

Englishmen have every reason to be ashamed of the penal laws applied to Roman Catholics and Dissenters in the United Kingdom which once disgraced our Statute Book, but those laws were never of the severity of those existing in France with respect to Protestants, which, however, towards the middle of the last century were rarely enforced, as more liberal opinions began generally to prevail. They were not, however, repealed, and any petty official could capriciously put them into execution.

In the autumn of last year a celebration of the centenary of the Edict of Toleration was also held in the Cevennes. A most interesting ceremony took place at Plan de Font-Morte, near Florac, on a height commanding a fine view over this very remarkable country. The place was chosen as having been the site of one of the bloody struggles in which the heroic Camisards were engaged with the troops of Louis XIV. sent to exterminate them. A monolith was raised on the spot with this simple and touching inscription:—

‘On the occasion of the centenary of the Edict of Toleration the sons of Huguenots have erected on the site of ancient conflicts this monument to religious peace and to the memory of their martyrs.’

Five thousand persons, the descendants of those who had fought and suffered, with thirty of their pastors, were collected together, not as of old to defy their persecutors, and about to shed their blood for their faith, but to commemorate the end of religious hatreds and religious war.

Should any of our members be disposed to spend a very pleasant and most instructive holiday, I strongly recommend them to make a tour in this little-known, most picturesque, and geologically interesting district, with its deep cañons, its perpendicular cliffs, and inaccessible strongholds. They will then understand how it was that the brave Camisards, with leaders such as Chevalier, so long defied the power of France.

The Bulletin of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, which has now reached its thirty-seventh year, continues, under the able editorship of M. Weiss, to contain papers of great interest, not only with respect to the

Huguenots, but to the general history of France. I may mention one or two of them. M. Charles Read, who, I believe, preceded the Baron de Schickler as President of the Society, following M. Geoffroy, who has appeared as the defender of Madame de Maintenon from the charge of having been the instigator of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, contributes several articles in which he seeks to clear the granddaughter of Agrippa d'Aubigny from complicity in that odious act by reference to historical documents. The Baron de Schickler in his address of last year describes the feeling of indignation which this attempt to rehabilitate Madame de Maintenon had caused to some earnest Protestants, and with that respect for truth which becomes a Huguenot pleads for an impartial discussion of such questions. He takes the same line that I ventured to take some time ago when a paper was read at one of our meetings by Mr. Hubert Read, who used arguments and quoted documents to prove that the Pope was in no way concerned with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which caused offence to some of our members. It should be our object to ascertain the truth. Our cause has nothing to fear from the strictest investigation. At the same time it may be said that in these days it is perhaps too much the fashion to endeavour to whitewash the characters of men and women who have been condemned for their evil deeds and to reverse the verdict which history has pronounced upon them. This desire, when prompted by a love of truth and justice, is, no doubt, a commendable one, but it may lead too far and to paradoxes. On the whole, history is rarely wrong in such cases.

In the Bulletin for last August you will find extracts from the journal of a priest who was the curé of the Church of Saint-Leu, in Paris, at the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and who was an eye-witness of the horrors which he describes. It adds somewhat to the information, now very complete, which we possess relative to that horrible event and to the murder of Coligny. The good priest regarded the slaughter of the unhappy Huguenots, men, women, and children, as a just punishment by God for their heresies, and warns all

gentlemen, *tous seigneurs*, to take example from *ce malheureux*, that ill-conditioned fellow, the Admiral, and to persuade themselves that although the punishment of such evil-doers may be long in coming, it will only be the more sure.

In the Bulletin for last January, and in subsequent numbers, there appeared a highly interesting account by M. A. Bernus of Antoine de Chandieu, one of the earliest pastors of the Protestant Church at Paris, and a distinguished figure in the Protestant or Huguenot movement in France during the sixteenth century. I venture to recommend it to your notice. Chandieu was for three years the Almoner of Henry of Navarre, who employed him in important diplomatic missions to the Swiss cantons which had joined the cause of religious reform and to the Protestant princes of Germany. His inspiring verses, set to the old Huguenot music, are still sung by the descendants of those for whom they were written.

It would take up too much of your time if I were to describe all the important papers which have during the last year been published in the 'Proceedings' of the French Society. They are well deserving of the attention of those who are interested in Huguenot history. But I cannot conclude this notice of the Bulletin without mentioning the great pleasure I always experience from reading the eloquent addresses delivered by the Baron de Schickler at the Meetings of the Society, and which are published in its 'Proceedings.' That to the Assembly at Rouen, to which I have already referred, was of peculiar interest.

I may here mention among the publications connected with Huguenot history, which are appearing in France, the great work undertaken by M. Bordier, the enlarged edition of the 'France Protestante' originally written by the brothers Haag. It will contain as complete a list as indefatigable industry and wide research can furnish of the names of French Huguenots, which will be of the greatest value. It comes out in numbers, and has now reached the letter F. To give you some idea of the care and labour bestowed upon this colossal work I may state that no less than 2,100 galley-slaves (*forçats*) are mentioned in it.

I must next refer, in connection with the publications of kindred Huguenot societies on the Continent, to the Bulletin of the Commission for the History of the Walloon Churches, published at the Hague. It has already reached a third volume, and is full of interesting matter, such as genealogies of Protestant refugee families, family histories, lists of Protestant Churches founded in Holland, and of their pastors, &c. The Society possesses at Leyden, its seat, a valuable library, to which have been added portraits of eminent refugees and their descendants, medals, and a variety of other objects illustrative of Huguenot history.

Dr. Richard Beringuier, whom we elected, in March, one of our Honorary Fellows, is engaged in the publication of a periodical which contains the history of the French Protestant colonies in Germany and elsewhere, and amongst other interesting matter in it is a series of articles by Max Lortzing. This work may be strongly recommended to the members of our Society.

I must not omit to speak of the modest little Society which was founded six years ago—in 1882—in the Vaudois valleys, and which has already published three Bulletins. Considering the smallness of the subscription paid by its members—five francs a year with an entrance fee of five francs—and consequently its very limited financial resources, it has already done good work, and its publications contain valuable matter. The seat of the Society is La Tour, a place celebrated in Vaudois history, and its Bulletins are printed at Pignerol in Piedmont. In that of May 1885 you will find a very interesting and curious correspondence, derived from the French National Archives, between Louis XIV. and the Marquis d'Arcy, his Ambassador to the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, in the years 1665 and 1666, the epoch of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The French King, flattering himself that by that iniquitous act, and by the cruelties practised upon the Huguenots in his own dominions, he had exterminated the Protestants in France, was anxious to persuade his neighbour, the Duke, to have recourse to similar measures to convert to Roman Catholicism his Vaudois sub-

jects. Should he not have sufficient force to compel these brave and devoted mountaineers to abandon their ancient faith, Louis offered him the assistance of French troops. But Victor Amadeus made excuses and practised delays, which greatly irritated the imperious monarch. Whether he felt that he had not means of coercing the Vaudois, or that he was bound to respect a decree which he had issued shortly before, in 1664, guaranteeing liberty of worship and religious toleration to them, he appears to have hesitated to take the violent measures demanded of him by Louis XIV., who put into execution his threat to employ his own troops in the bloody work. In 1686 the French crossed the frontiers of Piedmont and entered the Vaudois valleys in too great numbers to admit of successful resistance by their unfortunate inhabitants. Their villages were sacked and burnt, their ministers and their wives and children were subjected to every cruelty and indignity, and numbers were put to death. It was believed that the Protestant Vaudois were extirpated; but those who escaped the slaughter fled to the high mountains and elsewhere, and in the course of time returned to their ruined homes. They had remained steadfast in their faith, and their descendants are now not only prosperous in their native valleys, where they enjoy the most complete religious and political liberty under the constitutional government of Italy, but have become the instruments of propagating free religious thought throughout the peninsula. In almost every city in Italy there are now a Vaudois community and a Vaudois Protestant Church. The Vaudois and their Italian Protestant brethren are known for their industry, their honesty, and their trustworthiness. They are everywhere employed in responsible positions, and are generally esteemed. Such, then, is the result of religious persecution, which promotes instead of destroying the cause of truth.

I have recommended to my hearers one trip for this year—that to the Cevennes. If I might venture to recommend to them a second—the two might indeed be combined—I would suggest a visit to the Vaudois valleys, as one of the most

agreeable and instructive that I know of. They will find in that mountain district the finest Alpine scenery and a people who have preserved their Protestant faith from a period so remote that it is difficult to determine when its doctrines were first preached to them, and who afford one of the noblest examples of long-enduring and patient resignation to suffering and cruel persecution.

The American Huguenot Society, whose first publication were of high interest, has not of late published its proceedings but I am given to understand that they will shortly be resumed. I may take this opportunity of expressing my regret that Mr. Wittmeyer, the able Honorary Secretary of the Society, has been compelled by his engagements to retire from that office, although he will, I am informed, continue to give his aid to the Society. Let us hope that he will be able to complete his bibliography of all works relating to the Huguenots in the United States, on which he has for some time been engaged, which will be of considerable value to those interested in Huguenot history.

Amongst the Societies with which we exchange publication is one in Jersey known as the 'Société Jersiaise,' which is however, purely local and archæological. But it occasionally publishes papers relating to the Huguenot settlers in the Channel Islands, which have a special interest for our Society.

With all the Societies which I have mentioned we are in the most friendly relations and correspondence. This is mainly owing to the tact and courtesy of our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Faber. We exchange our 'Proceedings' with them, and always find those connected with them willing to afford us any information and assistance in their power. We are at all times ready to reciprocate these friendly offices. It is as a means of thus bringing into friendly and cordial communion the descendants of the Huguenots scattered over various parts of the globe that, to my mind, our Society and kindred Societies are of so much practical use and deserve our support.

I may here mention a valuable gift that we have just received

ceived from M. Lesens, of Rouen—a gentleman whom you have recently elected an honorary member of our Society. He has presented us with a MS. list of 855 names of refugees from the 'Haute-Normandie,' after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which he has compiled with much labour. As he terms it the 'First List,' we may, I trust, expect from him a further contribution of materials so valuable to Huguenot history. You will, I feel sure, join with me in conveying the grateful thanks of the Society to M. Lesens, who further promises us a list of the Protestant refugees from Dieppe from a return made in the year 1685.

The increased interest shown in the Huguenots and their history is proved by the foundation, in comparatively very recent times, of the Societies to which I have referred. Additional proof of the fact is furnished by the large number of works relating to the Huguenots which are being constantly published in England, France, Germany, Holland, and elsewhere; for a list and notices of which I must refer you to our 'Proceedings' and to the 'Bulletins' of the French Society. And there yet remains much to be done in this interesting field of research. Unused materials are still to be found in our own archives and libraries, both private and public, as well as in those of foreign countries. There are still subjects connected with the Protestant and religious reform movement in various parts of Europe which are well deserving of study. I might mention, for instance, that which took place in Northern Italy during the 15th and 16th centuries, and the persecutions and sufferings which it entailed upon those who took part in it; a subject which has never, so far as I am aware, been specially and fully treated, and relating to which many important and highly interesting records are, I am convinced, to be found in the Venetian and other Italian archives. Then there are such manuscripts as the volume of the letters of Barbaro, the Venetian Ambassador to the Court of France from 1561 to 1568, which are preserved in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, and have never been published. They give full accounts of the siege and capture of Rouen, the wounding and death of the King of Navarre, and of other events in the struggle between the Huguenots and

the Roman Catholic party in those years. I hope to be able to procure copies of some of those letters, and that they may be found worthy of publication in our 'Proceedings.'

I have placed in the hands of our Honorary Secretary copies which I have had made of some documents, also in the Library of St. Mark's, hitherto unpublished, relating to Huguenot history. Mr. Faber, with his usual kindness and industry, has made a translation of them.

Then there are the archives of the Vatican, which there is every reason to believe contain most valuable documents for the illustration of Huguenot history. I learnt when recently at Rome, upon good authority, that, with a proper recommendation to the Papal authorities, an Englishman might be allowed access to and be permitted to make use of them. Should one of our members interested in such researches be passing a winter in Rome, he might turn his attention to this subject. I feel confident that he would obtain from Mr. Bliss, the learned and courteous gentleman who is employed by the Master of the Rolls in calendaring documents in the Vatican relating to English history, all the advice and assistance that he could, consistently with his duty, afford.

But it is to family papers and records that I would, as I have ventured to do before, urgently direct your attention. They must contain a mine of interesting information relating to the Huguenots who fled from France and sought refuge in this country. As I have ventured to remark on previous occasions, it appears to me that in our 'Proceedings' we should have two objects—one the publication of what may be termed domestic documents, such as registers, pedigrees, and other materials for tracing the history of the Huguenot families which settled in England, and the other the publication of historical documents calculated to throw light upon Huguenot history in general. By combining the two we give a general interest to our 'Proceedings,' increase their utility, and through them induce persons who are not of Huguenot descent, but who take an interest in historical researches, to join the Society. Whilst some of our members have been engaged in searching

registers and in thus furnishing materials for Huguenot family history, others have kindly contributed to our 'Proceedings' valuable papers, to some of which I have particularly referred, on more general topics. I would beg you to bear in mind that one of the objects of our Society is the publication of knowledge 'relating to the refugee settlements throughout the world, particularly those in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, and the resulting effects of those settlements upon the professions, manufactures, commerce, and social life of the several places in which they were made.' These are most interesting subjects, and to deal with them there are ample materials. I trust that some of our members—I would especially appeal to the ladies—will turn their attention to them and favour us with papers showing the influence of the Huguenot refugees in England and their descendants upon our commerce, our manufactures, on science and the arts. It would be interesting to show how many Englishmen who have risen to distinction in either of these pursuits had Huguenot blood in their veins, and to this enquiry might be added sketches of their lives and characters. Many names will occur to you at once. For instance, amongst our artists, painters, sculptors, and musicians, both past and present, there must be many of Huguenot descent. I have already mentioned the name of Sir John Millais; I might add that of another eminent living painter, Mr. Poynter; and I have reason to believe that there are many others. We know that episodes from Huguenot history have been frequently chosen as subjects for the brush. No one has treated them more delightfully and effectively than Sir John Millais.

Before bringing my remarks to a conclusion I must mention the obligations under which we are to Sir Henry Peek, who has not only been a frequent attendant at our dinners and Meetings, at which he has kindly taken the chair in my absence, to your gain, but has sought in various ways to promote the interests and objects of the Society, which he has much at heart. You are, perhaps, not aware that last summer he made a most generous proposal to the Council, which, had our financial prospects been such as to have enabled the

Council to accept it, would have placed the Society in possession of a house in which to hold our Meetings and where a Huguenot club might have been established. The Council did not, principally for the reason I have assigned, then see their way to embark in such an undertaking. But Sir Henry Peek's suggestion was well worthy of consideration. Is it altogether unreasonable to express a hope that the time may come when it may be possible to act upon it, and when the members of the Huguenot Society of London may be sufficiently numerous to enable them to form a club of their own?

Before we separate allow me to ask you to join with me in expressing our very grateful thanks to our indefatigable Honorary Secretary, Mr. Faber, for his exertions in the interests of the Society, superintending the publication of its 'Proceedings,' carrying on its correspondence, and organising its Meetings. The correspondence alone must entail heavy labour upon him, for it has greatly increased, and must be daily increasing, as he has not only letters to receive and answer relating to matters immediately connected with the Society, but has to communicate with kindred Societies in Europe, and the United States, and in our Colonies. Our thanks are also due to our zealous and able Assistant Secretary, Mr. Overend, who has not only afforded most efficient aid in conducting the general business of the Society, but has contributed valuable information with respect to subjects discussed at our Meetings, and has added important notes to papers published in our 'Proceedings.' Nor must I omit to mention our Treasurer, Mr. Roumieu, to whose careful and judicious management of our finances the satisfactory balance that we have in hand is mainly to be attributed.

Our Council loses four very useful members, who have attended all, or nearly all, its meetings, and have contributed not a little to its success. They are Mr. Moens, Mr. de Labilliere, Mr. Stride, and my brother, General Layard, who retire by rotation, but are eligible for election next year. We greatly regret the temporary loss of the services of all four, but there is one whose absence from the Council, on account not only of his intimate acquaintance with the details of the Society

but on account of the work in which he is engaged in its behalf, will be seriously felt. I allude to Mr. Moens. The Council, believing that our members would desire that Mr. Moens should continue to take an active part in the direction of our affairs, decided to propose to you that he should be elected a Vice-President of the Society under the rule sanctioned at the last general meeting, which raises the number of Vice-Presidents from two to six—a rule which enabled you to add to the Council our excellent and much-esteemed colleague Mr. Giraud Browning. I am sure that we are all glad that the result of this evening's ballot enables us to welcome him to that office.

I have nothing, I think, to add except the expression of a very hearty hope that the coming year may be as prosperous for us as the past, and that the Huguenot Society may long continue to be the means of bringing together in friendly and social intercourse the descendants of those heroic sufferers for Conscience's sake whose memory it is one of our objects to perpetuate.

The programme of the proposed arrangements for the Summer Conference at Norwich was then read and the assent of the Meeting was given thereto, and the proceedings terminated with the announcement of the result of the ballot for Officers and Council as follows:—

Officers and Council for the year June 1888 to June 1889.

President—The Right Hon. Sir Henry Austen Layard, G.C.B.

Vice-Presidents—Sir Henry William Peek, Bart., Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, R.E., K.C.B., Arthur Giraud Browning, William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.

Treasurer—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Honorary Secretary—Reginald Stanley Faber, M.A.

Members of Council—Adrian Charles Chamier, F.S.A., John Edwin Cussans, Richard Du Cane, H. Marett Godfray, Charles Albert Govett, William John Hardy, F.S.A., Robert Hovenden, F.S.A., Henry J. Jourdain, C.M.G., S. Wayland Kershaw, F.S.A., Charles A. J. Mason, William Minet, F.S.A., William Page, F.S.A.

SUMMER CONFERENCE AT NORWICH.

JULY 24, 25, 1888.

THE Society's first Summer Conference, held in 1887 at Canterbury and Sandwich, having proved a decided success, it was resolved to hold one this year at Norwich, a place of special interest to the Society at the present time, owing to the recent completion of Mr. Moens' history of the Walloon settlement there.

The arrangement of the proceedings was entrusted to the special Conference Committee, consisting of Mr. Browning and Mr. Moens, Vice-Presidents; Mr. Hovenden and Mr. Kershaw, Members of Council; and Mr. Faber, Honorary Secretary; who were most ably assisted by Dr. Bensly and the Rev. W. Hudson, the Treasurer and Secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.

Amongst Fellows of the Society and their friends attending the Conference were Mr. Belleruche, Dr. and Mrs. Bensly, Sir Francis, Lady, and Miss Boileau, Colonel Boileau, Mr. W. P. Boileau, Mr. Browning, Vice-President, and Mrs. Browning, Sir Harry Bullard, Deputy-Mayor of Norwich, and Lady Bullard, Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., and Mrs. Colman, the Rev. W. F. Creeny, F.S.A., Mr. J. E. Cussans, Dr. Evans, President of the Society of Antiquaries, and Mrs. Evans, Mr. Faber, Honorary Secretary, Mr. C. A. Govett, Mr. Hovenden, F.S.A., and Miss Hovenden, the Rev. W. Hudson, the Rev. J. L. Le Pelley, Mr. D. Martineau, Mr. S. Martineau, Mr. W. Martineau, Mr. H. Merceron, Mr. H. B. Miller, Town Clerk, Mr. W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A., Vice-President, Mr. J. Mottram, Mr. H. S. Patteson, J.P., the Ven. Archdeacon Perowne, Mr. B. B. Portal and Miss Portal, Mrs. Rainier, the Rev. Canon Robinson, Mr. R. St. A. Roumieu, Treasurer, Mr. C. F. Rousselet, the Rev. O. W. Tancock, Mr. F. Oddin Taylor, Mr. J. H. Tillet, Mr. E. A. Tillet, Mr. Louis Willett, and others.

On Tuesday, July 24, the Conference was opened at 10 o'clock in the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, where (in the unavoidable absence of the Mayor, F. W. Harmer, Esq.) the chair was taken by the Deputy-Mayor, Sir Harry Bullard, who gave the Society a most cordial welcome. Sir Harry said he regretted that the Mayor, who was well known throughout the country for his scientific researches as an antiquary and as a man of letters, was not present to receive the Fellows of this Society on the occasion of their visit to Norwich. He, however, was acting as his deputy while his Worship was absent from the city enjoying a well-earned holiday. As Deputy-Mayor he would endeavour to do his best to make the visit of the Huguenot Society to this ancient city as enjoyable as possible, and he hoped that the members would be enabled to add to the information which they already possessed a few of the historical facts with which Norwich abounded. Nor did he think that the Society would regret their visit to Norwich, inasmuch as the ancient history of the city teemed with names and traditions relative to the Huguenots, the Walloons, and the Dutch. He presumed that one of the chief reasons for this was that when these foreign refugees left their own country they landed on that portion of the shores of England that was nearest and most convenient—the extreme eastern coast, which included the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Of course in Norwich, as in every other growing town, new enterprises and commercial pursuits had had the effect of gradually stamping out and improving off the face of the earth the interesting monuments of antiquity connected with those old immigrants. Still he hoped that the Society would be able to throw fresh light on the traditions which yet existed. As one who was devoted to his native city, he thought that such researches deserved the recognition of individual citizens, and he trusted that if any person had in his possession information bearing upon the particular subjects considered by the Society, it would be introduced to the notice of the Fellows during the deliberations which they were about to hold. Many who lived in Norwich had little idea of what they owed to those who in past ages came to the city and introduced

cunning devices in manufacture, in weaving, and in arts and sciences, all of which had been conducive to the welfare and greatness of Norwich and of the country at large. When steam became the motor power the busy looms which had been previously worked by hand were transferred to districts adjacent to the coal-fields, and, therefore, the citizens had little to show them in respect to the once prosperous weaving industry. While, to a great extent, they had lost the weaving trade they still retained the manufacture of crape, and Norwich crape was renowned all over the world as the best produced. He believed that shawls were not very fashionable at present, but at one time when anyone visited Norwich, and desired to take away with him an article as a present for a lady friend, he was always recommended to obtain a Norwich shawl, which compared favourably in quality with those produced in India or at Paisley. He looked forward to the time when a change of fashion should give employment to many of the humble classes in Norwich, and when the loom and other devices should be employed with the ingenuity that characterised the craftsmen of yore.

A concise description of the Guildhall, its past history and an account of the purposes for which it was at present used, was next given by Sir Harry Bullard, who pointed out the various objects of interest connected with the building.

The Rev. W. Hudson, Hon. Secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, then read a paper on the 'Commercial History of Norwich previous to the Immigration of the Foreign Refugees' (*see* Appendix, p. 519), and a inspection was made of the fine collection of Corporation plate, Regalia, MSS., and other objects of interest, which by the courtesy of the civic authorities had been arranged in the Council Chamber. The MSS. included several of the Royal Charters granted at various times to the city, and the following books specially relating to the Strangers in Norwich: The Weavers' Book, 1492-1504; ditto, 1511-1638; Rules of the Walloons, 1564; Book of Impositions, Sales, &c., 1566-1589

Treasurers' Acts of Profits from Royal Licences, &c., for Alnage, 1580-1610; Book of Dutch Orders, 1582; The Woolcombers' Book, 1686.

On leaving the Guildhall Sir Harry Bullard conducted the visitors to the Castle, where there was much to interest those of antiquarian tastes. When the party had assembled within the Keep the Rev. W. Hudson delivered an address, in the course of which he gave an account of the history of the Castle, its outworks, and its architectural features. The visitors next ascended the Keep, and were delighted with the splendid view which they obtained of the city and the surrounding country from the battlements. As the day was beautifully fine and clear the party were enabled to form a very good idea from the panoramic view before them of the extent and importance of Norwich, of its claim to be called a 'City of Gardens,' of the number of its churches, and of the magnitude of its public buildings. That portion of the premises which until recently had been used as a prison was also examined; and after an hour had been agreeably spent the company walked to Charing Cross and paid a visit to the Strangers' Hall. This building, which has for many years been used as a storehouse, is approached from the public street by a narrow passage, along which may be observed many traces of ancient architecture. The Hall is nearly perfect, and retains the original bay window and its groining, while the well-moulded cornice and the king posts of the roof still remain. The Sothertons owned the house in the time of Edward VI., and it is stated that members of the same family made great alterations in it about the time of James I., when the staircase and some windows were inserted. The visitors were again indebted to Mr. Hudson for an interesting description of this building, and Mr. M. Knights made some supplementary remarks. An adjournment was made to the Royal Hotel at 130, where the members partook of luncheon before proceeding to the Cathedral.

At three o'clock a meeting was held in the Norman Chamber at the Cathedral, where in the unavoidable absence

of the Dean, the Very Rev. Edward Meyrick Goulburn (himself of Huguenot descent), the Society was received by the Rev. Canon Robinson, who, in words of hearty welcome, dwelt on the bond of union which had existed between the Church of England and the refugees.

A paper was then read by Dr. Bensly, Chapter Clerk, of 'The Diocese and Cathedral Church of Norwich' (*see* Appendix p. 525), and a number of old rolls and records, in possession of the Dean and Chapter, dating from 1272 to the time of the Reformation, were exhibited. One of them, a manor court roll, attracted much attention, being some forty feet long and closely written on each side. The Coronation Bible and other books having been examined, the Society proceeded to inspect the Cathedral and precincts, including the Bishop's Chapel and Palace Gardens, and after being hospitably entertained at afternoon tea by Canon Robinson attended the Cathedral service at five o'clock. Through the kind thoughtfulness of the Dean, arrangements had been made to give the service a tone specially appropriate to the occasion. The anthem was by Mendelssohn from Psalm cxxi.: 'Lift thine eyes to the mountains. . . . He watching over Israel slumbers not, nor sleeps. Shouldst thou walking in grief languish, He will quicken thee,' and, whilst listening to it, all must have gone back in thought to those noble men and women who, centuries ago, drew from such words as these strength to endure loss of nearly all that made life dear, and even of life itself, 'desiring a better country' than any this world could offer them. The preacher was the Rev. J. L. Le Pelley, Vicar of Ringland, whose sermon, which was in French, will be found in the Appendix, p. 534.

In the evening the Society dined at the Royal Hotel, the chair being taken by Mr. W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A., Vice-President, who in proposing the first toast, 'The Queen,' said that with the people of Norwich queens had always been popular. The greatest benefit was done to the city by her Majesty's predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, who graciously permitted the Dutch- and French-speaking refugees to settle in

the city in 1565. At her reception during her progress through Norfolk in 1578 the strangers vied with the natives in doing her honour. The Society was now representing those who took refuge in this country on account of their religion. The love borne by these refugees to Queen Elizabeth was not greater than that which their descendants now felt for Queen Victoria, who, on her accession to the throne, when congratulated by the foreign Churches in England, responded by saying, 'I thank you for this loyal and dutiful address, and for your congratulations on my accession. I look with great satisfaction to the protection which you have found during so long a period in this country, and you may entirely rely upon the continuance of that protection under my reign.' As Fellows of the Huguenot Society they had feelings of gratitude to her Majesty beside those which were demanded of them as loyal subjects.

Mr. Moens next proposed 'The Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese and Ministers of all Denominations,' and said that the Church ever had much to do with the Dutch and Walloon Strangers. In 1571 the Ecclesiastical Commission of Bishops, appointed to effect uniformity in public worship, were appealed to to settle differences in the Dutch Church in Norwich. A decree, dated September 16 of that year, gave ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the Bishop of the Diocese, who was appointed superintendent of foreign Churches. The Bishops of Norwich frequently exercised that jurisdiction. The strangers in Norwich ever worshipped in disused consecrated churches of the Church of England, and although they were not of that Church they were in the fold of it, even when Nonconformity was rigorously disallowed. The Bishops, by ecclesiastical and civil laws, being the superintendents of the old foreign Churches in England, had at times much aided them. Parker and Grindal, and Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, had been great friends to the foreign Churches. To-day they had experienced like treatment. They had heard an eloquent sermon in French by the Rev. J. L. Le Pelley, in which he alluded to them as being descendants of those who suffered under the Inquisition. In conclusion, Mr. Moens expressed regret that

the Very Rev. the Dean was unable to be present, and coupled with the toast the name of Canon Robinson.

Canon Robinson responded in an interesting speech, and said that the reason for the great warmth of feeling existing between the Huguenot ministers and the clergy of the Church of England was that during the Marian persecution many of the English clergy found a refuge and sympathisers on the Continent.

Sir Harry Bullard, in replying to the toast of 'The Mayor and Corporation of Norwich' (proposed by Mr. Hovenden), said it had given him great pleasure to hear Norwich spoken of so highly as it had been by the Fellows of the Society. He believed that the Society had conferred not only an honour, but a great benefit upon the city, for their researches into the records of the past could not fail to be profitable to the inhabitants.

Dr. J. Evans gave 'Prosperity to the Huguenot Society of London,' and

The Chairman, in responding, said that the duty this Society had undertaken to perform was to supplement the history of the foreign Churches in this country and to edit their registers. Many of the registers were preserved in the department of the Registrar-General, but some few had disappeared. He was sorry to say that the old register of the Dutch Church of this city was not existing, though twenty-five years ago it was referred to in 'Notes and Queries' as being with the others. The first church of which he undertook to write the history was that of Norwich, as he thought it would have a comparatively small register, from which experience might be gained in editing larger ones. Mr. Rye told him that there was so much about the history of the foreign Churches in Norwich that it would give him work for two years. Somewhat dismayed, he set to work, visited the city, received every facility from the Town Clerk, and had at last completed his labours. The holding of this Summer Conference of the Society at Norwich was the outcome of that book, and he hoped that what he had found of the history of the foreign Churches of Norwich would add much to the history of this ancient city.

Sir Francis Boileau proposed 'The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society,' coupled with the names of the Rev. V. Hudson and Dr. Bensly, who both replied. Mr. Roumieu then gave as the final toast 'The Members of the Special Conference Committee,' which was responded to by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Faber, who spoke of the steady progress made by the Society ever since its foundation, and of the friendly relations maintained with the kindred Societies on the Continent and in the United States. A gratifying proof of this friendly intercourse was afforded by a telegram he had received early in the evening from Mr. Henry M. Lester, of the Huguenot Society of America, wishing success and God-speed to the Huguenot Society of London assembled in Norwich. Mr. Faber said he had at once telegraphed in reply, 'The Huguenots of England welcome your greeting and greet their brothers in the West,' a reply which was enthusiastically approved by all present.

The day's proceedings were terminated by a paper by Mr. Moens on the 'Settlement of the Strangers in Norwich.'¹

On Wednesday morning, July 25, the Society met at 10 o'clock in St. Andrew's Hall, where the chair was again occupied by Sir Harry Bullard, Deputy-Mayor, and a paper on the history of the Hall was read by the Ven. Archdeacon Perowne (*see* Appendix, p. 541). The Society then inspected the crypt, the Blackfriars' Hall, and the ancient buildings in the rear of King Edward VI. Middle School, and proceeded to the French Church, a paper on which was read by the Rev. W. F. Greeny, F.S.A. (*see* Appendix, p. 548), followed by another on the connection of the Church with the French Hospital, La Providence, in London, by Mr. Browning, Vice-President (*see* Appendix, p. 557).

By kind invitation of J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., a pleasant visit was next paid to Carrow Abbey, where the Society was cordially welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Colman, and the follow-

¹ The substance of this paper, together with much additional information, will be found in Mr. Moens' book *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, printed for the Society.

ing excellent sketch of the history of the Abbey was read by Mr. F. R. Beecheno:—

Carrow was anciently a parish of itself, and had a church (now destroyed) dedicated to St. James the Apostle; and the primitive state of the place was doubtless well expressed by its name, *car* signifying a marshy spot, and *how* a hill rising above it.

It would seem that King Stephen, by charter, freely gave this meadow in which the Priory stands (for it was only a Priory, the title 'Abbey' being a misnomer) and lands around it to the nuns of a church or hospital dedicated to St. Mary and St. John in Norwich (now lost sight of), and desired them to found a church upon it; and in 1146 two of the nuns, Seyna and Lescelina, probably sisters, founded this Benedictine priory, which consisted at first of a prioress and nine nuns, but had increased at the time of the dissolution to twelve. It was dedicated to the Virgin and St. John, while the church was dedicated to St. Mary. Passing over the scanty historical notices which have come down to us, I will only remark that in later times the nunnery became quite an educational establishment for the daughters of the neighbouring gentry, and one of these young ladies is presumably the heroine of Skelton's 'Litle Boke of Phyllyp Sparow.' The young lady is supposed in the poem to lament the untimely fate of her pet sparrow, killed by Gilbert, or rather 'Gib,' the Priory cat. She prays for vengeance on all cats—

That cat specially
That slew so cruelly
My litle pretty sparow
That I brought up at Carow.

Skelton, it may be remembered, was Henry VIII.'s laureate, and his bitter lampoons on Wolsey so angered the Cardinal that our poet had to take refuge at Westminster, where he died in sanctuary.

At the dissolution, viz. in 1539, the site was granted to Sir John Shelton, who made it his residence, and in the windows of the hall were formerly a number of escutcheons of that family and their rebus, viz. a *shell* and a *tun*.

The Priory Church and most of the conventual buildings were either allowed to go to gradual decay or were purposely demolished. So much so that our great Norfolk historian, Blomefield, writing a century and a half ago and speaking of the church, says that it was with difficulty he found its site; but in 1881 some workmen having accidentally uncovered part of a Norman column, much interest was excited, and Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., gave orders for extensive excavations to be made. These resulted in the greater portion of the foundations being laid bare, and enable us to identify most of the buildings with tolerable accuracy.

It will be seen that the noble church was cruciform, consisting of a nave, north and south aisles, a grand central tower, choir and chancel, a south chapel (which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist), a north chapel (dedicated to St. Catherine), and north and south transepts. The construction of the church was evidently commenced at the east end, and extended from time to time further west. The chancel is entirely Norman, and the step to the high altar distinctly seen. St. John the Baptist's Chapel is Norman and arcaded, but was evidently much altered during the early English period. The base of the altar here is still to be seen. Four massive piers supported the central tower. The nave is early English; *vide* the beautiful south-east pier. The sacristy enters into the south transept.

The chapter house is separated from the church by a narrow passage called the slype. East of this is the graveyard, where are to be seen several graves, and from time to time stone coffins, skeletons, and bones have been dug up here.

South of the chapter house is the day-room of the convent, which had doubtless a groined roof, many groining stones having been found here. Along the centre of the room were columns: a portion of one of these still exists, this being, in fact, the very shaft the discovery of which first led to the excavations being made.

The infirmary was probably situated somewhere to the east of the day-room, but this has not been excavated. The

refectory, kitchens, and other offices were doubtless situated on the south side of the cloister, but are entirely demolished. The dormitory was probably over the day-room, and an anchoress resided in the immediate vicinity of the priory. At the entrance into the south aisle of the church, at the north-east angle of the cloister, is a holy-water stoup.

The fine edifice standing on the west side of the cloister-garth (now a garden) and commonly called 'The Abbey,' after undergoing since the Dissolution many fearful and wonderful alterations to suit the various tastes of successive occupiers, has just been carefully restored to something of its original condition. It was doubtless erected in the time of Isabel Wygan, prioress in 1514, and consists of the strangers' hall with the parlour of the prioress on its left, over which is a chamber approached by a newel staircase. The fireplace of the parlour is original and the mantel has in either spandril an escutcheon, one being charged with the letter Y, and the other with a gun, the rebus of Isabel Wygan. The entrance to this room on the west has on the exterior the same rebus in the spandrils. The strangers' hall has a handsome open timber roof, in the spandrils of which are roses, the Wygan rebus, eagles, the emblems of St. John the Evangelist, the letter M crowned for the Virgin, and shamrocks. On the west side of the room are a large perpendicular arch and piers, with a rectangular bay window beyond. The fragments of painted glass now in the windows have been inserted in modern times, and have no connection whatever with the place, the only one which deserves notice being that with the arms of the great Archbishop Parker. The door by which the offices, &c., are entered has in the spandrils on the exterior the Y repeated, but here it is ornamented and the gun is a blunderbuss.

Such, briefly, are the salient features of interest possessed by Carrow Abbey.

At the conclusion of Mr. Beecheno's paper the Society inspected the ruins of the Abbey and the picturesque grounds in which they are situated, and after an all-too-hasty glance

at some of the many treasures in the unrivalled collection of Norfolk and Norwich books and MSS. contained in the library returned to the Royal Hotel for luncheon.

In the afternoon a visit was paid to Messrs. Willett's factories, under the able guidance of Mr. Louis Willett, and much interest was taken in the various fabrics and processes of their manufacture, widely different though they are from those introduced by the foreign immigrants of old.

The lateness of the hour and the inclemency of the weather, which had hitherto been most propitious, unfortunately prevented the Society from accepting a kind invitation from Sir Harry and Lady Bullard to Hellesdon House. The proceedings accordingly terminated with the visit to the factories, thus closing the second Summer Conference of the Society—a Conference pronounced by those present at both to be fully as successful as that of the previous year at Canterbury and Sandwich. The causes of this success are not far to seek; much interest in the foreign settlers at Norwich had been excited by the publication last year of the Registers of the Walloon Church of that city, and by the completion just before the Conference of Mr. Moens' very full history of both the Church and settlement. The Society was also fortunate in having so excellent a president on the occasion as Mr. Moens himself, who most ably filled that office in the absence from England of Sir Henry Layard. But the success of the Conference was due even more to the many kind friends at Norwich who gave the Society so cordial a welcome, and who seemed to vie with each other in their efforts to render every possible assistance in making the proceedings a pleasure to all taking part in them. The Norwich Conference will long be a delightful event to look back to in the history of the Society, and now that two consecutive gatherings of the kind have been carried out with so happy a result as has attended those of Canterbury and Norwich, it may perhaps be considered that the 'Summer Conference' has established as firm a footing as the Society itself, and the hope may fairly be entertained that each succeeding year will find an increasing number of Fellows assembling in some spot hallowed by the

memory of their Huguenot fathers of old, and affording as hearty a welcome as that given to the Society by the fair capital of East Anglia in 1888.

The following donations to the Library have been received since the publication of the last number of the *Proceedings* :—

‘ Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français ’; Bulletin; tome xxxviii. Nos. 4–9. *Paris*, 1888. 8vo. Presented by the *Société*.

‘ Commission pour l’Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes ’; Bulletin; tome iii. Livraison 3. *La Haye*, 1888. 8vo. Presented by the *Commission*.

‘ Französische Colonie, Die. Zeitschrift für Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der französisch-reformirten Gemeinden Deutschlands. ’ Nos. 1–10, 1888. *Berlin*, 1888. 4to. Presented by the Editor, Dr. Richard Béringuier.

‘ Die Colonieliste von 1699. Rôle Général des François Réfugiés dans les Etats de sa Sérénité Electorale de Brandebourg, comme ils sont trouvez au 31 décembre 1699. ’ *Berlin*, 1888. 8vo. Presented by the Editor, Dr. Richard Béringuier.

‘ Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque publique de la Ville d’Ypres. ’ *Ypres*, 1870. 8vo. Presented by M. Jules Cordonnier, Archiviste-Bibliothécaire.

Diegerick, I. L. A. ‘ Inventaire des Chartes et Documents appartenant aux Archives de la Ville d’Ypres. ’ *Bruges*, 1853–1868. 7 vols. 8vo. Presented by M. Jules Cordonnier, Archiviste-Bibliothécaire.

Diegerick, I. L. A. ‘ Archives de la Ville d’Ypres. Documents du xvi^e Siècle faisant suite à l’Inventaire des Chartes. ’ *Bruges*, 1874–7. 4 vols. 8vo. Presented by M. Jules Cordonnier, Archiviste-Bibliothécaire.

The ‘ Guernsey Magazine, ’ May and June 1873. (*Contains a notice of the Durand Family.*) Presented by Lieut.-General F. P. Layard.

‘ Story of Pierre Raymond Layard of Monflanguin. ’ *London*, 1888. 4to. pamphlet. Presented by the Author, Lieut.-General F. P. Layard.

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Annual Statement of the Presbyterian Church of New York, N.Y., for 1887-8. *New Rochelle*, 1887-8. Sm. 4to. Presented by Henry M. Lester, Esq.
 Collections of the Virginia Historical Society. New Series. Vol. V., VI. *Richmond, Va.*, 1866-7. 8vo. Presented by the Society.

Moens, W. J. C. Bibliography of 'Chronyc Historie der Nederlandtscher Oorlogen, etc.' From the 'Archæologia,' vol. li. *Westminster*, 1888. 4to. Presented by the Author.
 'Liste des Réfugiés de la Haute-Normandie à la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes.' MS. Presented by M. Emile Lesens.

'Register of the French Church, Dover. *Privately Printed*, 1888. Sm. folio. Presented by F. A. Crisp, Esq.

Societies with which the Huguenot Society of London is in correspondence :—

La Société Jersiaise.
 La Société pour l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.
 La Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes.
 La Société d'Histoire Vaudoise.
 The Huguenot Society of America.
 The Virginia Historical Society.

The Society's Publications, as under, may be obtained on application to the Hon. Secretary. They are sold to Fellows of the Society only, and other persons desiring copies must obtain them through a Fellow:—

						£	s.	d.
Proceedings.	Vol. I. No. 1	0	5	0
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CXXXIV PROCEEDINGS OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY

	£	s.	d.
¹ Les Eglises françaises de Londres. Par M. le Baron F. de Schickler	0	1	0
¹ A Huguenot Relic. By Lieut.-General Layard	0	0	6
¹ The Bearing of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes upon the English Revolution of 1688. By the Hon. and Rev. Canon Fremantle	0	0	6
¹ Geneva, the Protestant City of Refuge. By William Westall	0	0	6
² The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, illustrated from State Papers in the Archives of Venice. By Sir Henry A. Layard, G.C.B., President. (<i>Only 100 copies printed.</i>)	0	2	6
The Walloons and their Church at Norwich; their History and Registers, 1565-1832. By W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A. 1 vol. 4to. in 2 parts. (<i>Only 309 copies printed.</i>) Part I	1	1	0
— Part II	1	1	0
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¹ Reprinted from *Proceedings*, Vol. I. No. 2.

² Reprinted from *Proceedings*, Vol. II. Nos. 1 and 2.

APPENDIX.

The Walloon Church Festival at Haarlem.

By REGINALD S. FABER.

*A Paper read at a Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London, Wednesday,
November 10, 1886.*

At the end of August the following cordial letter was received from the President and Secretary of the Walloon Church at Haarlem, inviting the Society to send representatives to attend the special proceedings on September 5, in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Church's establishment in that town:—

' A la Huguenot Society à Londres.

' Haarlem, le 21 Août, 1886.

'Messieurs et très-chers frères,—Il y aura, le 7 septembre prochain, trois cents ans que les réfugiés wallons établis à Haarlem entendirent, pour la première fois, prêcher l'Evangile en français dans le temple qui sert aujourd'hui encore de lieu de culte à leurs descendants.

'Le Consistoire de l'Eglise Wallonne de Haarlem a décidé de commémorer ce souvenir par un service religieux, qui aura lieu le dimanche 5 septembre prochain, à dix heures du matin.

'Pendant les deux premiers siècles de son existence, cette Eglise a eu de nombreuses et importantes obligations envers les Etats de la Province, envers le Magistrat de la ville, ainsi qu'envers le clergé de l'Eglise hollandaise de Haarlem. Le Consistoire croit donc s'acquitter d'un devoir de gratitude envers le passé, en invitant les membres de ces vénérables corps à se faire représenter à cette cérémonie.

'La présence des délégués des Eglises wallonnes, avec lesquelles celle de Haarlem se sent unie par tant de souvenirs

et des liens si intimes, lui serait également très-précieuse en cette circonstance. Il invite en conséquence les Vénérables Consistoires de ces Eglises à se faire représenter à cette fête de famille, et les prie de lui indiquer le nombre de députés qu'ils se proposent d'y envoyer avant le premier septembre prochain.

'Au Nom du Consistoire de l'Eglise Wallonne de Haarlem.

'Le Président, A. S. ENSCHEDÉ.

'Le Secrétaire, G. HESHUYSEN.

'P.S.—MM. les Députés sont invités à prendre part à la collation que le Consistoire se propose de leur offrir, après le service, à l'hôtel Funckler.'

The very few days intervening between the receipt of the invitation and the date of the festival unfortunately prevented many members from being present who would otherwise have had pleasure in attending, and it was matter of special regret to the President that, owing to absence in a distant part of the Continent, the intelligence did not reach him in time to enable him to proceed to Haarlem for the occasion.

In the unavoidable absence of the President and other Members of Council, the Society was represented by the Honorary Secretary, who was received in the most kindly and hospitable manner by the Consistory and others, everyone with whom he came in contact expressing hearty goodwill towards the Society and deep interest in its work and welfare.

The Commemoration Service was arranged to take place at 10 A.M. on Sunday, September 5, in the Walloon Church, a small but lofty building of considerable antiquity, which had been very fully and prettily decorated with flowers and evergreens by several ladies of the congregation. The houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the church were also gaily decked with flags, and it may be incidentally mentioned as a proof of the general honour in which this little branch of the Reformed Religion is held, that amongst the dwellings so decorated were some occupied by Jews. The service (which was in French throughout) was conducted by M. Gagnebin, of Amsterdam, an Honorary Fellow of this Society, and was of much beauty and solemnity. The psalms were the 42nd, the

139th, and the 150th, set to the music of Goudimel, which was impressively rendered by the choir, composed of members of the 'Zang en Vriendschap,' under the direction of M. Schmölling. The lesson was taken from the fifteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, and M. Gagnebin delivered a most eloquent sermon on 1 Corinthians iii. 11: 'Nul ne peut poser autre fondement que celui qui est posé, lequel est Jésus-Christ.' He began by giving a brief sketch of the foundation and history of the Walloon Church, illustrated by a vivid description of the life and labours of Jean Taffin, its first pastor in Haarlem, paying a glowing tribute to his unwearied zeal and lifelong devotion in the cause of the Reformed faith and giving a stirring account of the various perils through which he passed. M. Gagnebin did not forget to express the gratitude due from all members of the Walloon and other kindred Churches to the town of Haarlem for the ready welcome accorded by her citizens to the refugees of old in their time of sore trial and necessity, and for the constant protection and goodwill manifested ever since to their descendants. Then, pointing to the motto of the church, 'Christ seul est tout,' which was inscribed on the organ-loft between the dates '1586' and '1886,' he proceeded to make a most forcible application of it and of the words of his text to the early history of the Walloons, and also to the needs of their descendants and others of the present day.

The service concluded with the following hymn, the sixty-third, from the 'Recueil de Cantiques' of the Walloon Churches of the Netherlands:—

Daigne, au sortir de ce saint lieu,
Bénir ton peuple, ô notre Dieu !
Soutiens-le par ta grâce,
Sois son secours, sois son appui ;
Et laisse reposer sur lui
Le regard de ta face.

Amen ! Amen !

Purifie,
Sanctifie,
Renouvelle

Tout en nous, Sauveur fidèle !

The members of the Consistory, the representatives of various congregations and societies, and others, then adjourned to the Hôtel Funckler, where they were most hospitably entertained at luncheon by the President, M. Enschedé. At the close of the collation several speeches were made and toasts given appropriate to the occasion : amongst others, the prosperity of the Huguenot Society of London was proposed by M. Enschedé in the most kindly terms, and received by the whole company with the utmost enthusiasm and cordiality. The Honorary Secretary responded, expressing the Society's thanks for the honour thus done, and for the warm welcome accorded to him as its representative, assuring them that the Society heartily reciprocated the goodwill shown by the descendants of the refugees in Holland to their brethren in England, and was fully prepared to maintain in every way the most fraternal relations with them.

The proceedings were shortly after brought to a close, terminating a most successful day and one full of interest to all present.

**Chevalleau de Boisragon. A Narrative from
Unpublished MSS.**

By LIEUT.-GENERAL LAYARD.

*A Paper read at a Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London, Wednesday,
November 10, 1886.*

At the Château of St. Maixant in Poitou, situated on his family estates near Boisragon, a village which still exists, there lived in the latter half of the seventeenth century Colonel Louis Chevalleau de Boisragon, Seigneur de la Tifardière, who, after having borne his share in the troubles of that time by suffering imprisonment at La Rochelle, contrived in 1688 to effect his escape into Holland, where he joined Schomberg's Dragoons, and was afterwards present with his regiment at the battle of the Boyne.

Colonel de Boisragon was twice married, his second wife being Marie-Henriette de Rambouillet, a daughter of the refugee Nicolas de la Sablière, Marquis de Rambouillet, who in 1718 was a Director of the French Protestant Hospital. Their eldest daughter became the wife of Daniel Peter Layard, also a Director of the Hospital in 1775, whilst their eldest son Henry was the writer of the letter which I am about to quote, and which is now in the possession of a relative, Mr. George Somes Layard, a Fellow of our Society.

The letter is dated June 25, 1760, just one hundred and twenty-six years ago, from Camp Neustadt near Cassel, then the capital of the kingdom of Westphalia.

At that time the allied armies of England and Prussia under the chief command of His Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick and Lunebourg, were opposed to the French under Marshal Broglie.

The English army, under the command of Lieut.-General the Marquis of Granby, was composed of

- 1 Regiment of Horse Guards,
- 2 Regiments of Horse,
- 3 " of Dragoon Guards,
- 6 " of Dragoons,
- 16 " of Foot.

In one of these last, the 8th Regiment of Foot, Henry Boisragon was senior captain, and at the time of the impending action, to which he refers in his letter to his wife, acting as major of brigade to the brigade under the command of Major-General the Hon. John Barrington, Colonel of the 8th Foot.

A full account of the action, with the orders of Prince Ferdinand thanking the troops for their valour and good conduct, and accompanied by a 'map showing the situation of the French and allied armies in Germany, and illustrating their engagements,' may be found in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1760, vol. xxx.

Henry Boisragon's letter runs thus:—

* Camp Neustadt, June 25th, 1760.

'My Dearest Life,—We left the Camp at Waveren y^e day before yesterday, and got here this morning very near the French; 'tis now about four o'clock, and we are ordered to march directly, and perhaps may soon be engaged with them. As God only knows what may be the Consequences, I make use of this short time to tell you that I have sealed up my Private Account Book enclosed, also y^r letters, that they may not be pry'd into. If it should please God to dispose of my Life in this Action, Remember my Brigade-Major's pay wth Fisher' (*he was an army agent*) 'will receive for you when paid, also arrears due since last December 25th. My private acct. with the Reg^t must be settled by Miller' (*Surgeon Robert Miller, 8th Foot*). 'As soon as possible get Fisher or Clarke to put you in the way to get my Widow's pension.

'This is all I think off [*sic*]. Adieu; God prosper, bless and

preserve you ; you are the last I shall think off [*sic*] ; you are y^e best of wives ; I honour, esteem & love you above expression, be persuaded off [*sic*] it, & that I am with my Latest breath y^e most tender & affectionate Husband

‘HENRY BOISRAGON.’

The gallant captain must have passed through the action safely, as I find he added a postscript to his letter, dated the 20th of August following, in which he says :—

‘I have the third of a Waggon and Horses with Col. Mompesson’ (*this was Lieut.-Col. John Mompesson, of the 8th Foot, the son of a Huguenot refugee*) ‘and y^e Major’ (*his name, I find in an old Army List of 1760, was John Cook*)—‘it cost me about 20 Gs. ; you must be paid my Part.’

He ends his letter by telling his wife that her letters would be too bulky to carry about ; he therefore only now and then keeps one.

Captain Boisragon passed safely through the campaign and died at Windsor, a major on half-pay, in 1791, his wife outliving him till 1799.

I may here add that among Pasteur Bouhoureau's collection of Huguenot papers in the Marsh Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin, there exists a curious old MS. account of the persecution of Jean Chevalleau de Boisragon, grandfather of Major Henry Boisragon, dated Civray, April 22, 1681, describing his sufferings at the hands of the dragoons.

The MS., which my daughter copied for me, is as follows, but it is so much blurred as to be in some places almost illegible.

‘Le 22 d'auril, 1681. Ciuray.

‘Le 22 d'auril, deux Cavaliers furent chez le nommé Boisragon, qui n'était point de la dépendance de Ciuray. Ils luy dirent avec d'horribles blasphemes des Missionnaires avec que luy enuoye M^r Danyau par l'ordre de M^r L'Intendant ; Si tu n'habandonne ta religion coquin d'huguenot no^s te ferons du mal le plus q^e no^s pourrons.

‘On rapporte avec étonnement tout ce q'avait par eux dits, croyan qu'elles sont toutes d'une singulière Importance,

puisquelles marquent toutte quelles sont faits & par ordre de M^r L'Intendant.

'Il lui prirent ses souliers es casseroles, son coffier, ses armories, prirent une cuillere d'argent, ses manchettes, ses chemises, ses cravattes à dentelle, ses cuvettes, ses es luy dire prendre covrage que c'étoit l'Intendant dv Roy que les chiens d'Hvgenots fussent pillez es saccagez ; Animez par leur Huqueton ils prirent a la gorge led^t boisragon, le menaçaient de létrangler sil ne levr donnoit 4 Louisdor p^r se degager, il les leur provint. Le landemain le vint luy dire sil ne vouloit pas changer et faire de la religion du Roy.

'Boisragon repondit qu'il n'avoit jamais houui de la relig : du Roy, ni en l'auantage de la ovir, que la sienne luy enseignoit de prier Dieu, po^r sa grandeur et sa prosperité c : qⁱ faisoit tous les jours, et q^e vovloit movrir dans sa relig : q^e avoit toujo professée.

'Le Hoqueton lvi repartit rydement q^e luy feroit faire par force, puisque le Roy ne vovlait pas quil y eulx plus personne dans son Roy^{me} de la relig : Hvgvenote. Ce dialogue est dite qvon n'y ovbliez.

'Boisragon luy dit resolutement qu'il ne croyait pas que l'intention du Roy si grand et si bon fvsse de gener les consciences de ses sugets, qvil auoit bien oüy dire qv'il souhaittoit qv'ils fussent tovs de sa religion, mais quecela se fist de gré a gré, et non pas en rigovreux, qv'on a son egard, et a l'egard de tant d'autres qu'on traitait avec tant d'humanité.

'Le hoqueton ne se remit de sa passion & voulant se faire obeir, luy dit, " Vous etes un plaisant, Je men vay vous envoyer toute la compagnie des cavaliers " et que sil le faisait d'avantage il alloit le mettre entre 4 mvrailles du

'Boisragon fit servir a son un cochon de lait et de l'agneau ; Le Hoqueton le blasme de souffrir quon luy donnait de si grossier viandes, quil le falloit traiter autrement et quils ne fissent point de repas, quils neussent chacun un louis dor a leur

'Sur cela les cavaliers redoublaient l^{rs} desordres et le vovlrent contraindre de levr donner 12 ecus, jurant de le tuer sil

ne luy donnoit 3 pistolets, et de l'attacher à les queueux de leurs chevaux. C^{la} l'obligea de senfuir et d'abandonner sa maison, es qu'on le metta en pieces, sur emporte aussi son linge et pillaient le reste.'

Translation.

'On April 22, 1681, two troopers, who were not belonging to Civray, came to the said Boisragon and with horrid blasphemies told him that by order of the Intendant [or Governor of the province] M. Danyau was sending missionaries for his conversion, saying "Scoundrel of a Huguenot, if you do not abjure your religion we will torment you to the utmost of our power."

'It is astonishing to relate all that they said and how much importance they attached to all that they did by order of the Governor. They carried off M. de Boisragon's shoes, his culinary vessels, his treasure chest and arms; they stole a silver spoon, his ruffles, his shirts and lace cravats, his wine-coolers, &c., and told him to take good heart, as it was the intention of the King that the dogs of Huguenots should be plundered and destroyed.

'Excited by the Hoqueton [or sergeant] they seized the said Boisragon by the throat, threatening to strangle him if he did not give them four golden louis to release him. They got this sum from him.

'The next day . . . [MS. illegible] returned to inquire whether he would not change his religion and follow that of the King. Boisragon replied that he had never inquired into the King's religion, nor had he had the opportunity of hearing of it; that his religion taught him to pray to God for the greatness and prosperity of the King, and this he always did, and that he wished to die in the religion which he had always professed.

'The Hoqueton brutally retorted that he would force him to abjure his religion, as the King desired that there should no longer exist in his kingdom anyone of the Huguenot faith. This dialogue is repeated that it may not be forgotten!

'Boisragon replied resolutely that he did not believe it was

the intention of a king so good and gracious that the consciences of his subjects should be vexed; that he may well have said that he *wished* all his subjects were of his religion, but that that should be accomplished gradually and not . . . [MS. illegible], both towards him and many others who were being treated with so much kindness.

'The Hoqueton did not suppress his anger, but being determined to be obeyed said to M. Boisragon, "You are a buffoon! I am going to order the whole company of troopers to come, and if you continue contumacious I will clap you between the four walls of . . . [MS. illegible]."

'M. Boisragon ordered his . . . [MS. illegible] to provide a sucking-pig and some lamb. The Hoqueton abused him for permitting such coarse food to be served, and said that they should have been treated better and had a louis d'or apiece in addition . . . [MS. illegible].

'The troopers then redoubled their violence, compelling him to give each of them twelve crowns (*écus*) and threatening to kill him and tie him to the tails of their horses if he did not give them three gold pieces (*pistolets*). This forced him to flee and abandon his house, which they destroyed . . . [MS. illegible], carrying off all the linen and pillaging everything.'

This narrative will give some idea of the cruel persecutions carried on in Poitou against persons of the Huguenot faith before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes compelled so many to abandon their country and their homes, in most cases in penury and destitution.

The M. de Boisragon whose sufferings are above related was, as I have before said, Jean Chevalleau, Ecuyer and Seigneur of Boisragon. He was born in 1615 at his Château of St. Maixant near the village and town-land of Bois-Ragon in Poitou, and was therefore an elderly man of sixty-six years of age when so cruelly treated by the dragoons. He died in 1687, having had by his wife, Catherine de Marconnaye, four sons and five daughters.

The youngest son, Louis Chevalleau de Boisragon, who

was born at St. Maixant on May 2, 1666, was, in attempting to escape from France as a lad of nineteen, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, apprehended and imprisoned at La Rochelle. He seems to have been either liberated or to have escaped in 1688, as we find him in Holland and entering, on March 18, 1689, Schomberg's regiment of dragoons as a cornet. He subsequently served at the battle of the Boyne and died on February 16, 1715, as Lieut.-Colonel in the 53rd Regiment of Foot.

His first wife, whom he married in London, was Louise Reyrand, Dame de la Grange, a daughter of Messire René, Seigneur de Clouseaux. On her death he married, in 1713, Marie-Henriette, daughter of Nicolas de Rambouillet, Seigneur de la Sablière, as before mentioned.

Of the members of the Boisragon family who remained in France we know little, except that the youngest daughter, Catherine, who was, according to Messrs. Erman and Reclam, attempting to escape from France, was arrested and confined in the '*Nouvelles Catholiques*.' 'She was apprehended,' say these authors, 'in the Isle de Rhé, endeavouring to flee from an accursed land where she had been condemned to be shaved and confined in a nunnery.' She appears at last to have abjured her faith in 1686, at the age of eighteen.

The last of the French Boisragons seems to have been M. Armand Alexander Chevalleau, Marquis de Boisragon, who died at Poitiers in September 1839, without issue. He married Mlle. de Montière de Merinville.

Of the English refugee family the only living representatives are now Conrad Boisragon, Esq., great-grandson of the refugee, and his nephew Major-General Henry Francis Maxwell Boisragon, who was severely wounded at the siege of Delhi, and who has one son, an officer in the army, and one daughter. There is also another young officer, son of Major-General Theodore Walter Ross Boisragon, C.B. (a younger brother of the above), who died in 1882.

I have a pedigree of the Chevalleau family, dating from Jean Chevalleau, Ecuyer, living in 1398, and Jeanne de Michèze, his wife.

Story of John Perigal of Dieppe.

*A Paper read at a Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London, Wednesday,
November 10, 1886.*

Note.—The simply told narrative of the persecutions and imprisonment of John Perigal,¹ of which the following is an almost verbatim translation, is extracted from a manuscript volume containing ‘A History of the Antiquities and of the Reformation of the town of Dieppe, in which are recorded the most remarkable occurrences in the Church and in the town from A.D. 788 to 1688.’ The volume, containing 266 pages, is clearly written in French, the letters being in the character of print, and it is stated to have been completed on November 26, 1723. It has been well preserved, and has been handed down as a family heirloom, being now in my possession.

FREDERICK PERIGAL.

July 1886.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN the dragoons entered the town of Dieppe, which was on November 12, 1685, the whole populace flocked in a crowd to the High Street in order to see them enter the houses of those of the Reformed Religion, and when they saw them enter some of them shouted for joy as if they greatly benefited thereby, which enhanced the chagrin of those who received such disagreeable visitors. All the afternoon having passed in finding quarters for those troopers without any of them coming to our

¹ John Perigal became one of the original Directors of the French Protestant Hospital of London to whom a Charter of Incorporation was granted by George I. on July 24, 1718.

house, we hoped to be exempted from this first billet, seeing that the evening had commenced, but at the time we least expected them there came to us two dragoons, who did not appear to us to be very ill-natured. They said to us at first, 'You will know why we are sent here; it is to oblige you to change your religion; but we will say nothing about that, and, provided that you treat us properly, we will allow you to live in any manner you may wish.'

This speech seemed to us very reasonable, and we were well pleased in our unhappy position that we had to do with such civil people. We immediately prepared their supper for them, consisting of a turkey-hen, a sucking-pig, and some good wine. We supped with them, drinking their health and they drinking ours in a friendly manner. They drank until midnight, and then slept in their chairs, being inebriated. About two or three o'clock in the morning one of them woke us up and said that the table was to be laid for him, as he was hungry; this I did at once with the remains of the supper, when he told me with an oath that he would not have that, but required fresh viands. I told him that it was impossible to obtain any at that hour, and, presenting him with the remainder of the supper, said it was all that could be given him at present. He would not listen to reason, but flew into a terrible rage, and, abjuring God, threw the plates and meat into the fire and the cups full of wine on the ground, previously breaking the glasses. He then threatened me furiously, swearing and storming as he took up some firebrands, declaring that if I did not furnish him with fresh meat he would strike me with them across the face. I again told him it was impossible for me to do so, it being too early, to which he replied with an oath, 'It is the impossible that I want!' Seeing that he was so unreasonable, I did not say much, for fear of irritating him more; his comrade, who, unlike him, had not lost his reason, calmed him a little, but nevertheless he was in a very bad humour during the remainder of the night.

He slept the whole of the next day, and his quartermaster, finding him in that condition, censured him severely for his

drunkenness and gluttony, and swearing at him said that if he found him again in such a state he would place him under arrest. He forbade him also most emphatically to do us any more wrong, and in fact we had no more to complain of him, as without drink he was the best man imaginable.

During fifteen days that he remained at our house with his comrade, he contented himself with cider, and generally behaved very civilly; but one evening, after he had been drinking with other troopers and had gone to bed with his companion and we also had retired to our rooms to sleep, he got up again without our knowledge. Observing a light, however, we looked through an opening which communicated below, and saw him warming himself before a great fire. My father, brother-in-law and I immediately went downstairs, fearing that he might set fire to the house, for he had placed three chairs and some wood in a heap, which, being ignited, made a great flame. We asked him why he had done so; he gave us no other explanation but that he wished to warm himself. We endeavoured to moderate a little the bad temper he was in, and he then went to bed again, and we likewise.

We suffered no more from these two dragoons during the sojourn they made at our house; in fine, we treated them as friends at our table, without their being dissatisfied with what we gave them to eat, and they lived very peaceably with us.

Two days previous to the departure of these two first from our house, two more were sent to us, who did not wait like the others for what we would give them, but sternly demanded forthwith Spanish wine in addition to French. They then sent for the cook, and ordered what they chose for supper.

When the first tankard of Spanish wine was drunk they sent me to fetch another, which I at once did, as it was of no use arguing with them. They strongly pressed my father to place himself at the table with them, saying to him, 'My host, since you so very willingly give us your best to eat, at least take your share of it.' They gave him some glasses of Spanish wine, which he was unable to refuse; but he would not sit at the table, for he was very unhappy. For myself, I

kept them company, and drank to their health as they drank to mine.

I omitted to mention that when they arrived, they asked our first visitors why they had not made us change our religion during the time they had been with us, to which they replied that we were too firm in our faith to do so. 'Ah,' they said, 'we will soon make them change it! There is the fender, which we will make red-hot and place on the old father's neck.' This did not trouble us much, as it was only a threat.

To return to their supper. Besides apples, pears, and walnuts for their dessert, they would have candied nuts and sweet biscuits, which we were obliged to give them. They then demanded some violins, but as my sister was ill, we begged them earnestly that they should not be brought, as they would disturb her. We had much difficulty in persuading them, but at last they yielded.

They then said, 'We are not so bad as you perhaps imagine us to be, and we would not put you to so much expense as to ruin you if we were not convinced that you ought to be so treated, for if we believed otherwise, we should be very sorry to do what we are doing, and we should be contented with your usual fare.' Afterwards they added, 'As you must be ruined, would you not rather give your best to eat to us than to those who may come after?'

Being satisfied with their own speech, they made great feasting during two or three days with our former guests, who were astonished at the extravagance of our new-comers.

An order coming for the regiment to which our dragoons belonged to leave Dieppe, they departed, and we were very glad to be rid of them and to enjoy some rest. But this peace did not last long, for, our four troopers having departed in the morning, they sent us on the evening of the same day three cuirassiers, one of whom said to me on arriving, 'Fear nothing; we are honest folk and will do you no harm; do not apprehend that we shall make any disturbance in your house. We shall require nothing from you beyond that

which the King ordains; you have only to feed us and our horses, pay our quartermaster twenty sous a day for each horseman, and if you will give us some gratuity, we shall be grateful to you, and you will not lose by so doing.' To this I replied, 'Sir, you could not address us more civilly; we will try, as long as we are able to do so, to provide you with what is proper, and to treat you as the honest folk you are.'

We prepared for them a pretty good supper, and gave them each a crown-piece in order to welcome them, as we had given to the others. They thanked us, and conducted themselves very discreetly towards us.

Two days afterwards, on Sunday morning, three others were sent to us, which alarmed us much. The first told us that we need not be uneasy, as they were friends and comrades of theirs, who would not be more troublesome than themselves.

This reassured us a little, but an hour after three more were sent to us, so that there were nine altogether at our house.

When my father saw this large number, he said to them, 'Sirs, I am very much surprised that you have all been sent to my house, seeing that the troopers who have already been here have ruined me, and I cannot find food for so many; I think that the town authorities have made a mistake in giving you your billets; I should like to go to the town-hall and speak to them.' They replied, 'It is no business of ours; nevertheless we will willingly go with you to speak to the authorities.'

My father accordingly went with some of them to the town-hall, but the authorities there would not listen to him. On the contrary, they sent him forthwith to prison at the castle, and there placed him in the guard-house, where he suffered a thousand indignities from the insolent soldiers for many days following. He was then placed in a dark dungeon.

To return to our cuirassiers. My mother told them that they might do whatever they would; that she had nothing to give them, that they might themselves sell the furniture, and

that she left everything to them. They replied that it was not their occupation to sell furniture, and that she had better sell it herself, which I also advised her to do.

We gave them the key of our money-box, putting into it all we obtained by the sale of our goods; then at night I distributed to them whatever they required. They were eight or ten days reducing our house to a wreck, so that there only remained the four walls. They behaved themselves very civilly; they always desired my company at table, and took care to give me the best portions, not forgetting, before commencing themselves, to fill a plate with that which they believed to be the most delicate morsels for my sister who was ill, and some of them generally took the trouble to carry it to her. I always said grace aloud, both before and after the repast, at which they never omitted to take off their hats. They also had the consideration not to sell my sister's bed, in consequence of her sad illness. They protested to us that it gave them much pain that the lot had fallen on them to come and ruin so many good families, and that they would prefer to live in their garrisons; but at all events they were not personally to blame for it, being obliged to obey their commanders.

Thus they left us, making a thousand apologies and offering us their services in case we should need them.

We felt greatly relieved, being out of this trouble, and we were more content between our four bare walls than many are in their abundance, for piety and a contented frame of mind are great blessings.

In this tranquillity we devoted ourselves to the reading of the word of God very often and to singing his praises; we read especially those chapters in the Gospels which contain exhortation to perseverance and the promises to those who fight the good fight of faith and triumph.

It was this which strengthened so much our courage and gave us a sacred joy in our souls, enabling us to anticipate without fear all that might happen to us; entrusting to God alone the care of ourselves and of all our troubles, being assured that if He found it good to make us pass through

hard trials, He would give us sufficient strength to triumph over them.

This quiet did not continue long, however, for at the end of some few days they sent us a trooper with his wife. I told him that he had been misdirected, as we had nothing more at our house; he then began to swear and storm, saying that he must have some money or he would ill-use us. I said that all such disturbance would avail him nothing, since he could see for himself that everything was gone. This did not satisfy him, and he went upstairs, where he found my mother with my sick sister.

When he saw that there was nothing in the house but my sister's bed, he said we must sell that, and when we represented to him that it was a most cruel thing to sell a poor invalid's bed, he replied that he knew nothing about that, but that he must have money. We were therefore obliged to sell the bed, but the person who bought it lent it to my sister, pitying her sad state.

It seems that this trooper, seeing that there was absolutely nothing at our house but the bed, went to the town-hall to try and obtain another billet to lodge elsewhere, but he was refused, which was why he felt obliged to do as he did. After receiving the money from the sale of the bed, he left the house and we had again a little quiet.

During this period my brother and brother-in-law were absent from home, and had concealed themselves amongst our friends who had 'signed,'¹ in order to escape the prison whither they saw daily many people taken.

I resolved, with the help of God, to see the end of all this devastation, believing that it was not my duty to leave my mother and sister to the mercy of these troopers in such deplorable times. For myself, I felt a holy strength; so much so that I apprehended neither prisons nor dungeons, nor even death itself, being ready to suffer martyrdom if God so willed it.

Our enemies, having determined to drive us to extremities, sent us another trooper, although they well knew that we

¹ A formal recantation.

were entirely ruined. This one behaved like the last, swearing and abjuring God in order to make us procure what he demanded.

At this time my youngest brother was by chance at our house, and as he argued with the trooper, trying to reason with him, the other said to him, 'It matters not to me what you say; give me some money.' My brother replied in a firm voice, 'And if we have no money?' The trooper answered in a great rage, 'Then deliver yourself up.' My brother rejoined in the same tone, 'And if I will not deliver myself up?' Then the trooper in a fury, seeing that he was being thus thwarted, began to draw his sabre, swearing with most horrible oaths that he would kill him. Upon this my brother fled and hid himself upstairs; the trooper would have pursued him, but I stopped him.

During all this uproar our neighbours, hearing the altercation, ran towards us, but the trooper turned them out and shut the door. It was eight or nine o'clock in the evening when our neighbours who had been repulsed, fearing that this wretched man would ill-treat us, knocked at the door, which one of us at once opened, but the trooper, who was quite close, shut it again. On seeing this I seized him round the body so that he could not prevent our neighbours from entering for the purpose of rescuing us. When he felt himself thus seized he shouted at the top of his voice, 'Help, comrades, help! They are trying to murder a soldier!' Then he drew his sabre and slashed from side to side as though he would kill us all. In making all this disturbance he knocked over the candle, and swearing and storming he struck the walls with his sword in the darkness, no one being with him but my mother, one of our neighbours, and myself. We apprehended that he would wound us in his passion, but, thanks be to God, we got off with a fright only.

During this turmoil some of the neighbours were informing the city guard, who were at the town-hall. A serjeant came at once with two musketeers, and on entering said in a loud voice, 'Where are they who are murdering a soldier?' I expected that the trooper would have said that it was I, but

he replied that it was 'a certain young scoundrel who had run off,' referring to my brother. 'Ah, well,' said the serjeant, 'will you have him arrested and put in a dungeon? You have only to say the word.' The trooper, however, said, 'You must not be so hasty; if he will not speak so roughly to me any more, I will pardon him.' The serjeant desired to see my brother; I therefore called him down. When he had seen him he again asked the trooper if he would have him imprisoned. 'No, no,' said he, 'I pardon him.' 'Then,' replied the serjeant, 'keep good guard in this house; let no one leave; secure all the doors well and take possession of the keys.'

A cavalry officer also came to learn the reason of the disturbance. On hearing that the serjeant had ordered the trooper to keep guard over us, he approved thereof; he likewise asked how many men there were in the house, and having learnt that there were two, 'Very well,' said he, 'they must have two troopers to guard them.' He therefore set one of the musketeers who had accompanied the serjeant, to help guard us, and told them both to try every means to induce us to sign.

We expected to pass a most wretched night with the two troopers, but as soon as the officer and serjeant were gone, and they were alone with us in an empty house, without any bed to sleep on, they said, 'You have heard how they would have us persecute you; now, if you will give us some money, we will not sleep here at all, and will leave you in peace.' We managed to furnish them with three or four crowns; then they asked me to conduct them to their inn, as they did not quite know the way. As soon as the officer saw them, he demanded in astonishment why they had so speedily deserted a place which they were so strongly charged to guard; to which they replied that, having received some money, they did not see the use of living in an empty house.

We again had a little peace, awaiting the will of Divine Providence; it was not long, however, before two more troopers appeared. We inquired what they intended to do at our house. 'To have some money,' said they. When, how-

ever, they saw that we could not give them any, they returned in order to get another billet, which was refused, and they were sent back to sell the only moveable that they had found in the house, which was the bed on which my sister was lying. They accordingly sold it (for the second time), in spite of all we could say to them, assuring them that it was only borrowed. My sister then had a mattress placed on the floor to avoid having her bed sold a third time.

When these troopers had collected the proceeds of the bed, they left us, but they came back again the next day to beg us to supply them with sufficient money for two days, in which case they would not come to our house any more, as they would be leaving the town. On their pledging their word, we borrowed sixteen francs, which we gave them. When, however, the two days had passed, they came to tell us that they were not going away as they had believed, and that they must have more money. We refused to give them any, and my sister, feeble as she was, started, leaning on my mother and one of the troopers, in order to complain at the town-hall, where, however, she obtained no satisfaction from the authorities, who asked her where her husband was. She replied that she did not know. 'Why,' asked they, 'will you not yield?' 'It is, sirs,' she said, 'because my conscience will not permit me to do so.' Upon this they returned, 'Ah, well, since you will not sign, you will still have the dragoons,' and with these words dismissed them.

When my sister returned, in much pain, and without having obtained any satisfaction, the trooper who had remained in the house, seeing his comrade come back without having been furnished with another billet, began swearing and threatening to destroy us all if we did not find some money for him. Seeing that he gained nothing by this, he tore off the sheets and counterpanes which were on the mattress where my sister was reclining; he likewise tore the wraps and clothes off her baby, and in spite of all that we could represent to him of the peril to which he exposed that little creature, and which might perhaps cause its death, nothing would stop him.

On finding that his comrade was unwilling to assist him, he loaded himself with the rich booty in order to sell it in the street. His comrade and I followed him downstairs to recover that which belonged to the infant, and which he restored to me after many entreaties. After this he went out, loaded as he was, and some people passing the door asked him if those clothes were for sale. Having replied that they were, he re-entered so that they might examine them, but they would not agree to his price, whereupon he again loaded himself with them and went out into the street to look for a customer.

He and his comrade, who had followed him, did not get far before encountering Messieurs de Radiolles and de Rouville, together with a third gentleman; these demanded who had authorised them to make this sale. Their only reply was that, there being no more money at our house, they had been obliged to resort to this means of getting some; whereupon those gentlemen promptly made them return to our house, which they entered with them. M. de Rouville then angrily addressed them thus, 'You are very bold to have taken upon yourselves to sell the goods of these people without proper authority.' At the same time he gave a sound box on the ear to one of them and ordered them to return to the town-hall. After this, having in vain asked us to sign, they went away and left us alone.

Half an hour afterwards our two troopers returned, desiring me on the part of those gentlemen to go with them to the castle. I said to them, 'Let us go,' but when I had gone a few steps I thought that I might have to remain there a prisoner, so asked them to allow me to take leave of my mother and sister.

My mother, who well knew that I should be exposed to many temptations, exhorted me to persevere. I told her that with God's help I was prepared for all; that my life was not precious, so that I might but be allowed to end my career joyfully and always obey his holy will. My mother could not repress her tears, and thus I quitted our house.

CHAPTER II.

ON December 6, 1685, I was taken to the castle of Dieppe, as I said, by our two troopers. I went there as joyfully as if I had been going to a feast; I felt secretly inspired and animated by God's Spirit, which made me go cheerfully; it seemed to me that I could not go quickly enough to the castle, although I knew full well that I should only meet with ill-treatment there.

I was conducted to the chamber of M. de Pierceville, the King's Lieutenant. When he saw me he inquired 'why I had not done like others.' I told him that my conscience would not permit me to do so. 'What do you mean by your conscience? Do you think yourself more clever than all the others of the same religion who have signed?' 'No, sir,' said I, 'but they have only pretended to change outwardly.' 'Who told you that?' replied he. 'It is,' I said, 'the severity which has been exercised towards them which makes me see that they have not changed willingly.' 'Well, what does it matter?' returned he; 'they have signed in order to obey the King; do the same thing, it is all that you are asked to do.' 'That is precisely what astonishes me, sir,' I replied, 'to see so many persons turn traitors to their conscience in renouncing, for worldly motives, a religion they believe to be good; as for myself, it is impossible for me to conform to a religion unless previously convinced that it is true.' 'Do you believe that ours is not?' asked he. 'If I believed it to be true,' I rejoined, 'it would not require so much persuasion to induce me to conform to it.' 'But what is there in our religion that shocks you?' 'You know very well, sir, what it is.' 'But still tell me.' 'It is your traditions which have been added to the word of God.'

We then began a discussion too long to enter into here. Towards the end of our disputation an important-looking personage came to see M. de Pierceville, and, becoming acquainted with the subject of our discourse, wished also to

attack me, but in a much more vehement manner, not giving me time to answer him. After this, conversing in the most amiable and caressing manner, he did his utmost to persuade me to obey the King; but God gave me strength to resist all his flattery.

At last, after having conversed for two hours, M. de Pierceville, seeing that dinner would soon be ready, said to me, 'Well, then, you will not give way after all the reasons that have been given you?' 'No, sir,' I replied. 'You will find some persons down there among the body-guard who will speak to you in a very different manner and who will soon make you change your tone.' He then told me to follow his serjeant, who was at the door. Before going I remarked to him: 'Sir, if I am exposed to much suffering, Jesus Christ has suffered still more for us.' 'It is not the same thing,' said he; 'Jesus Christ suffered for the sake of justice, whilst you are going to suffer for your obstinacy.'

I had not time to say any more, as I was departing with the serjeant who conducted me to the body-guard.

It is a curious way of conforming to the Bible, this method of converting people, and does it not clearly prove that the Roman Catholic religion, which everywhere puts such a power in force, is an anti-christian religion?

When the soldiers saw me coming towards them they were so delighted that they danced and clapped their hands for joy. When I found that I was to be delivered up to their mercy, I lifted up my heart to God, beseeching him to give me strength to bear the rude trial I was about to undergo.

The first thing these soldiers did was to ask me for money wherewith to obtain drink. I gave them immediately what was in my pocket, but when they saw how little it was, they were not at all pleased and wished to search me. Seeing this, I gave them a crown which I had hidden; directly they received this they ordered some beer, white bread and some small cheeses.

While the more impatient of them had gone in search of the provisions, I begged the others to let me speak to my father, who was, I knew, in a dark dungeon, the trap-door of

which was in the same guard-house; but they refused. I then reflected that, having had nothing to eat all day, I should soon grow weak in the hands of these soldiers, who, without doubt, would not pass the day without ill-treating me. For this reason, and that I might have an excuse to speak to my father, I said, 'Let me ask him for something to eat.' 'If that is what you want, you can call,' was their reply.

In the trap-door of his dungeon there was a small square hole, large enough to pass the hand through, which hole afforded all the daylight he could have. M. de Bailleur was also with him. I called to my father through this hole, for they would not open the trap-door. When my father had got near the opening I told him that I was imprisoned in the guard-room. 'Then you are going to be much ill-treated,' said he, 'as I have been.' 'I quite expect it, father,' I replied, and then asked him for something to eat. He soon searched for something for me, but found nothing for me to drink. I could not hold a long discourse with him, for the soldiers would not allow it. I did not, however, leave any of the breakfast, having a pretty good appetite.

The more hot-headed of the soldiers wished to torment me, but I told them to wait, at least until I had finished eating. The more moderate of them observed, 'Leave him in peace.' In the meanwhile they had brought some beer and drank it in the yard adjoining the guard-room. Being thirsty, I boldly sought them and laughingly inquired if I was not going to have my share. 'Yes,' they said, 'presently, as it is but fair, you having paid for it.' They then gave me a draught thereof; I drank to their health and they to mine. They likewise gave me some bread and cheese as well as a second draught of beer, after which I returned to the guard-room, leaving them to finish drinking.

Scarcely had they finished when five or six came to persecute me in order to make me give them more money with which to buy brandy. I told them that having given away all I possessed, they had nothing more to expect from me. That did not satisfy them, so they searched me and took everything that was in my pockets, but found not a farthing of money.

They took off my shoes, to detach the silver buckles that were on them, and as I was seated on the boards where the soldiers were lying, one of them took hold of my feet and dragged me as if to make me fall down on my back and head, which I apprehended greatly ; but one of the others who were looking on seized me by the arms, some others joining him. They then shook me, knocked me roughly against the ground, and when they had buffeted me about thoroughly in this manner they suspended me in the air, some kicking me and others striking me with their fists, treating me just as they would have done a dog. Then, having left me a moment on the ground, being tired of hitting me, one of them took me by the feet and dragged me along the floor on my back and head the whole length of the guard-room ; after which he took me by the body and laid me across his shoulders head downwards, holding me thus while all the others struck me on the back with all their might.

Many women and young girls, living in the castle, came running at the noise to see the sight, and took pleasure therein, laughing to see me being ill-treated in this manner. I was again violently shaken, after which they laid me on the floor on my back, leaving me half-dead.

The soldiers having left me a little while in this condition without my even having had strength to move, one of them took me again by the feet with the intention of tormenting me afresh, but the others prevented him, remarking, ' Let us leave him in peace for a moment,' seeing, as they well might, that I could not stand any further ill-usage.

I never thought to escape from their hands without some limb being broken or dislocated, or without other serious injury, but God by his grace preserved me.

Some time afterwards I raised myself and sat up on the ground. As soon as they saw me rise, they all surrounded me and tried to induce me to sign, so as to avoid the further torturing to which they would otherwise subject me.

When they had deafened my ears with their bawling and clamour, I said to them, ' Think you that all which you have done to me is likely to make me sign ? Have Jesus Christ

and his apostles taught you to persecute people thus in order to convert them?' They did not know how to reply, but asked, 'Will you not also sign, and by so doing obey the King?' I replied that 'inasmuch as I considered signing to be a great sin, I was not likely to do it.' 'Is it,' they inquired, 'that you think our religion is good for nothing?' I dared not repeat their expression, for, excited as they all were, they would not have failed to torment me afresh, but I remarked, 'You can well understand that if I thought your religion good, I should not suffer so much for not embracing it.'

Now as these gentry were not well qualified to sustain a disputation on religion, they confined themselves to telling me that, since I would not change mine at their mediation, I had but to expect to be treated in a terrible manner by the squad who would come in the afternoon in their place; adding that those soldiers would be much more cruel than they had been. I intimated to them that I would endure all that they might do, for I should never change.

After they had talked to me for a long time they left me a little while in peace; after which one of those who had ill-treated me came and sat down near me, playing the hypocrite and speaking gently to me, with the object of finding out where I lived. He then begged me to give him the silver studs that I had in my sleeves; on my objecting to do so, he gave me to understand that he would take them by force. When I saw that I gave them to him.

As soon as he had my studs, he went with one of his comrades to find my mother at our house, and told her that I had sent them to her that she might give them some money to drink my health. 'To show you that we are not telling falsehoods,' said they, 'see these studs that he has given us as proof.' When my mother saw the studs she thought that they spoke the truth, and gave them what silver she had, recommending me to them to the end that they should do me no harm.

When those two soldiers had obtained what they wanted, they went to a tavern and regaled themselves, when, being

somewhat drunk, one of the two said to his companion that they had better not drink by themselves, as all the rest of the squad would like to partake of their beverage. At this the other jeered him and commenced quarrelling with him for calling him knavish ; and, becoming enraged the one against the other, they rushed out, sword in hand, and fought together. In this conflict one of them received a sword-thrust in the breast ; after which they both returned to the castle.

This quarrel having been reported to their captain, he had them both placed back to back on the wooden horse in sight of all their company ; after which he put one of them in the dungeon, where he was confined for two or three days, having leisure to repent of his folly.

Does it not appear that in this affair God's judgment was plainly manifested, in that those who had been the most eager to persecute me should themselves get involved in a much greater misfortune than that which they had made me suffer, and that, too, in the same day ?

To return to the manner in which I passed the remainder of the day. When the other squad with which they had so much threatened me had come, so far from their being worse than the first I found them more rational. Some of them began to argue with me, but their arguments were not very strong.

After having argued sufficiently long with them, I became tired of talking and listening to their senseless remarks, when one of them wishing to speak to me about a New Testament which he had, I immediately begged him to lend it to me ; which he did. I then went into the yard by myself to read, in order to rid myself of them. Whilst there, some of the soldiers came to talk to me and argue, but I said to them, ' I beg you to leave me for a little while in peace, as all day long I have not ceased to talk and argue with M. de Pierceville and all of you.' When they heard that, they went away and left me alone.

When the evening came and I saw all the soldiers sufficiently quiet, I approached the table to speak to the one who had lent me the Testament and to several others who were there, while the remainder were round the fire. I then pro-

ceeded to read some chapters aloud, the soldiers listening very attentively. After this I made remarks on certain passages in the New Testament against the Roman Catholic religion, observing, 'See, this is what Jesus Christ teaches, and nevertheless you do just the reverse; whilst in other passages he forbids a thing and yet you will not cease from doing it.' They knew not how to answer me, and I heard one of them say, 'He is placed here to be forced to change his religion, but on the contrary, he teaches us and even finds fault with ours.' I passed the night peacefully with these soldiers, talking round the fire.

The following afternoon the *Sieur de Tellier*, the comb-manufacturer, was brought to the guard-house. The soldiers tormented him pretty much as they had done to me in order to induce him to sign, during which time I was walking in the yard, not daring to go into the guard-room to see what they were doing, as I feared to become involved in his misfortune; moreover, my presence could not have brought him any relief. He did not, however, sign, in spite of all that they had done to him.

At the end of two days his wife, who had the troopers at her house, having yielded, came to persuade him to do the same. This he promised to do when evening set in, not daring to sign in broad daylight: a proof that he considered this performance wicked and that he feared the light.

When his wife had gone, I asked him if he had not promised her something. He confessed his fault to me, excusing himself on the ground of his fondness for her, and of her having overcome his steadfastness by her tears. I did all I could to reassure him and bring him back to the right path, representing by many passages in the Scriptures the greatness of the sin which he was about to commit, and the remorse which would rend his heart after this miserable offence was committed. I gained nothing from him, however, the flesh having prevailed over the spirit; therefore he must do as he had promised.

To return to myself. Not having slept the first night, I endeavoured on the next to sleep on the boards by the side of

some of the soldiers who were already asleep there, they having lent me a blanket, and the others placing themselves next me, so that I was between them. I was not able to sleep much, however, because of the hardness of the floor.

In the morning some of those who had been on guard came and asked the others, 'Where is this Huguenot? We must not keep company with him; nevertheless, he must pay for some brandy for us this morning.' Then they felt the feet of all those who were asleep, coming also to mine; but they did not recognise me, because I did not move and pretended to be asleep. Those who were looking for me, not finding me, called out loudly, and as I lent a deaf ear and did not reply, they became irritated, supposing that I could hear them, but had purposely feigned deafness. They then said, 'Come, we must find the Huguenot to pay for the brandy, or else we must sift him.' When I heard they were determined to find me, and spoke of ill-treating me, I was filled with apprehension, but still did not move. They at length found me, and told me they were going to toss me in a blanket, if I did not give them some money for a supply of brandy. I said that all my money had been taken from me, whereupon they seized me by the feet as if to toss me in a blanket or drag me about; but my fears, it seems, were groundless, for they withdrew and left me in peace.

Every morning I expected to be assaulted, but four or five days passed without it occurring. One day I was sleeping next M. le Monnier, the draper, who had been brought into the guard-room for the purpose of converting him, though they had not ill-treated him, on account of his age, or rather in consequence of his having given them—more especially the serjeant—some money. As I was saying, I was asleep one morning when neither serjeant nor corporal was in the room, when three or four soldiers seized me by the hands and feet, took a blanket, and placing me inside it, lifted me up in the air, and let me fall roughly against the floor several times, dashing me from side to side, and laughing immoderately as they bumped me on the ground. This would have much bruised me if, in order to sustain the shock more easily, I had

not gathered myself together, having my two hands under me so that they and my feet broke my fall.

After they had amused themselves enough with me in this manner and I had regained my feet, they pulled my arms, one in one way, one in another, as if they were trying to tear me to pieces; indeed, I thought that one of my fingers was put out of joint, but it became strong again in course of time.

When the soldiers had finished tormenting me, I said to them, 'Now what have you gained by treating me in the way you have done? Have you made any money by it? If you could have made some fall from the blanket by tossing me in it, that would no doubt have afforded you much pleasure; but your trouble has been wasted, as nothing has come of it for you to get brandy with, as you wished.' They regarded me with much astonishment, saying, 'There is some good in him, for nothing angers him.' Others remarked, 'It is very well for him, for if it angered him he would be worse treated.'

That same day, some of M. le Monnier's friends having come to see him, he recounted to them what had been done to me, at which they were much touched; 'for,' said he, 'I think that if they had done as much to me, I should have died in their hands.' These persons, on their return to the town, reported to some other friends what M. le Monnier had told them.

It afterwards became known to M. de Pierceville, who came himself the same afternoon to learn from me if what he had been told was true. He asked me if it was a fact that the soldiers had stripped me and taken away my clothes. I replied, 'No, sir.' 'Why, then, complain of being wronged? Some person,' continued he, 'has made a great complaint to me touching your condition; it is not right to come and tell me of things which are trifling, as if they had done you all the evil in the world.' I said to him, 'Sir, I have not spoken to the person you allude to, and have not complained to anyone that the soldiers had taken my clothes. It is true that the first day I was brought here they took my buckles and some silver studs I had.' 'Well,' said he, 'I promise that I will make them restore them to you.'

He meant, no doubt, on condition that I would sign, for they have never been returned to me. I told him also that the soldiers had much ill-treated me, and that this very morning they had put me in a blanket to torment me. 'That is true,' said some of the more moderate of the soldiers; 'they tossed him in a blanket, and have much ill-used him.' M. le Monnier also stated that if they had done as much to him, they would have killed him. 'I do not require him to be ill-treated in this manner,' said M. de Pierceville, 'and I order you to do nothing further to him.' This order they observed well.

All the time that I was with the soldiers, which was seven or eight days, they never prevented me from saying my prayers morning and evening, and when they saw me on my knees, they did not say anything to me; but I found it difficult to collect my thoughts, on account of the noise they made.

At last, at the end of the said time, M. de Pierceville came to have M. le Monnier removed to a dungeon near the guard-room, and he ordered them to place me in another dungeon quite at the end of the castle. I begged him to allow me first to say farewell to my father, who was, together with M. le Bailleur, in a dungeon the trap-door of which was in the said guard-room, and had a little square hole, as I have before stated; but the said gentleman would not permit me to do so. I again requested that he would at least allow me to ask my father for a shirt of mine that he had; this he permitted, and I then called to my father through the hole, at which he immediately handed me what I asked for. I bid him adieu, informing him that they were going to place me in a dungeon by order of M. de Pierceville, who was there present. Upon this, the latter promptly made me retire, saying, 'Come, we are not going to give any liberty to such stubborn persons; lead him at once to the dungeon.'

I was forthwith conducted to the dungeon, which was situated in a tower, having to pass two or three doors before entering it. The view from it was very extensive, overlooking the sea, and there being a quantity of wood arranged in a heap, I could easily climb up on it to look at the water, which

afforded me sufficient diversion. I was placed in this solitary room towards evening when, finding myself alone and in the dark, I made my supplication to God, praying Him to strengthen me in my temptation, and to accord me by his grace the gift of perseverance. Afterwards I began to sing the twenty-seventh Psalm, 'The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?'

There was in this dungeon some straw which had been used by two gentlemen who had signed at the end of several days, during the period I was in the guard-room, but having nothing to cover myself with, I commenced walking briskly in order to warm myself before lying down, although my walk was not lengthy, not being more than six or seven steps in extent. I was unable to sleep for more than an hour or so, being very cold, for it was freezing; accordingly I got up again and walked all night.

Notwithstanding that I was in great solitude, neither hearing nor seeing anyone, I liked being there much better than with the soldiers, who did nothing but swear and abjure the name of God. I was peaceful and quiet there, able to pray to God, to sing his praises, or to meditate.

What I regretted was not having any books, and M. de Pierceville had directed that no one should speak to me. When any of my relatives came to see me and bring me food, a serjeant or a corporal took it from their hands and brought it to me. Some of the serjeants, however, who were not so strict, occasionally allowed them to enter.

At the end of two days, a serjeant came to tell me that I was to go and speak to M. de Pierceville, for which purpose he led me as far as his room. When that gentleman saw me, he inquired if I was going to be always obstinate, and if I would not change my sentiments. 'No, sir,' was my reply. 'This,' said he, 'is why I have sent for you, namely to learn your final resolution; because the King has made a decree to send to the galleys all those who will not obey him and change their religion. You now know, therefore, what it is you will have to expect; say if you will obey the King or not.' I replied, 'Sir, I will never change a religion which I

think good, to embrace another which I think bad.' 'Then,' said he, 'you will go to the galleys, and when there will have to attend mass in spite of yourself, and thus you will obey the King by force. Would it not be better that you should obey him henceforth, rather than render yourself wretched all your life, and at length die in misery and poverty?' I answered, 'Sir, if I am compelled by force to be present at mass, being bound in chains on the galleys, it will not be heart-worship; therefore, I shall not be embracing your religion for all that.' 'Upon my word, sir,' said he, laughing, 'the King has nothing to do with your heart—he cares little about that; he requires nothing further than your signature, and I declare to you that if you will not give it, you will be much astonished to find yourself placed in chains, and then there will be no retracting—you must sail where they will not receive your signature.' Then, mocking me, he added, 'You will be securely seized and will find yourself in chains, and that may be sooner than you think, for they are chaining people every day, and perhaps on the morrow you may go to mass in fetters.'

He thought to intimidate me by this speech, and that I would do what he desired, but I answered unconcernedly, 'Sir, nothing that you have stated has caused me any alarm.' 'What!' cried he, 'neither the chains nor the galleys alarm you?' 'No, sir,' I said; 'if they put me in chains, I shall rejoice as much as if the King had made me a present of a ring of gold.' When he heard this, he was greatly surprised and stood perplexed. 'Oh!' said he, 'then, if you fear neither the chains nor the galleys, I have nothing further to say to you; so you must return to your dungeon, but think well over what I have told you.'

I then took leave of him, and a serjeant conducted me to my dungeon. On arriving there I thanked God with all my heart for the grace He had bestowed on me by having put words in my mouth and for having granted me strength to speak with so much boldness. I called to mind what our Saviour said: 'When ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, take no thought how or what ye shall

‘speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak.’ I perceived thoroughly at that time that the Spirit of God spoke by my mouth, for I felt like the disciples who went to Emmaus that my heart burned within me to defend the truth of my God.

Note.—After these adventures, so naïvely recounted, John Perigal relates his having been incarcerated during a period of two years and four months in various dungeons, more or less damp and dismal: sometimes alone without any daylight, sometimes in company with one or more fellow-prisoners; frequently fed upon bread and water only and treated as badly as ordinary criminals. He gives a very detailed and graphic account of the trials and sufferings he had to undergo, and of the cheerful steadfastness with which he bore all the misery he was subjected to, as well as the many temptations to which he was exposed.

His father was imprisoned on December 13, 1685, at Neufchâtel and his mother at Aumale, they and he being kept in separate dungeons. On January 29, 1688, his mother was brought to the same prison as himself, and they were permitted to see each other occasionally. On March 20 they again met his father, much to their and his joy after so long a separation.

In the same month (March 1688) those of the Reformed Religion who had not recanted and remained in the prisons of Normandy, were conveyed to Dieppe for deportation from France, and on April 27 all of them, consisting of ninety-four persons, embarked for England in a sailing vessel of forty tons, in accordance with the order of Louis XIV.

After a prosperous voyage of twenty hours they arrived at Dover, where they landed; next morning they journeyed by Canterbury and Rochester to Gravesend, whence they proceeded by boat to London.

He concludes his narrative as follows:—

‘We arrived in London at break of day on May 1, 1688. We were all very heartily received by our friends as people

they had never expected to see again, and we returned thanks to our good God for having preserved us in the temptation to which so great a number of excellent souls had succumbed, whilst we, who were not better than the others, had been sustained by his all-powerful hand so that, after several mischances, the Lord had brought us into a place of safety, where we might enjoy by his grace repose and liberty of conscience without fear of our enemies.

‘In my own case I have a cause of joy all my own in seeing myself again with my father, mother, and sister, after our having been separated in different prisons. My sister had been a long time in the prison at Dieppe, from which having gone out on bail she escaped out of the kingdom together with her bail, and had lived for some time in London with her husband and one of our brothers who had got safely out of France in the time of the “Dragonnades” without having signed.

‘I hope, by means of the grace of my God, to remember without cessation my happy deliverance, and that in acknowledgment of so signal a benefit I may consecrate my days to his divine service by renouncing the world and its vanities. I will try, as much as it will be possible for me to do, to live in this present life soberly towards myself, justly with my neighbours, and religiously towards my God.

‘May the great God deign to be gracious unto me. Amen.’

ADDENDA.

1. *Noms des Pasteurs de l'Eglise Réformée de Dieppe et le temps qu'ils ont exercé leur Ministère.*

MINISTRES.

1. Jean Venable	Aoust, 1557
2. Du Mont (mort la même année)	1558
3. De la Porte . . . . .	..
4. Des Roches	1559
5. Jean Knoc (fut sept semaines) . . . . .	..
6. De la Forest (fut six semaines) . . . . .	..
7. Du Buisson . . . . .	..
8. De la Chaussée . . . . .	..

9. De St. Paul	1560
10. Des Forges	1561
11. Du Perron (père du Cardinal)	} les 4 ne furent que six semaines }
12. De Feuqueray	
13. Tardif	
14. Doutreleau	
15. Nicholas le Tellier	1563
16. Toussaint Tiboult	1564
17. Toussaint	1567
18. Troinel, dit De la Grove	1571
19. Matthieu Cartault (mort en Juillet, 1609)	1573
20. Bardin Paris	1576
21. Anthoine de Lignes (mort 1608)	1581
22. De Feuqueray (ministre de Rouen)	1589
23. Moyse Cartault (mort 8 Aoust, 1631)	1603
24. Nathanael de Laune (sorti 1615)	1604
25. David de Caux (sorti 1618)	1613
26. Abdias du Mont Denis (mort 1638)	1618
27. Chorrin (sorti 1623)	1621
28. Le Tellier	"
29. Pierre Laguel	1629
30. D'Aussy (sorti 1634)	1631
31. Jean de Focquembergues	1636
32. Deschamps (pensa perdre l'Eglise pendant huit long mois qu'il resta, enfin fut chassé par le Synode en 1637)	"
33. Jean Vauquelin (mort 1675)	1638
34. Moyse Cartault (fait Papiste en 1685)	Juin, 1653
35. Anthoine le Page	1675

II. ORDRE DU ROI. *A Monsieur Freydeau de Brous, Conseiller en mes Conseils, Maître des Requestes, Ordinaire de mon Hôtel et Commissaire Departy, en la Généralité de Rouen.*

M^r Freydeau de Brous, ayant estimé à propos de faire sortir de mon Roiaume le petit nombre de mes Sujets qui ont persisté jusques à présent dans l'obstination à ne pas abjurer la Religion Prétendue Réformée, Je vous ecris cette Lettre pour vous dire de faire retirer des Places fortes, Communautés et Prisons de votre Département, ceux et celles de la dite R.P.R. qui y sont renfermez et les conduire indistinctement à Dieppe ou ils seront gardez jusques à ce qu'on les embarque dans un Vaisseau qui passera, les mener hors de mes Etats, Auquel effet, je désire que tous les Commandants, Supérieurs et Consièrges, remettent ces Religionnaires qu'ils ont en leur garde

entre les mains de celui qui leur rendra Copie de la Présente par vous collationnée ; pour lui servir de Décharge, A l'exception toutefois des femmes, dont les Maris font profession de la Religion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine, Lesquelles seront retenues jusques à nouvel ordre.

Sur ce je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait Mr. Freydeau en sa sainte garde. Ecrit à Versaille le 24 Fevrier 1688.

Signé LOUIS.

Contre-signé PHÉLIPPEAUX.

En exécution de cet ordre, M^r de Freydeau de Brous a envoyé au Château de Dieppe les Personnes detenues au Bailliage de Rouen, lesquelles n'avoient point signé, le 19 et le 22 Mars 1688.

Les Prisonniers de Neufchâtel et d'Aumale furent menez à Dieppe le 26 jour du dit.

Ceux de Caudebec y arriverent le 1^{er} Avril.

Le 8 d'Avril il en arriva encore de divers endroits, qui furent tous assemblez au dit Château de Dieppe au nombre de 94 et gardez jusqu'au 27 du dit mois d'Avril qu'ils furent mis sur un Vaisseau pour être transportez en Angleterre. Leurs noms sont à la Page suivante.

III. *Noms des Confesseurs qui par les ordres du Roi Louis XIV. furent amenez de diverses prisons au Château de Dieppe en Mars et Avril, 1688, et embarquez par le même Ordre le 27 Avril, pour être transportez en Angleterre.*

Paris.

1. Jaques Gasse.

Rouen.

2. Sara Auvray.
3. Marguerite Bunon.
4. Anne Bunon.
5. Anne Cardel.
6. Jaques Cossart.
7. Susanne Dufay.
8. Judith de Lannay.
9. Isaac le Boulenger.
10. Judith Copart, *sa femme.*
11. Madeleine Lestrelin.

12. Marie Vandalle.

13. Elizabeth Vandall.

Dieppe.

14. Judith Baudouin.
15. Marguerite Benoit.
16. Madelaine Bretot.
17. Marie Bretot.
18. Anne Cambœuf.
19. Martha Enoult.
20. Marie Gaudry.
21. Marie Gaudry, *sa fille.*
22. Madelaine Guerard.
23. Pierre Fourdrinier.

24. Marie Hardy.
25. Madelaine l'Archêveque.
26. Madelaine le Blond.
27. David le Monnier.
28. Marie Mel, *sa femme*.
29. Gedeon Perigal.
30. Madelaine Daval, *sa femme*.
31. Jean Perigal, *fil*.
32. Marthe Pilon.
33. Catherine Maillard.
34. Marie Marcotte.
35. Jean Montier.
36. Susanne Savalle.
37. Elizabeth le Tellier.
38. Jeanne Theronde.
39. Marie Theronde.

Havre de Grace.

40. Jeanne Boucherot.
41. Judith Boucherot.
42. Jean Dorée.
43. Jeanne Hebert.
44. Abraham la Tourte.
45. Pierre le Bas.
46. Judith Lunel.
47. Isaac Piron.

Cacn.

48. Marie Esmery.
49. Paul Pierre le Bas.
50. Louis le Bas.

Bollebec.

51. Jean Bourdon.
52. Elizabeth Fouquet.
53. Anne Godefroy.
54. Marie Hautot.
55. Abraham Picot.
56. Rachael Bouzans, *sa femme*.
57. Abraham Picot, *fil*.
58. Pierre Picot, *fil*.
59. Marguerite Picot, *fil*.
60. Charles Quesnel.
61. Esther Flammare, *sa femme*.
62. Isaac le Vasseur.

Fécamp.

63. Jean Bradel.

64. Samuel de Sortenbosc.
65. Pierre de Sortenbosc.

Elbœuf.

66. Abraham le Fèvre.
67. Jaques le Fèvre.

St. Lo.

68. Jean Chemin, S^r du Rocher.
69. Gedeon Pierre le Compte, S^r de Lauberraine.
70. Jean Lalouel.

Du Poitou.

71. Louise Aubry, Marquise de Besançay.
72. Anne de Bourgeant, Marquise de Monroy.
73. Madelaine de Folleville.
74. Jeanne Grenier.

Bretagne.

75. Marie Escroguard.
76. Anne Pelisson.

Milamare.

77. Josias de la Mare.
78. Françoise de la Maro.
79. Esther de la Maro.

Chautelon.

80. Louise Manger.
81. Marie Manger.

Goderville.

82. Jean Malandain.
83. Marthe Baudouin, *sa femme*.

St. Eustache de la Forêt.

84. Michel de Bos.

St. Anthoine de la Forêt.

85. Jaques le Fèvre.

Criquetot.

86. Daniel Richer.

Mont Secret.

87. Isaac de Fourré, S^r de Valomont.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Rouville.</i> | <i>Breha.</i> |
| 88. Marthe le Large. | 92. Susanne Anquetil. |
| <i>Montrabot.</i> | |
| 89. Louis Hémery. | <i>Luneray.</i> |
| <i>Gruchet.</i> | 93. Abraham Navare. |
| 90. Elizabeth Selingue. | |
| <i>Senilly.</i> | <i>Montabor.</i> |
| 91. Marie le Trésor. | 94. Jaques le Fèvre. |

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

ILLUSTRATED FROM STATE PAPERS IN THE ARCHIVES OF VENICE.

By SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., PRESIDENT.

IN the Address which I had the honour to deliver at the Annual Meeting of the Society on the 9th of June last, I promised that on my return to Venice I would endeavour to ascertain whether the Venetian Archives contained any documents hitherto unpublished relating to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It is well known that the Venetian ambassadors were expected to send to the Doge and Senate full reports of all occurrences of interest that might take place in the countries to which they were accredited. It might consequently be presumed that in the collection of diplomatic despatches preserved in the Archives at Venice important information might be found relating to two events which influenced in no small degree the political relations of the European Powers, and which caused the liveliest commotion throughout the civilised world. I have kept my promise, and will place before you the result of my researches.

In the present Paper I shall confine myself to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, reserving for another occasion what I have to say with respect to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

In the year 1572, Alvisè Mocenigo being Doge of Venice, there were two ambassadors from the Republic at the French Court, Giovanni Micheli (or Michiel, as the name is written in the Venetian dialect) and Sigismondo Cavalli. Michiel, who had been ambassador at Rome, and had held other im-

portant posts, bore a high reputation as a statesman. He was sent to France on a special mission, the principal object of which was to dissuade Charles IX. from going to war with Spain. At that time the King, under the influence of the Admiral de Coligny and other chiefs of the Huguenot party, was believed to be meditating an interference in the Netherlands, in favour of the revolted Protestant subjects of Philip, which could only result in a quarrel between the two monarchs. The Pope and the Venetian Republic were desirous of turning him from his purpose, and inducing him to unite with them and Spain in the League against the Turks. Cavalli was the permanent representative of the Republic at the French Court.

It is well known to those who have been engaged in researches with reference to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew that the official records relating to that event have been abstracted from the Archives of more than one country, whilst works published at the period which threw light upon its true and secret history were suppressed, and have either entirely disappeared or are so rare that they are not easily accessible. In an article by Lord Acton upon the Massacre, which appeared in the 'North British Review' for October 1869, it is stated that 'much of the evidence [relating to the Massacre] has been destroyed. No letters written from Paris at the time have been found in the Austrian Archives. In the correspondence of thirteen agents of the House of Este at the Court of Rome every paper relating to the event has disappeared.' All the documents of 1572, both from Rome and Paris, are wanting in the Archives of Venice. In the registers of many French towns the leaves which contain the records of August and September in that year have been torn out. The first reports sent to England by Walsingham and by the French Government have not been recovered. Three accounts printed at Rome, when the facts were new, speedily became so rare

¹ The despatches of Petrucci, an agent of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany at Paris in 1572, and other documents relating to the Massacre, have not, however, been abstracted from the Florentine Archives. The former have been published by Desjardins in his *Négociations avec la Toscane*, but require collation.

that they have been forgotten. The Bull of Gregory XIII. was not admitted into the official collections . . . The letters of Charles IX. to Rome, with the important exception of that which he wrote on August 24, have been dispersed and lost. The letters of Gregory XIII. to France have never been seen by persons willing to make them public.'

To whom must this attempt at the wholesale destruction of evidence which might have thrown light on the true history of this shameful deed be attributed—to the Court of Rome, to that of France, or to the Jesuits? All three were deeply implicated in it, and were equally anxious, when the conscience of the world was aroused against the crime, to repudiate their complicity in it. Charles IX. is known to have endeavoured to suppress any record of the event which might prove that he had deliberately planned the slaughter of his Huguenot subjects, as he feared to alienate the Protestant princes of Germany, whom he was at that time desirous of conciliating.¹ The Church of Rome and its defenders sought to destroy all evidence which might show even its approval of a foul deed, which has cast an indelible stain upon it. I have been unable to find any evidence as to when and by whom the missing despatches were abstracted from the Venetian Archives; but in an Index to the collection of diplomatic correspondence, compiled in 1669, the volume containing them is stated to be wanting (*manca*), which appears to show that they were removed or destroyed not many years after the event.

In the extensive and otherwise complete series of despatches from the Venetian ambassadors at foreign Courts preserved in the Archives at Venice, the volume containing those of Michiel and Cavalli for the year 1572 is missing. In the volume comprising the communications from the Venetian representatives at the German and Austrian Courts² there are

¹ On March 24, 1573, he wrote to the President de Cély, 'Afin que ce que vous avez dressé des choses passées à la Saint Barthélemy ne puisse être publié parmi le peuple, et même entre les étrangers, comme il y en a plusieurs qui se mêlent d'écrire et qui pourraient prendre occasion d'y répondre, je vous prie qu'il n'en soit rien imprimé ni en français ni en Latin, mais si en avez retenu quelque chose le garder vers vous.' (Quoted in Lord Acton's article in the *North British Review*, p. 46, note.)

² The originals were carried off by the Austrian Government when Venice

none between February 11, 1572, and March 4, 1573. In the 'Rubricario di Roma'¹ there are none mentioned between August 30 and December 6, 1572; yet as the Venetian Senate, as will be seen, sent special congratulations to the Pope on the slaughter of the heretics, there must have been during that period more than one despatch relating to that event from the Venetian ambassador at Rome. Fortunately copies of most of the despatches of Michiel and Cavalli have been included in what are called the 'Annali della Repubblica,' which were compiled in pursuance of a special decree of the Senate by one of its secretaries for preservation in the State Archives. Moreover a full abstract of most of them is contained in the 'Rubricario.'² We are thus made fully acquainted with their contents.

In addition to the despatches which the Venetian ambassadors addressed to their Government, they were required, on their return to Venice, to make a statement to the Senate, sometimes in the form of an oration, of the principal events which had occurred during their mission in the countries to which they had been sent. These statements, known as 'Relazioni,' are still preserved in the Venetian Archives. Among them are those of Michiel and Cavalli which refer to the St. Bartholomew. They are of high interest and importance, especially that of Michiel, which Ranke has pronounced to be 'the most valuable Report of the sixteenth century.'³ They have been published by Albèri in his collection of 'Relazioni.'⁴

Most of the despatches of Michiel and Cavalli relating to the Massacre which are contained in the 'Annali,' and were was restored to Italy, and have been retained at Vienna. Copies were made for the Venetian Archives.

¹ The *Rubricario* was an abstract, or what in modern diplomatic language would be called a *précis*, of all despatches from the Venetian ambassadors at foreign Courts, officially prepared for the Senate.

² There are no despatches in the *Rubricario* between August 13 and 25, 1572, nor between August 28, 1570, and August 1, 1572. The *précis* of all these despatches appears to have been torn out of the original volume or abstracted in some other way.

³ *Französische Geschichte*, v. 76.

⁴ *Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*, raccolte ed illustrate da E. Albèri. Firenze, 1839-1863. 15 vols. 8vo.

unknown to the author of the article in the 'North British Review,' were published in 1870 by the late Signor Tommaso Gar, the learned keeper of the Archives at Venice, in an appendix to a translation made by him of that article, to which he added a valuable Introduction. But the volume of the 'Proceedings of the Royal Venetian Institute' in which this translation appeared is rare, and as far as I am aware the despatches in question have not appeared elsewhere. I have consequently thought them well deserving of publication in our 'Proceedings.' I shall, therefore, (having collated them with the originals) give translations of them, and also of the abstracts of others contained in the 'Rubricario' which appear to have escaped the notice of Signor Gar.

In the 'Rubricario di Franza' I find that Giovanni Correr, then Venetian ambassador at Paris, reported on August 15, 1570, 'that Coligny and some of his adherents having been hung in effigy, their effigies were quietly removed in the night and the gallows taken down.'²

The first despatch from Michiel and Cavalli in the 'Annali' and 'Rubricario' relating to the attempt to assassinate the Admiral, is of August 22, 1572, the very day on which it took place. They wrote as follows:—

'The marriage of Madame with the King of Navarre was solemnised by the Cardinal de Bourbon, who at first had refused to do so, as the dispensation had not arrived; but to please the King (Charles IX.) he consented, and the marriage was performed at the door of the church. The royal bridegroom afterwards accompanied Madame as far as the altar and then departed, followed by all the Huguenots, so as not to be present at the Mass. The Ambassadors had not been invited, as it was known that the Nuncio would not have gone, and there being some doubt as to the Spanish Ambassador, it was thought better not to invite any of them. This morning, as the Admiral was returning from the palace to his house, he was wounded in one of his hands by the discharge of an

¹ *Atti del Regio Instituto Veneto*, tom. xv. serie iii.

² 'Che di notte sono sta senza strepito despiccate l' effigie dell' Armiraglio et altri de suoi et disfatte le forche.'

arquebuse, and he who wounded him has fled. A number of persons are in pursuit of him by order of their Majesties, who, after dinner, went to visit him (the Admiral).'¹

The next despatch (of August 25), describing the Massacre, is important as showing that the Venetian Ambassadors suspected that it had been premeditated by the King:—

'The firing of the arquebuse upon the Admiral on the 22nd made so great a commotion amongst those of his religion, who were here in large numbers on the occasion of the marriages of Navarre and Condé, that it is said that the Prince of Condé did not scruple to use very high language in speaking to the King, demanding vengeance, whilst all those of their religion showed themselves incensed against Monseigneur de Guise, who, they are convinced, was the cause of it. Whether on account of the threats of the Huguenots, and through suspicion that they would rise again, or whether through some previous concert things had already been brought to the state and point desired by the King, the Admiral being in the condition he was and there being with him all the principal men of his sect—or from whatever other cause—the following occurred. In the night of Saturday about daybreak (*nel far del giorno*), orders having been previously given secretly from house to house in all the quarters of the city that everyone should remain at home armed, Monseigneur de Guise and Monseigneur d'Aumale, his uncle, with the Marshals de Tavanés and of Savoy and a large company of gentlemen and captains, coming out rushed to the house of the Admiral, and, having forced the guard, compelled him to leap from the window into the court-yard.² There, his limbs all broken, he was immediately put to death, together with Monsieur de Teligny, his son-in-law, by those who had remained below. Having then passed to the house of the Comte della Roccococo [Rochefoucauld] they likewise killed him and his son, the Signor di Briemor, the Signor di Pardiglian, the Signor d'Ambousa [Amboise,] the Captain Piles, and many others. At the same time the King commanded that the King of Navarre

¹ Published by Gar.

² This differs from the usual account that he was first stabbed and then thrown from the window.

and the Prince of Condé should be told, in the palace which they occupied, that they and all those who slept in their chamber and ante-chamber were to leave their beds and to come to him. When they arrived, the King said to them, "My brother and my cousin, do not fear nor be alarmed by what you will hear, as I have brought you to me here for your safety." Then, turning to the captain of the guard, he said, "Turn out all these *belitre*," that is, scoundrels (*sciagù-reti*), meaning those who had accompanied Navarre and Conde. When they got below they were all slain. Mons. de Guise and d'Aumale, having killed the Admiral and others, got on their horses and with a large company of four hundred horsemen followed Montgomeri, and, as they passed through the streets, told those who were armed that the principal Huguenots, the enemies of the King, having been killed, they should do the same with the remainder. And this they did everywhere, hammering the bells, slaying the Huguenots, and pillaging their houses, so that subsequently, a proclamation of the King not being sufficient to restrain the people, he was himself obliged to ride through the city. His Majesty had the night before sent orders to Orleans and to other places that the same should be done [*i.e.*, the Huguenots slaughtered] and to the house of the Admiral for the seizure of his sons, and lists of fresh proscriptions are being made.'¹

In the following despatch the ambassadors describe how the King endeavoured to justify the Massacre before the Parliament, and to make it appear that it had been provoked by the Huguenots themselves, and was had recourse to in order to save his own life and the lives of his mother, brothers, and other members of his family.

¹ August 27, 1572.

'SER^{uo} PRINCIPE,

'It is true that the King gave the order for the slaughter of the Huguenots in the cities, and it is already known that in Rouen, Moos [Meaux], Sciatures [Chartres], and Orleans a great many have been slain. In this city the King

¹ In the *Annali* and *Rubricario* published by Gar.

has caused many Presidents, Councillors of Parliament, and other adherents of the King of Navarre to be killed, and the populace have continued the massacre and the pillage. The King of Navarre, now that he finds himself deprived of all his followers, shows signs of yielding to the will of the King, and has already begun to go to Church. Yesterday the King, accompanied by his brother and by the Princes of the blood, went to the great palace, where, after Mass had been celebrated in the "Sainte Chapelle," he entered the gilded chamber and seated himself royally in the presence of the whole Parliament, and in befitting words made a long statement, of which the following is the substance:—That most of them could bear witness to the great displeasure which he had felt at the attempt upon the Admiral, and to the great diligence that was being shown to avenge it. But the Huguenots, not satisfied with this, had taken counsel and had resolved upon an act of very grave treason against his person, and against the persons of his mother, brothers, and others. Consequently His Majesty, perceiving that they continued thus implacable and of evil intent, had necessarily come to the resolution which had already been in great part put into execution,¹ declaring that all that M. de Guise and others had done in this matter was of his knowledge and by his order. He further annulled all the edicts and conditions of peace hitherto made [with the Huguenots] as imposed by violence and as having been only agreed to without prejudice to the crown. He, therefore, begged them to consider what strict justice and good policy required for the future. The Procurator-Fiscal replied that His Majesty might well remember the many protests and the much opposition he had always made to the agreements entered into with the Huguenots, and that the Parliament would now, to show their obedience, not fail to give their attention to that which was commanded them; but he besought His Majesty to direct that the people should be made to cease from the slaughter in order to avoid troubles (*inconvenienti*), and that the Huguenots should be thrown into prison, tried and punished. The King, therefore, issued a proclamation

¹ *I.e.* the massacre in Paris.

commanding everyone to lay down his arms. The body of the Admiral was given over to the populace, who, after having for a long time dragged it naked through the whole city, hung it in a place reserved for robbers.'¹

Anticipating his instructions, Giovanni Michiel (his colleague Cavalli being ill with fever) hastened to congratulate the King upon the slaughter of the Huguenots. As appears in the following despatch, he saw in it a proof that his mission had been successful: that is to say, that the influence of Coligny and the other Huguenot leaders, who had sought to persuade Charles to aid the Protestants in Flanders and to embroil France in a war with Spain, was at an end.

* August 31, 1572.

'SER^{mo} PRINCIPE,

'I, Giovanni, having gone to the King to take leave, found there Monseigneur the Nuncio and the Ambassadors of Spain, Portugal, and Scotland. We were, one after the other, according to order of precedence, heard by His Majesty, to whom I did not fail to offer, as did all the others, befitting congratulations upon the exemplary punishment inflicted upon the enemies and traitors to God and His Majesty. I then said that as the mission upon which I had been sent had had so good a result, as confirmed by such great and notable consequences, it only remained for me, by his gracious favour, to take my leave. To the first part of my congratulations the King replied, "Monsieur the Ambassador, assure the Signory that all the good that it has pleased God to confer upon me for the tranquillity of my kingdom is also for its service, and that I shall be happy when I am able to serve it." To the other part of my leave-taking he went on repeating what he had said to me the first time. I only wait the convalescence of the Cav. Cavalli, who is ill, to depart.'²

In the 'Rubrica' of the above despatch it is stated that the ambassador reported that he had presented similar congratulations to the Queen, and gave her answer, with that of

¹ Published by Gar.

² Published by Gar.

the other princes whom he had visited, but the answer itself is not indicated. Either, therefore, the copyist had omitted a part of the original despatch, or the 'Annali' do not contain complete copies of the despatches.¹

On September 5 Michiel wrote: 'The slaughter of the Huguenots is continuing throughout the kingdom, and yesterday morning, to implore the special protection of God for this event, there was a public and most solemn procession in which the King, the Queens, the brothers of the King, the whole Court, all the officers, and all the clergy, with the most holy Sacrament and the sacred relics, took part. Neither the King of Navarre nor the Prince of Condé was present. They abstain hitherto from going to Mass. After what has occurred, little thought is given to the affairs of Flanders.'²

This despatch, which is taken from the 'Annali,' does not, curiously enough, appear in the 'Rubricario,' which, however, contains the *précis* of one of the same date to the following effect³ which seems to have escaped Signor Gar's notice. 'It stated that the slaughter of the Huguenots continued throughout the kingdom, and gave various particulars concerning certain places; that in Paris the Admiral's principal secretary had been taken with all his papers, in the house of the English ambassador, disguised as a groom, and also one of the principal captains and a person in the confidence of the Admiral himself named Briemero [Briguemaut], with another named Chavanor [Cavaignes?], his principal counsellor who, including what he had already paid and what he had promised, had offered forty thousand francs for his safety.

'That Vongomeri [Montgomery] had sought safety in England, and that the Admiral's son is said to have done so likewise.

'That for this business of the Admiral there had been made a most solemn procession.

¹ The parts in cypher, being secret, were probably omitted.

² Published by Gar.

³ A further proof that the *Annali* do not always contain full copies of the despatches.

'That to the King of Navarre there had been assigned two Catholic Governors, the Signor de Lochier and the Signor de Focchino, and that his household (*famiglia*) was being formed.

'That the ambassador of England had been to an audience of the King, accompanied by the Signor di Lansach and another gentleman for his safety, in order that he might not be exposed, as he feared, to some outrage from the populace when passing through the streets.

'Gave certain news from Flanders.

'Sent the declaration of the King as to the cause of the death of the Admiral and of others his adherents, published in print and distributed all over the kingdom.

'Gave an account of the illness from which the Ambassador Cavalli was still suffering, and stated that he would not take his departure until he saw him out of danger.'

On September 13 the ambassador reported, in a despatch which does not appear in the 'Annali,' but is found in the 'Rubricario,' that it was said that in some provinces of the kingdom no slaughter of the Huguenots had taken place; and in a further despatch, also only found in the 'Rubricario,' 'that the putting to death of Huguenots continued, some of the most notable, with their followers and persons in their service, being drowned secretly by night,' and 'that the newly-married wife of the Prince of Condé with all her ladies had made a public abjuration.'¹

On September 12, after the receipt of the despatches from Paris, the Senate at a meeting to which the 'Savii agli Ordini' (the heads of the three great administrative departments) had been summoned, approved the following draft of a letter from the Doge to the Venetian Ambassadors by 162 votes, only one having been given in the negative and one being declared 'non sincero,' or doubtful.²

'The account which you have specially given to us in your letters, from the 25th to the 28th of last month, of the slaughter

¹ Neither of these despatches has been published by Gar.

² *Deliberazioni, 1571-1572* (secreta), Senato I; Ro. 78. (Venice Archives.)
Published by Gar.

of the chiefs and principal promoters of the Huguenot sect, and of the extirpation still continuing of its other adherents, by order of the most Serene King, not only in Paris, but in all parts of his kingdom, has caused us—who so greatly desire the public good and the prosperity and grandeur of a Prince so closely allied to our Republic and so much esteemed and respected by us—as much delight as could possibly arise from an event which has, of itself, conferred a notable benefit upon Christianity, and especially upon the most Christian Crown. Consequently, we have desired that there should be no delay in giving a proof of our satisfaction, and have therefore sent you, with the approval of the Senate, these presents, as we have also, with the same object, had processions made to return thanks to God. And although we are convinced that neither of you have failed to congratulate His Majesty, we have, nevertheless, wished to instruct you to do so again in our name, presenting to him our accompanying letter, a copy of which will be herein enclosed, and saying to him that we very greatly rejoice to see in him that spirit (*animo*) which befits his singular goodness and his great prudence and virtue. We know not in what act he could have better shown himself than in entirely extirpating a plague so injurious to his kingdom and to that name of “Christian” which has ever been defended, even with their lives, by his Most Serene predecessors, who deservedly acquired the title of “Most Christian.” And as His Majesty, as soon as he began to reign, gave the most signal proofs of his true piety and his exalted virtue, so has he, in conformity with the greatness of his soul and his admirable intentions, achieved an auspicious success in those most praiseworthy measures by which he has just strengthened the foundations of the Catholic faith and established obedience, without which empires cannot long be preserved, and by which his own most flourishing kingdom has regained even its pristine splendour. And since His Most Christian Majesty has thus opened so grand and wide a road to show the world his holy thought, directed wholly to worthy and honourable enterprises, we are convinced that he will continue to take, with every possible severity, all other measures to prevent

the sprouting forth and bearing seed at any future time of so pernicious a root. This, it is firmly to be believed, will have a happy result; for the principal heads having been destroyed, the limbs remain to be cut off, and thus this excellent deed of the Most Serene King will live for ever in the memory of man to his eternal glory. We desire you to make a similar communication to the Most Serene Queen-Mother, highly praising Her Majesty's piety, and her great prudence and wise counsels with which she has long governed, foreseeing future and preparing for present events.¹ You will also congratulate the Most Serene brothers of the King, and the Most Serene Queen, the wife of the Most Christian [King], in suitable terms—in regard to which, knowing your worth, we feel sure that you will do all that is right, with the warmth, and in the terms which the satisfaction we feel at this event, and the affection and respect we have for the Most Christian Crown, require.'

The letter of the Doge himself to the King was as follows:—

'The satisfaction that we have felt at the destruction of the enemies of our Holy Catholic faith and of your Most Christian Majesty has been equal to the zeal we feel for the welfare of all Christendom and our desire for your complete prosperity.² To your everlasting glory you have given to the world a signal proof, by an act worthy of your singular goodness and exalted virtue, of the most admirable intentions you have always entertained, and of the desire to maintain for ever by striking examples the name which you rightly bear of "Most Christian," as your Most Serene predecessors have done. Hence we have not delayed in giving a proof of our

¹ 'L' istesso ufficio volemo che sia da voi fatto con forma conveniente di parole colla Serma Regina Madre, laudando sommamente la pia mente della Majestà sua, e quella molta prudenza e savio consiglio col quale ella ha lungamente governato, prevedendo le cose future e provvedendo alle presenti in quanto ha potuto.' This sentence appears to lead to the inference that the Senate believed that the assassination of the Admiral and the general massacre of the Huguenots had been premeditated by the Queen-Mother.

² It is evident from this and the following sentence that the Venetian Senate considered that the motives for the Massacre were religious rather than political.

joy by this letter, as we have also to the same intent, having had processions made, rendered special thanks to God (*Signor Dio*) the author of all good, and we congratulate your Most Christian Majesty most warmly. As our ambassadors have received instructions to speak more fully in our name we will not now further dilate.¹

Not satisfied with congratulating Charles, the Doge and Senate instructed their ambassador at Rome to offer similar congratulations to the Pope—anticipating that the slaughter of the Huguenots would afford great joy to His Holiness. On September 13 they wrote to him:—

‘We also desire you to congratulate His Holiness in our name with all possible warmth, on the happy event in France, and on the favour thus bestowed by God on His Beatitude, who, in the commencement of his Pontificate, has witnessed the overthrow of those who have ever aimed at overthrowing religion, and of subverting that kingdom. From which event we would fain hope that the Christian Republic will derive signal benefit by the ceasing of those disturbances and troubles which that perfidious race [the Huguenots] have brought upon the Most Christian Crown. We have, therefore, this morning rendered the most fervent thanks to the Divine Majesty by a solemn procession.’²

The Pope not only rejoiced in the extermination of the heretics; he hoped that the murder of Coligny and of the principal chiefs of the Huguenot party would leave Charles IX. free to join the League against the Turks—which he had hitherto declined to do, in consequence, it was supposed, of the counsels of the Admiral. The Senate wrote to the Venetian Ambassadors at Paris:—

‘His Reverence, the Nuncio, came yesterday to our “Collegio,”³ and after having congratulated us on the happy occurrences in that kingdom [France], submitted to us, in the name of His Holiness, that what had happened would give

¹ Venice Archives.

² Published by Gar.

³ The ‘Collegio’ was an assembly composed of the Doge as President, six Counsellors, the three heads of the Court of Appeal, six members of the Council called the ‘*Savii Grandi*,’ five of the ‘*Savii di terra ferma*,’ and five of the ‘*Savii agli Ordini*’—in all twenty-six members.

an excellent opportunity for the Most Serene King to enter into the Holy League; and that there was not only good reason to hope that His Most Christian Majesty would avail himself of it, but that the Emperor would do so also. On this account His Holiness had given stringent orders to the most illustrious Cardinal Orsini, his Legate to the Court of France, to make every effort to induce His Most Christian Majesty to join the League.¹

The ambassadors were instructed to give their support to the Cardinal and to the Nuncio at the French Court, in 'carrying out a matter of so much moment,' which concerned, in the Senate's opinion, 'the universal interests of Christendom.'

But the Queen-Mother was not disposed to receive the Cardinal Legate at that time, as she feared that his presence at the Court would compromise the King, and lead people to believe that the plot to assassinate Coligny had been concerted with the Pope, and was to be attributed to religious animosity against the Protestants, and was not, as she and her son wished to make it appear, a necessary measure to defend their lives, threatened by a Huguenot conspiracy. On September 13 the Venetian ambassadors at Paris wrote to the Senate: 'The Queen-Mother, to prevent his [Orsini's] coming, has told the Nuncio to inform His Holiness that he should in no wise send him [the Cardinal], the King being neither able nor willing to give his attention to matters connected with foreign affairs, being desirous first to see put in order and well settled his domestic affairs and those of his kingdom, which will give him more than enough to do. The courier has been sent back with this answer.'²

But the French ambassador at Rome assigned to other reasons the King's request that the Legate should not be allowed to continue his journey to Paris. The Venetian representative at the Papal Court wrote on September 23: 'The French ambassador, by order of the King, has requested His Holiness not to send the Legate to His Majesty because it

¹ This extract is given by Gar.

² This extract from the *Annali* is published by Gar.

might lead to the belief that he [the Pope] had had knowledge of what had occurred in that country [France]. His Holiness has, therefore, sent a courier to him [the Legate] with orders that if he should have crossed the mountains he is to stop at Avignon.¹

I find a further despatch in the 'Rubricario di Roma' to the same effect, of December 27: 'His Most Christian Majesty,' the Venetian ambassador stated, 'has done his utmost to have the Legate recalled, in order to remove the suspicion that the Princes of Germany and the Queen of England entertain of him' [the King].²

On September 16 the Venetian ambassadors at Paris informed the Senate 'that the executions of Huguenots continued by the drowning, secretly at night, of some of the most notable, and of their adherents, and persons in their service, and that the newly-married wife of the Prince of Condé, with all her ladies, had made a public abjuration.'³

On September 17 the Venetian ambassador at Madrid described to the Senate the impression which the Massacre had made upon Philip II., in the following despatch:—

'SER^{mo} PRINCIPE,

'The news of the massacre of the Admiral and of the other Huguenots in France has caused the greatest joy that can be imagined to this Most Serene King; and when the French ambassador waited upon him, he gave ample proofs of it. His Majesty has returned thanks for it in his chapel in San Girolamo, by having a "Te Deum" sung. And in order, on this occasion, to compliment the King in every way, has determined to send to him the Marquis of Ajamont, who, we hear, will not only be instructed to congratulate him, but will offer him the forces of his Majesty for all that he may consider necessary on this occasion.'⁴

On September 23, Cavalli, his colleague Michiel having

¹ Published by Gar.

² *Rubricario di Roma*. 'Che la M^{te} Chris^{ma} haveva ricercato il Papa a fare ritornare il Legato per levare il sospetto che prendevano li Principi di Germania et la Regina d'Inghilterra di lui.'

³ *Rubricario di Fransa*, 1558-1586.

⁴ Published by Gar.

by this time left Paris for Venice, thus wrote to the Senate: 'As yet tranquillity prevails in all parts of the kingdom, and all are so terrified that they think rather of flight than of taking up arms. The Prince of Condé has abjured publicly, and has become a Catholic, in the presence of a number of princes; and now he goes to Mass with much devotion. And not only here, but in many places, as I hear, men and women are in the greatest hurry to become Catholics' (*a furia si fanno cattolici*).

This despatch, which is found in the 'Annali,' and has been published by Signor Gar, is replaced in the 'Rubricario' by one of the same date, and containing the same information, but which gives additional particulars of considerable interest, as it relates to the conduct of Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of the Massacre.¹ According to the *précis*, the ambassador Cavalli informed the Senate—

'That the Queen of England had made known to the King that she was much pleased with what he had done against those who were devising such grave things against his person, and to find that he had not acted upon religious grounds; but that at the same time she was greatly grieved that the edicts of His Majesty² were not put into execution, for in various places many were proceeded against without form of judgment or trial, on which account very many persons from France had had recourse to her. And that she had written to her ambassador that, if these things went on, he was to find a pretext to return to England, so that he might avoid any affront.

'That the Queen-Mother replied that they were compelled to make further executions to set their affairs right, and, moreover, that princes were under no obligation to keep their promises to their subjects; but as regards her [Elizabeth's] own person it would always be respected and honoured by everyone.

¹ Not hitherto published. This *précis* in the *Rubricario* appears to show that despatches containing matter which the Senate desired to keep secret were not copied in full in the *Annali*.

² For the protection of the Protestants.

'That tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom, and that people were so much terrified that they were thinking more of flight than of taking up arms.

'That the Prince of Condé, in the presence of many princes, had publicly abjured, and had become a Catholic, and that many were doing the same thing.'

The next despatch that Cavalli appears to have written was dated October 7. It is abridged in the 'Rubricario,' and does not appear in the 'Annali,' and is consequently not noticed by Signor Gar. It informed the Doge—

'That he [Cavalli] had conveyed the communication confided to him by His Serenity [the Doge], with respect to the death of the Admiral and his adherents, to the King and Queen, who were delighted with it, and thanked His Serenity.

'That the King had issued an edict forbidding the employment in the public service henceforth of anyone who was not a Catholic; and consequently he had given those of the religion¹ to understand that they must become Catholics, and that within a certain period they might sell their offices: otherwise, the time having passed, they would be deprived of them.

'That the King of Navarre, in a private chapel, in the presence of the Queen-Mother, the Nuncio, and the princes, had abjured the religion that he professed, and had become a Catholic; and that the Cardinal de Bourbon had sent a man to Rome by post to obtain absolution from the Pope for him [the King of Navarre] and the Prince of Condé.

'That the King, hearing that the Frenchmen who were in Mons² were about to return to his kingdom, had sent some soldiers to the frontier, and had had them cut to pieces as they arrived disbanded.

'That Mons. de Biron, the Governor of Rocella [La Rochelle], had been admitted by the inhabitants of the place, but without the garrison, which they would not receive.

¹ This was the term usually employed to denote the Huguenots.

² These were the Huguenots who, there was reason to suspect, had gone to Flanders under Genlis to join the revolted Protestants, with the connivance of the King.

'That certain Viscounts of Vascogna [Gascony] who were with the King of Navarre, and to whom the Most Christian King granted their lives, and allowed to go, on their promise to put Mont Albano [Montaubon] into his hands, having reached those parts, had become more Huguenot than ever, and had fortified themselves in certain places.

'That the King had sent to the Count Palatine and to other princes in Germany to explain the slaughter of the Admiral and other Huguenots, and matters connected with it, so as to make them believe that all had been done on account of the rebellion which they were plotting. All this to keep these Germans well disposed to the Crown [of France].

'That in Bordeaux and Toulouse there had been massacres of the Huguenots.'

This despatch shows, amongst other things, that the Venetian ambassador was not deceived by the attempt of Charles and his mother to persuade Europe that the Massacre was a political measure in self-defence, and in no way attributable to religious motives. Nor were the German princes whom the King desired to conciliate disposed to believe that the Huguenots had provoked the Massacre, and were alone responsible for it. Cavalli wrote on October 20:—

'That the gentleman sent by the King to Germany was returned, and reported that if it were true that His Most Christian Majesty had put to death the Admiral and other leaders for treason, the Germans would be tranquillised (*rest-eranno quieti*); but as by order of the King all the Huguenots had been indiscriminately slaughtered in many cities, this proved treachery and a hostile spirit to their religion, on which account they [the Germans] were ill-satisfied, adding other things which this gentleman reported on this subject, and that wherever he had been in Germany the French nation was hated.'¹

On October 27 Cavalli stated 'that His Majesty had

¹ This despatch is in the *Rubricario*, but not in the *Annali*, and is not noticed by Gar.

ordered it to be proclaimed that all those who since August 24 had absented themselves from their homes were to return within a certain time; and if they did not do so, they were to remain perpetually banished, and their goods were to be seized and applied to the Fisc.¹

In November an attempt was made in Paris to renew the Massacre. Cavalli on the 30th informed the Senate:—

‘That the King with the Court having left Paris, the populace had taken up arms to continue to slay and plunder the Huguenots, and to pillage the houses of certain Italian merchants who had made themselves rich in this kingdom, but that the magistrates of the city took precautions, and further disorders did not follow.

‘That the absolution of Navarre and the dispensation for his marriage had come from Rome.’²

On December 25 the ambassador thus reported the result of the mission which Charles IX. had sent to Queen Elizabeth:—

‘That Mons^r. de Monisciera (? Montsoreau) had returned from England with the consent of the Queen to be godmother (*comadre*) with the King,³ and that she would send a person of rank with that object, although he would not be present at the baptism, but would so arrange that the Queen of Navarre would undertake this office [or would represent her].

‘As regards the complaints of His Most Christian Majesty, that the Queen had received those in rebellion against him, in violation of the League and capitulations between them, the Queen said that she had never had the intention of violating the capitulations, nor receiving those in rebellion against His Majesty, but that she had received them as poor fugitives on account of their religion—a religion which she herself professed—nor could she have been wanting to them with a good conscience.’⁴

The last despatch that I have found in the ‘*Rubricario*’—

¹ *Rubricario*; not in the *Annali*.

² *Rubricario*; not in the *Annali*.

³ To his infant daughter.

⁴ *I.e.* she could not conscientiously refuse to receive them. *Rubricario*; not in the *Annali*.

it is not in the 'Annali'—relating to the Massacre is one of January 9, 1572 (1573), from Cavalli, in which he stated that the baptism of the King's infant daughter was delayed on account of the English ambassador, and that 'nearly all the English merchants who were in France had returned to their own country, on account of the massacres which had taken place, in which many persons even of their nation had been slain.'

In subsequent despatches from the Venetian ambassador at Paris there are frequent allusions to the siege of Rochelle, to events in Flanders, and to other matters relating to the Huguenots, but which have no immediate reference to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. They do not, therefore, come within the scope of this Paper. But there exists a letter from Paris dated August 27, 1572, written consequently by an eyewitness of that event, and published in the same year—probably very soon after it. Although it is stated on the title-page that it was printed at Venice, I suspect that it was really published at Rome, and as it relates some of the facts connected with the Massacre in almost the same words as those employed by Salviati in his despatch quoted by Mr. Reade, in his Paper published in the last volume of our 'Proceedings,' that it was written either by him or by some one who had access to that despatch. There is only one copy of this letter, as far as I am aware, in existence.¹ It is in the possession of Mr. Horatio Brown, an English gentleman residing at Venice, who has kindly permitted me to make use of it. The letter was probably suppressed, perhaps soon after its publication, like other books and documents throwing light upon the secret history of the Massacre, and the share which the Pope and Charles IX. may have had in it. This little pamphlet, of only seven pages (including the title-page), is entitled, '*Il vero successo occorso nella città di Parigi contra l'Armiraglio, e suoi seguaci Ugonotti, dove si ha particular e vero avviso della morte di detto Armiraglio et di molti Signori Ugonotti, con molti altri particolari ultimamente venuti. In Venetia,*

¹ It is not to be found in the Venice Archives, nor in the Library of St. Mark's, nor in the British Museum.

1572'¹ (with a woodcut on the title-page representing a king seated on his throne crowned by two priests, and two young men standing with hands joined, as if in prayer, before a river crossed by a bridge).

Although this letter contains little of any importance which is not to be found in Salviati's despatch or in other contemporary documents, I have made the following translation of it on account of its rarity, and because it adds to the materials that are calculated to explain the real motives for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It is, therefore, of some interest.

'I presume that by the time this letter reaches you it will already be known in Rome, many couriers having been despatched to that capital, that as the Admiral was returning from the royal palace to his lodgings, which were not far from the said palace, an arquebuse, loaded with three poisoned balls of bronze, was discharged against him from a house by a gentleman, a former servant of the old Duke of Guise, and married to Madame d'Arles, who went into Spain with the Queen, and returned here after her death. This discharge from the arquebuse shattered one of the fingers of the Admiral's right hand, which was immediately amputated, and traversed his left arm from one side to the other, fracturing the bone. The surgeons held a long consultation as to whether they should amputate the arm, there being some doubt as to whether the balls were poisoned or not, whilst on the other hand they feared that he might die of the effects of the operation. Finally, to save the surgeons further trouble, the King sent, last night, for Monsignor the Duke of Guise, Monsignor the Chevalier [the bastard brother of the King], and Monsignor the Duke of Humala [Aumale], and commanded them to go and put an end to the Admiral, and, at the same time, to cut to pieces all the Huguenots in Paris. These gentlemen having received this commission went, two hours after mid-

¹ 'A true relation of what happened in the city of Paris to the Admiral and his Huguenot followers; in which there is a particular and true account of the death of the said Admiral and of many other Huguenot gentlemen, with many other particulars recently arrived.'

night, with a large number of armed men, to the Admiral's lodgings, to which, for his safety, the King had sent his own guard immediately after the Admiral had been wounded. They entered his room, accompanied by Signor Pietro Paolo Tossinghi, a Florentine, and a cousin of his. This Tossinghi having seized the Admiral's purse and collar, they with their arms drawn (*arme in haste*) threw themselves upon him. The Admiral, though maimed, defended himself most bravely with his sword, and afterwards with his bed-cover. But at last he succumbed, and they threw him dead out of the window, having found upon him the seal (*sigillo*) of his [*i.e.* the Huguenot] religion. Of the other chiefs the following were killed:—La Roscia Focon [Rochefoucauld] with one of his sons, born of [a lady of the family] of the Counts of Mirandola, Taligni, son-in-law of the Admiral, Piles, Bricco-moco, La Motta, Perdiglion, with his brother, Comon, formerly protonotary of Cardinal Tornone, but now married, 'il Luten' [the Lieutenant] of the Admiral, and the Bagli [Bailli] of Orleans. Mongomeri, who killed King Henry, the father of the present King, in a tournament, fled on horseback with many other Huguenots, probably about eighty in number, among them the Vidam of Sciates [Chartres]. They were followed by Monsignor de Guise and Monsignor de Humala, and more than four hundred horsemen, who pursued them all yesterday. Having ridden more than twenty-five leagues, and not being able to overtake them, they came back this night, having slain on the way about fifteen of them, and having sent a large number of horsemen to continue the pursuit.

'Thus it was scarcely daylight—and as it was Sunday, and St. Bartholomew's Day, it was a convenient day for the artisans—before all Paris was armed, and the Huguenots were fallen upon and their houses sacked, and nothing was seen but dead bodies, entirely naked, dragged through the streets to be thrown into the river. And this is still going on, although the King yesterday morning, at three o'clock of the day, had ordered it to be proclaimed that they [the Huguenots] should be no longer slain, but should be made prisoners. To-day, also, after the proclamation, Monsignor de Angiu [Anjou]

got on horseback, and is going about the place to quell the tumult. Yesterday morning there were, before the Lauro [Louvre], more than than forty bodies, all of respectable persons, stretched naked on the ground. Many women have not been killed; but very many girls are in prison, who will all be thrown into the river if they refuse to become Catholics. You may imagine that yesterday there was blood everywhere.

‘As yet one cannot estimate the number of men hitherto slain; but there are some who declare that, up to this time, they exceed a thousand. The pillage has been, and is still, very great, so that nothing has been left them [the Huguenots]—an infinite quantity of silver, innumerable horses and property of all kinds [having been plundered]. Every man takes what he can. It is sufficient that in the streets some one should say of another that “he is a Huguenot,” for him to be immediately cut to pieces, and at once thrown into the river.

‘The King of Navarre, moreover, and the Prince of Condé, for whom the King sent at an early hour yesterday morning, and before they knew what had happened although they lodged in the palace, are still kept as prisoners in the royal apartments. Almost all their gentlemen were killed as soon as the King had entered his own palace, and especially the Governor of the King [of Navarre] and others very dear to him. Notwithstanding, it is said that the King [Charles] gives him good hope, and it is not yet known what may happen. In the same place are confined a great number of ladies and duchesses.

‘The King and others of the blood did not leave the palace until this morning—Monsignor de Angiu, moreover, very late. Throughout Paris one sees nothing but little white crosses of paper, or of some other material, in everyone’s hat or cap, as a sign of their being Catholics. But, nevertheless, I have seen Huguenots killed who also bore this [badge] but who were recognised—a very beautiful sight. The gates of the city have been continually closed, with the exception of two, where there are guards who allow no horse or property to pass.

A large number [of Huguenots] have fled. The principal part of them are in the suburbs ; but the beauty of it is (*ma il bello è*) that they will not even be safe in any part of the kingdom, it being the general opinion that the same thing is to be done everywhere. At present they are being searched for in their houses, and there are some who still defend themselves with closed doors, principally counsellors and other great personages. The Marshal d'Annala is with the King. The Marshal de Momoransi, his brother, has been summoned; but he is away, and will not come, fearing for his life, because he is suspected for a Huguenot, although, not having gone against the King in the war, he is not denounced as such. But he knows his own conscience. There have also been summoned very many others of the long robe, but it is believed that they will not appear.

'This morning, at dawn, the bastard brother of the King of Navarre was arrested. It is fully believed that the said King, with the Prince of Condé and his wife, will within two or three days go to Mass—the King having it celebrated for them—if they do not wish to be put to death. About Paris the saying is, "either to church or to the river." A number of little children are being brought to be baptised, and women have taken other Huguenot women to church by force, exhorting them to be good Catholics if they do not wish to die.

'And I recommend myself to you.'

'From Paris on the 27th of August.

'I had forgotten to tell you that in Paris are seen a pine tree and a thorn which have flowered since yesterday morning, and everyone is running to see them, saying that it is a miracle.

'And, moreover, I must tell you that there have been found in two sums, in the hands of the treasurers of the Huguenots, five hundred thousand scudi, which were kept to pay soldiers to make war. You must know that of these Huguenots some are so obstinate that they allow themselves to be killed rather than go to church.'

This letter, it will be perceived, contains statements not in

conformity with the usual account of the Admiral's assassination. He is represented as having courageously defended himself, first with his sword, and afterwards with the coverlet of his bed; whereas he is usually described as having calmly awaited his death seated in his chair. It is said that the two men who assassinated him were Pietro Paolo Tossinghi and his cousin. Other, and probably more authentic, accounts state that it was one Behm, a German, who first plunged a sword into the Admiral's breast, and amongst those who thus fell upon him these Florentines do not appear. But Tossinghi is mentioned as having taken from the Admiral's corpse the golden chain, the insignia of his office, which Salviati says he saw him wearing.

Michiel, on his return to Venice from his embassy, made the customary report, or '*Relazione*,' to the Doge and Senate, probably orally. It has been published by Albèri in his collection of the '*Relazioni*' of the Venetian ambassadors.¹ It is a state-paper of singular ability and interest. What he says in it of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew has been generally accepted as one of the most authentic accounts that has reached us of that most shameful deed, coming from a thoroughly trustworthy, well-informed, and impartial witness. If it were not for want of space I would have ventured to place before you a translation of the whole '*Relazione*,' which deserves the careful study of everyone who desires full information as to the causes which led to the Massacre, and as to the political condition of France at the time.

After describing the festivities on the occasion of the marriage of Henry of Navarre, which were of the utmost magnificence, he gives the following account of the assassination of Coligny, and of the subsequent massacre:—

'The wedding of Navarre lasted for four consecutive days—from the Monday to the Friday—with festivities and masks, and was still continuing, there being yet several kinds of tournaments to be held, when, everyone being entirely occupied with these doings, on the morning of Friday, about the dinner-hour, an arquebuse was discharged from a window,

¹ *Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*. Series I. vol. iv.

which opened rather obliquely on the street, at the Admiral, who was returning on foot from the Court to his house near the Louvre (which is the Royal Palace) and was walking, reading a letter. The ball did not, however, as intended by the person who fired it, strike him in the chest; because the Admiral, by chance, wore slippers, and walking in them with difficulty, as they were too large for him, and wishing to take them off to give them to a page, he had remained a little behind. Consequently, the ball from the arquebuse, after carrying away a finger of his left hand, entered his right arm near the juncture of the hand, and passing through it, shattered it to the elbow. Had he continued, when walking, to keep in front, it would have struck him in the chest, and would have killed him. The thing having become generally known, there was, as may be supposed, great commotion everywhere, and especially at the Court, all believing that Mons^r de Guise had instigated the attempt in order to avenge his father—as the shot had been fired from a window in the house of his mother—the house having, with this object, been purposely left empty, Madame having moved into another.

The news having been taken to the King, who was playing at ball at the time with M. de Guise, it is said that he turned pale, and was exceedingly upset. Without saying a word, he retired to his chamber, showing signs of being greatly incensed, and of being very much displeased by what had occurred. All the adherents and followers of the Admiral, and those of the religion [*i.e.* Huguenots], had assembled in great numbers in Paris for the marriages of the King of Navarre and Condé—for the French desire above everything that Paris should be, as it really is, the first city of Europe, and even of the world—these Frenchmen thinking that they cannot live when they are prevented from going there; and, on account of the troubles, it had happened to many not to have had the courage to appear there for many years. These persons, then, immediately hastened to the Admiral's dwelling. Although it was not then clear whether the wound was mortal, or whether he was only to lose his arm, they did not cease to cry out, and threaten that that arm of the Admiral's

would cost more than some forty thousand other arms. Some of their principal men having gone to dine with the King, made very loud complaint of what had occurred, speaking very haughtily, and demanding immediate and strict justice, saying that otherwise others would be found who would execute it. It very nearly happened (as it was afterwards stated by Captain Brichemot [Briquemault], one of their chiefs, who was subsequently arrested, having been taken from the house of the English Ambassador, where he had concealed himself, and who was ultimately hanged), it very nearly happened, I say, that on that very day those of the religion [the Huguenots] who had assembled, went with arms, as they had resolved to do, to the Palace of the Louvre, where the King resided, and where Mons^r de Guise also lived, in order to kill him [Guise] even in his apartment, forcing the King's guards and such others as attempted to oppose them. If it had come to this, there would have been the greatest danger of half a battle (*un mezzo fatto di arme*) in which, without doubt, there would have perished either the whole, or the greater part, of the nobles (there being very many on the one side and the other), with the further danger that in their rage they would neither have spared the King's brothers nor the King himself. But they refrained, dissuaded and held back by the said Brichemot—at least, so he said. I return to the Admiral. On the same day he was visited, after dinner, by the King, Queen, and Monsieur, who invited him to remove to the Palace for his greater security, and in order to be better attended to—the King telling him that for this purpose several rooms which had been occupied by the Duchess of Lorraine had been cleared out. But he thanked His Majesty, saying that he was very well where he was. It is said that after the King had left, and when the Admiral was telling his friends of this offer to give him rooms in the Palace, he remarked, that only a fool would allow himself to be shut up between four walls¹—as if being within, and in the centre of, the city, he was not between walls and in the

¹ It would appear, therefore, if the Admiral used these words, that he believed that there was a design to kill him.

power of the King, as it was afterwards seen. All this happened on the Friday.

On the Saturday, the first dressing [of the wound] of the Admiral having been removed, it was published—whether truly or by order I know not—that the wound was not only not mortal, but that there was even no danger of his losing his arm. The Huguenots, thereupon, threatened still more. Consequently everyone was on the watch to see how matters would end; M. de Guise, as he expected to be attacked, arming himself, and collecting together M. d'Omala [Aumale] his uncle, and as many of his relations, friends, and servants as he was able. But the business was soon finished; for in the night of Saturday, the next day being Sunday, and the feast of St. Bartholomew, there took place at about dawn, by orders of the King, what the French call “the Massacre:” that is, the slaughter, with the greatest rage, and to the horror of the whole city—and such a city as Paris, the most populous in Europe!—beyond imagination. There were shown the utmost fury and ferocity—the King having ordered the people to slay and plunder. It was the greatest wonder—rather, indeed, a miracle—that the populace, abusing this licence, and greedy of booty—the city being rich beyond description—did not also lay hands on the Catholics, and pillage and rob all who fell into their hands. I know of no other people in the world, who, armed and incited by their Sovereign, could under such excitement have so restrained themselves. But it pleased God that we should not witness so great a crime.¹ The massacre continued not only during the Sunday, but for two or three days after, notwithstanding that edicts were issued forbidding it, and that even on the Sunday the Duke of Nevers was made to ride through the city with the Chevalier [the bastard brother of the King] ordering that the slaughter should cease. It was then seen what the influence and love of their religion can effect among men, otherwise it would appear a strange, indeed a barbarous thing to witness, as was witnessed, men treating, in cold blood, with the greatest

¹ It would have been a crime to have killed a Catholic, whilst it was no crime to massacre the Protestants!

cruelty, their fellow-countrymen, who not only had given them no offence, but all, or the greater part, of whom were known to them either as their neighbours or their relatives. They showed no regard or mercy even to those who, on their knees with the utmost humility, implored that their lives might be spared. It was sufficient for a person who had enmity to another on account of some dispute or lawsuit to say of him, "That man is a Huguenot," for him to be at once despatched, and such was the case with many, although they were Catholics. And if a man, as a last resource, threw himself into the river, as many did, seeking to save his life by swimming, he was immediately followed by a number of boats, until, when overtaken, he was drowned outright. The plunder and the booty were very great—to the amount, it is said, of two millions in gold, as many Huguenots, and the richest among them, after the last edict of pacification, had decided upon returning to Paris. According to the highest estimate, the killed in Paris amounted to 4,000; according to the lowest, to 2,000. The same thing has been done with the same, and even greater, fury in all the provinces and in nearly all the principal cities of this kingdom, no respect having been shown for anyone, whatever his rank, so much so that all the principal [Huguenots] have either been killed or have been made prisoners, and will not escape death. Although Montgommari [Montgomery] and a few others have escaped to England, Mons^r de Guise, who pursued them, not having been able to overtake them, they are not persons of any consideration, nor capable of making a disturbance, such is the terror with which the King has inspired them.

'The two principal chiefs [of the Huguenots] by blood and rank, the King of Navarre and Condé, are lads (*putti*), have no following, and are in the power of the King as prisoners. They will not be allowed for a long time to come to leave the Court, if they are not even worse treated, especially Condé. With regard to the latter, I will not omit to inform your Serenity that the King having been told that, after the Admiral had been wounded and after his death, he [Condé] went about threatening, sent for him, and said to him, "I hear

that you are menacing [or bravadoing]. Very well! I will cause you to mount a scaffold, and make the executioner deprive you of what little head you have!" Whereupon Condé, recommending himself to the King, and humbly bowing before him, implored his forgiveness and mercy. This Condé is a youth between sixteen and seventeen years of age, with, as far as one can judge, a very cruel countenance and with a bad expression, and always frowning, or as we Venetians say, "*col pegio levato*," melancholy, and as ill-favoured in his manners as in his appearance. Brought up and having grown amidst tumult and civil wars, he had the Admiral for his idol, as he looked upon him as his father. But there is no fear that he or others can raise their heads; although at the present moment there are about two thousand Huguenots, who have occupied and fortified themselves, to escape death, in the town of Sanserra [Sancerre], on the river Loire, an old place of refuge of those of the religion. The King, however, will have little difficulty in driving them out, by besieging the place and starving them. Already several companies of men-at-arms have been ordered for this purpose, and will be placed round the surrounding villages, so as to prevent the entry of provisions and other things for their use. The city of Rocella [La Rochelle] is on account of its site—being on the sea, and having a good harbour—very advantageously situated for the introduction of the English and other foreigners. On my departure its inhabitants had refused to receive a garrison from the King, demanding that their ancient privilege of garrisoning the places themselves should be maintained, and sending to inform the King that they would re-establish the Mass and the Roman Catholic religion, and would be his Majesty's faithful subjects, and would never introduce into their city foreign troops. It is said that the King will perhaps be satisfied if they receive Mons. de Biron, the General of the Artillery, for superintendent, to keep them to their word and in obedience, and that he will thus continue to dissemble until, on his first journey, which will be immediately after the confinement of the Queen, going thither [to La Rochelle] with the Court, he will, as soon as he is in the place, erect a

fortress there, as he did at Lyons. There are also some places in Gascony, such as Montalbano [Montauban], Cognac, and others, which are held by the Huguenots; but they have sent to inform the King that they only held them for their safety, because, being reputed by their neighbours to be rich and well off, they fear to be plundered and killed. He is also dissembling with them, until he undertakes his first journey. So much has already been effected that throughout the kingdom the preachings, the meetings, and all other practices of the new religion have been suppressed, and the nobles, as well as those belonging to the people, have resigned themselves to becoming Catholics; the greatest among them especially have shown the way, the Prince de Condé himself, with his wife, and Mad^e de Cursoles, so greatly favoured by the Queen, and many others, having publicly abjured. The King of Navarre has done the like; having, at the same time, ordered that in his dominions the Catholic religion should be re-established, and the monasteries and the revenues of the Church restored. And what is even more, the very ministers of the Huguenot churches, and the principal among them, desire and seek to become Catholics. But these persons will be more rigorously dealt with, as regards their recantations, than others have been.

‘There were in the kingdom [France] two classes of Huguenots—one class composed of seditious men—atheists, moreover—who, under the pretence of religion, but in reality in consequence of the benefits they derived from war by plunder and rapine, and of the large pay they received as soldiers and captains, continued to encourage war—indifferent against whom they bore arms, were it even against the King himself. The other class was composed of persons who, with the only object of enjoying greater freedom and licence of life, had embraced the new doctrines, but who, abstaining from tumults and seditions, obeyed the King. As the first are completely exterminated, and the chiefs and all others who by arms, or by their counsels, could disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, are still being destroyed, there is nothing now to be feared from them. The second think it expedient from necessity,

although they may not really abandon their convictions, to obey their King and not to oppose his will, if they wish to enjoy the rewards, the honours, and the advantages which are derived from him, the King being, as he is, an absolute monarch. As he largely recompenses those who are in his favour, so no greater harm nor greater misery could befall those who are not than to be despised and abandoned by and to be in disgrace with him. For the French are such that they neither can nor will, nor do they know how to, live out of France, because they recognise no other God than the King, the populace worshipping him on their knees as he passes by, as if he were God himself. Whence it may be asserted, as an indisputable proposition and conclusion, that everywhere, but especially in France, such as the King may be, so by a necessary consequence will be his subjects.

‘But, most Serene Prince! as different opinions are expressed regarding this affair [of the Huguenots], and as to the death of the Admiral, it being doubtful as to whether it was accidental or premeditated, I feel that I ought not to omit to inform your Serenity of what I have learnt on this subject from persons of high position, who have knowledge of the hidden and secret things of the Kingdom [of France]. Be it known, therefore, to your Serenity that all this business, from first to last, has been the work of the Queen, devised, contrived, and carried to the end by her, with the participation alone of Mons. d’Angiò [Anjou], her son. She herself had long contemplated it, as she reminded Mons. Salviati, her relative, who is again there [in France] as Nuncio, remarking that he would remember, and bear witness to what she bid him secretly tell the late Pope from her (as the Nuncio admits she did):—that he would soon see how she would avenge herself and the King upon those of the religion. With this object alone, the Queen brought about, with so much eagerness, the marriage of her daughter with Navarre, not caring for an alliance with [the King of] Portugal, nor for other great matches which were offered to her, in order that the marriage festivities might take place in Paris, at which, she anticipated, the Admiral and the other chiefs of that band

[the Huguenots] would be present, there being no other way, nor a more favourable occasion for bringing them there. It is further said, that when the marriage was being arranged, those who were negotiating it warned the Queen not to show herself so anxious for its conclusion, and not to yield so readily to all that was asked of her on the part of Navarre, as they would bring his people to consent to all the conditions that she herself might require. But the Queen replied that she did not trouble herself about their obtaining a little more or a little less, so long as they held firm upon the question of having the marriage celebrated in Paris. In order to make the matter sure, she contrived that her daughter should more than once represent to the King and her brothers that, as they wished her to make this alliance, she ought not to be treated otherwise than her sisters and the King's other daughters, in not having her wedding celebrated in Paris; and that if this were not agreed to she would not consent to the marriage. The Queen, having thus gained her point without opposition, set about meditating and arranging what remained to be done. It is further affirmed that Mons. de Guise was in no way privy to the attempt upon the Admiral's life—which, as I have said, was imputed to him—as he would not have been so bold as to commit such an act in the very presence of the King. For the insult would have been to the King himself, who, although he might have dissembled for the moment, might at some future time have remembered it to the great detriment of Guise and of his house, when no longer in his service and in his favour. Whereas now, finding that he has been so fully revenged,¹ without having himself ever contemplated it, Guise grows daily in grace and favour at Court, being a most amiable man and very dear to the King and to everyone else, as he has shown, by the daring and valour he has already displayed in war, that he has in no way degenerated from the worth of his father.

'Thus, it is said, the attempt (*archibusata*) was concerted by Mons. d'Angiò and the Queen. It is further said, but secretly (and it may probably be so, although it may be

¹ For the death of his father, imputed to the Admiral.

doubted here) that, as they could not trust a Frenchman, they got the shot fired by a Florentine captain, a creature of the Queen's, and in very great favour with Monseigneur, known to everyone who has been in France, one, Piero Paolo Tossinghi—a man, moreover, much esteemed for his knowledge of the art of war.¹ It is known that this Tossinghi, some days after, boasted of it to a person in his confidence; but it was publicly stated that it was a Frenchman named Maurevel—a person who was accustomed to this kind of business, and who had, in the same way, with an arquebuse shot, killed a very famous captain of the Huguenots called Muy. But this man has never been seen, nor has he ever appeared, as he would have done.² The attempt [on Coligny's life] having been made on the Friday, and the affair becoming serious, the Queen and Mons. d'Angiò entered, towards the evening, the cabinet of the King, and being alone there with him explained to him how matters were. The Queen proved to him that the opportunity was most favourable, and the means easy and sure, for him to be revenged upon those who had rebelled against him, as he had brought them all together, and had shut them up, as it were, in a cage—that is, within the walls of Paris. He would thus free himself from the disgrace of having been compelled by violence to come to terms with them in the way he had done, and he was not bound to observe any agreement thus extorted from him. They showed him that the acts and counsels of the Admiral were seditious and were intended to lead him into war, and to induce him to embark hastily in it to the total ruin of his kingdom, which had already been devastated for so many years, and was ruined by the heavy burden of the debts of the Crown. She added that he would bring himself to shame before other princes if he entered upon a war, without any pretence or reason whatever, with a king so nearly related to him.³ And, what was even more important, they laid great stress upon

¹ This does not agree, it will be observed, with the usual account, which attributes the attempt on Coligny's life to Maurevel.

² *I.e.* to obtain a reward, had he been the man who fired at the Admiral.

³ Philip of Spain, who had married his sister.

the danger to which they would find themselves exposed if the Admiral survived, as it would be absolutely necessary to recommence a civil war, on account of the vengeance which he and his followers would take without fail. Wherefore, it was necessary to forestall, in order not to be forestalled. With these and other reasonings, and with very weighty arguments it was the more easy for the Queen to bring him to her views as on that very day one of the leading Huguenots, named Bochiavanes¹ [who was afterwards received into favour], had come very secretly to them to betray the orders given to the Huguenots to assemble, on September 7, in the town of Melun, ten leagues from Paris, all their forces, both foot and horse, in order, as the King had disarmed, to revenge themselves for the attempt upon the Admiral's life. He warned them, therefore, to look well after their affairs.² This is the conspiracy that the King afterwards alleged in the Parliament he had discovered against himself, his mother, and his brothers; adding—in order to make the thing still more shameful—and against his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre

‘The King having thus been gained over by the Queen and his brother, the Provost of the merchants of Paris, named Marcel, a person well able to carry out any design (*moltu executivo*), and very much in their confidence, was at once sent for. He was asked if, in case the King desired to make use of the men of Paris in a certain business of his, how many he could count upon to serve him. He replied “According to the length of time at my disposal.” Upon being told that it would be within a month, he said: “Above a hundred thousand, and as many more as the King required.” “And if within a week?” he was asked. “In proportion to those numbers,” he answered. He was further asked, “In within one day?” “Twenty thousand and more,” was his reply. Having sworn him to absolute silence and secrecy they commanded him to give orders to the head man of each street to bid, under a similar oath, one man in every house to be ready, with his arms and a light, on that same night. This was done with so much care and secrecy that no one told

¹ Bouchavannes.

² Or, ‘to be prepared.’

his neighbour; and as no one was able to learn why he had received these orders, the more was everyone on the alert to see what was about to happen. Marcel having been dismissed, Mons^r de Guise was summoned, and was charged to go with his uncle, Mons. d'Omala [Aumale], and with the Chevalier, the bastard brother of the King, and kill the Admiral and Teligny, his son-in-law, and all his people. The Maréchal de Tavannes and the Duke of Nevers, both believed to be thoroughly trustworthy, and to be very bitter enemies of the Huguenots, were likewise charged to do the same to Mons. della Roccococco¹ (although a person very dear to the King) and to the other [Huguenot] leaders. I relate these details as I think that they will be heard with pleasure by your Serenity.

Your Serenity will imagine with what delight Mons^r de Guise received this commission, and with what eagerness he executed it. I do not relate the particulars of the death of the Admiral—how they found him, and how, being wounded, and being believed to be dead, he was thrown from the window to be shown to Mons^r de Guise and others who were beneath in the courtyard, and who wanted to see him—I must refer you for them to my letters upon this subject written at the time. The man who first wounded him was a German, previously a page of the old Mons^r de Guise, to whom the Admiral, when he saw him approaching, said, “Young soldier, have respect for old age.” I will also forbear to relate how, after his death, his body was barbarously treated, and with the greatest indignity, by the populace; and, finally, after having had the head and hands cut off, and being further shamefully mutilated, it was hung by the feet in the place for public executions outside Paris, called Monfalcone, as all these details have been already written, and are well known. All the chiefs and principal men [of the Huguenots] whom I have named, as well as those who lived near the Court, were despatched about day-break. The population being scarcely aware of what was doing, but being informed of it later, and being commanded by order of the King to deal in the same way with all other

¹ De la Rochefoucauld.

Huguenots who were to be found in Paris—killing and plundering them—the massacre proceeded with the fury and in the manner that I have already described. Nevertheless, a vast number of gentlemen and persons of consideration who were able to promise, or to pay money, and many also out of favour, or friendship, or on account of their relationship to the servants of the King, were saved, and were concealed in the private houses of the King's brothers, with their consent, and in the dwelling of Mons^r de Guise himself. The lives also of the ladies of the nobility were respected; they were spared, although their houses were wrecked, so that not one of them perished. The Queen herself, indeed, had several of them brought to the Palace, sending her own coaches to fetch them. The King insisted upon having a list of those who had concealed themselves, and were hidden, commanding everyone under the severest penalties to denounce them. Nor can I omit to mention that the King, having learnt that two of his captains had accepted twenty thousand francs to conceal the principal secretary of the Admiral, one Cavagnes (who was afterwards hung), ordered them to produce him without delay, otherwise, said he, in the presence of many persons, you “will have to answer for him with your heads.” He was, consequently, brought at once. Those who were denounced, having been taken from their hiding-places, were consigned to various public prisons, as if in deposit, as they were daily put to death, being sent by night in batches of ten or more to be drowned in the river. And not only was this the case, but captains and other dependents of the King were secretly sent to kill and plunder by surprise those who were away in their country houses, as in the proscriptions of Sulla. These proceedings have increased the general terror, all the more, as the King, after the massacre in Paris, had promised and given assurances to the Parliament that he would not allow the last edict of pacification to be violated, that the plunder and slaughter should cease, and that from henceforth, the guilty should be proceeded against in accordance with the laws and statutes of the kingdom, by submitting them to trial, and by sentence in the ordinary course of justice and law. But

this promise not having been, nor being, kept, is the reason why all those who have the means of leaving, and living out of France, have fled, in order to escape this fury, and to wait to see where the matter will end. Consequently both Catholics and Huguenots are exceedingly displeased—not, they say, with what has been done, but with the manner of doing it. It appears strange to them that one who was alive in the evening should be dead next morning.¹ They call this arbitrary way of proceeding, without form of trial, the way of tyranny, and they attribute it to the Queen, as an Italian, a Florentine, and of the house of Medici, of tyrant blood (they say). She is consequently thoroughly detested, as is also, on her account, the whole Italian nation. There is danger that some day it may be brought into trouble, either by some calamity which will be attributed wholly to the Italians, or by the Queen's death (which is not an unlikely event); for if she were to die, the supreme authority which she exercises over the King would cease with her death, and he would fall into the hands of French ministers, whom they [the French people] would not only not fear, but, not fearing them, they would seek to regain full liberty and licence.

'But to return to the Admiral's death. It is said that the King has got by it a large sum of money, deposited in Paris with the receivers and administrators of the collections which were made among those of the religion. He has also learnt, through papers which have been discovered, and by the disclosures of the Admiral's secretaries, all the Admiral's views, especially as to the mode and form of government of a republic, and of a well-ordered state.'

The ambassador then gives some most interesting particulars as to the organisation of the Huguenots, and the manner in which they contributed to a common fund for mutual assistance and for offence and defence, and a remarkable description of the great influence of Coligny, and of his character. He ends his account of the Massacre thus; and his words are

¹ Literally, 'that one should find himself alive in the evening and dead in the morning.'

very significant as showing that he was convinced that there had been premeditation.

‘A doubt has been expressed whether if the Admiral had been killed by the fire of the arquebuse they [the conspirators] would have been satisfied with his death alone. But those who know, and who have gone thoroughly into the matter, answer without hesitation, no ;—because, on pretence of discovering the author of the attempt, the gates of the city would have been immediately closed, and precautions would have been taken, by largely reinforcing the guards, to prevent any one leaving, and they would have slaughtered¹ all the rest, either on the same day or in the following night. It is evident that they had so thought out and planned the affair that not one would have escaped. This, in short, is what I have done my best to gather concerning these grave events, both from what I have seen and from the information I have received, and to preserve in my memory as worthy of notice, and to be related in this most excellent place [the Senate].’

He concludes that part of his ‘Relazione’ which relates to public affairs by striking descriptions of the characters of the three principal personages in the French Court—Charles IX., his brother Anjou, and Catherine de’ Medici. I would willingly, did space permit it, translate them all ; but I will confine myself to that of the Queen-Mother, whose name will ever be infamously associated with the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

‘I now come,’ says the ambassador, ‘to the Queen. She is a woman of fifty-six years of age, and of a strong constitution (*forta complessione*) although eating immoderately, but keeping herself in excellent health by taking a great deal of exercise. It becomes every day more evident that she is one of the wisest, indeed the wisest of women, and of greater ability and judgment in the management and government of a State than any woman of whom there is memory. She is so perfectly well-informed not only of the affairs of France, but of those of all other kingdoms and potentates that she has no need of counsellors. She has so well known how to conduct herself in the tumults and civil wars arising out of the dissen-

¹ ‘Si saria fatta la festa :’ literally ‘made holiday of.’

sions, or rather enmity, between two houses so powerful that they embraced the whole kingdom—those of Guise and of Bourbon—to which was united that of Montmorency (and in addition to these dissensions the religious differences), that she has always maintained herself in supreme authority. She has, hitherto, been so much respected and revered by her sons that they have not dared to raise their eyes without her leave. But it is only by this last act [the Massacre], which is attributed to her alone, that she has given full proof of what she is. Although she is aware that in consequence of it she has incurred great hatred, not only from the French, but from her neighbours, the English and the Germans, she will very well know how to find the way and the means to mollify them, and to render herself agreeable to them. Such, however, has been this hatred, that after the massacre, all the Ultramontanes [*sic*—English, Flemings, Poles, and others—who were in Paris, whether in the colleges for the purpose of study and of learning the language, or on other business, or for other reasons—and there were a large number—immediately hurried away, nor will they return for some time to come. On account of this hatred, and knowing, moreover, that she is running great danger from secret plots, she omits no precaution for her greater safety—out of doors, by being always accompanied by a strong guard of Swiss halberdiers; indoors, by having good and faithful attendants, who see to her food and to everything else relating to her person. She is also intent (as I have mentioned in speaking of Mons. d'Angiò) upon taking similar precaution in several countries out of France. With this object, she endeavours by every means, and by all sorts of communications and demonstrations, to ingratiate herself with the King of Spain, although she knows that his ministers have the very worst opinion of her. And truly the King of Spain has good reason to be complaisant to her (*di farse la statua*) if, indeed, he is not obliged to be so, on account of the service she has rendered him in preserving to him his possessions in Flanders, which, without the death of the Admiral, he would have irremediably lost.'

The ambassador then gives other reasons for her desire to

conciliate the King of Spain, and concludes his character of her in the following words:—

‘I will not omit to inform your Serenity how the Queen takes care, and does not cease to advise the King, as a matter of the utmost importance, and most necessary to his service, that, in the government of his kingdom, he should in no way follow the example of his royal father and grandfather, and put into the hands of one of his special favourites (such as were the Constable, the Admiral, and others) all public affairs and the administration, as was the case with the last king, Francis, the brother of the present sovereign, as regards the Cardinal of Lorraine—for such persons afterwards obtain too much power, and it becomes necessary to treat them with too much consideration; but that he ought to divide the conduct of public affairs between various persons, according to what is required, and to give each one of them offices according to his capacity and usefulness. In this way he would have control over everything.’

Sigismondo Cavalli, who was, as you will remember, joint ambassador with Giovanni Michiel at the French Court when the Massacre of St. Bartholomew took place, likewise made his ‘Relazione,’ or report, to the Doge and Senate on his return to Venice in 1574. It is also a state-paper of no little interest and importance. He refers to the Massacre, but hesitates to attribute it to premeditation on the ground ‘that there were so many mistakes, and so much wavering, and so many contrary opinions, that it is evident that the resolution to effect it was sudden, and that it had not been long premeditated, as it was always believed.’¹ Cavalli was very hostile to the Huguenots, and deplored that any had escaped the slaughter, which, he declares, they would not

¹ ‘Furono fatti tanti errori, e si vide tanta instabilità e deliberazioni contrarie l’una all’altra, che ben si conobbe che detta esecuzione fusse risolta all’improvviso e non di lunga mano, come fu sempre creduto.’ Petrucci, the Tuscan envoy to the French Court, in a despatch of August 31, 1572, preserved in the Florence Archives, says, ‘I do not know how to persuade myself altogether that the thing had been long premeditated, although I believe that it was thought about, and that the solicitations (or importunities) of others determined their Majesties to execute it.’

have done had the orders given been properly executed. He is not an impartial witness, and he did not enjoy the reputation of Michiel, or possess his experience of public affairs and his capacity for judging of them.¹

Such are the principal documents preserved in the Archives of Venice, as far as I have been able to ascertain, relating to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. What light do they throw upon that event? Was the deed premeditated? Who were its authors, and what their motives, and how far was the Pope, Gregory XIII., implicated in it?

With respect to the first question they confirm, it appears to me, the belief that the murder of Coligny, and of the principal Huguenot chiefs, and a general massacre of the Protestants had long been meditated by the Queen-Mother. Catherine de' Medici was jealous of the influence which the Admiral had acquired over the young King, and feared the growing strength of the powerful party of which he was the leader. So far back as November 30, 1563, Marc Antonio Barbaro, the Ambassador of the Venetian Republic at Paris, had informed the Council of Ten, in a cyphered despatch,² that he had heard from a trustworthy person that the Queen-Mother had said that she so hated the Admiral that she would rejoice to hear that he had been assassinated; and that it was generally suspected that she was meditating some violent measure to secure the kingdom for her son. Barbaro added significantly, 'If she has this intention, she can more surely carry it out here in Paris than in any other place; and there is now a good opportunity for doing so, for almost all the Huguenot chiefs are with the Court, and sleep in the King's own Palace.' In a previous despatch, of March 2 in the same year, the ambassador, when referring to the death of the

¹ The Pope thought so highly of Michiel, that when informed that he was about to return to Venice, he requested the Doge and Senate, through their Ambassador at Rome, that he might be allowed to remain at the French Court to assist the Legate in his negotiations.—*Rubricario di Roma*, Venice Archives, August 30, 1572. Lord Acton also considers that Michiel was better informed than Cavalli.—Article in *North British Review*, p. 37.

² In the Venice Archives, and published by Gar in the Appendix to his translation of Lord Acton's article.

Duke of Guise, remarked that it was generally believed that she had greatly desired it, and that she was meditating 'some new deceit and treachery for the total destruction of one of the two parties' (those of Condé and Guise).¹

The object of Catherine was to weaken both factions, to destroy the influence of their chiefs, and to make herself all-powerful in the State. She had no extraordinary zeal for the Catholic faith. She was without religious scruples or moral principles. She was ready to sacrifice her conscience if it stood in the way of her ambition. Such was the opinion that the Venetian ambassadors appear to have formed of her character. It was, at one time, her policy to gain over the Huguenots, as she required their support to check the growing ascendancy of the Guises. In order to conciliate them she extolled their piety to Pope Pius V., and advised His Holiness to authorise the removal of images from Catholic churches, to abolish exorcisms and other ceremonies connected with baptism, and to make other concessions. The Pope refused with indignation, and felt no little alarm at suggestions which denoted a tendency to heresy. Barbaro, in his despatch of March 2, to which I have already referred, complains, chiefly on religious grounds, that she was giving strength to the Protestant faction by favouring its chiefs, upon whom she conferred 'the grades, charges, and dignities at her disposal.' He wrote that 'his blood boiled when he heard of the practices, the meetings, and the preachings of the Huguenots.' Catherine even went so far as to declare, after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, that if Elizabeth were to deal with her Catholic subjects as her son Charles had dealt with the Huguenots, it would be of no concern to her, nor would it in any way lessen her friendship for the English queen.

In addition to the evidence of premeditation on the part of the Queen-Mother, both with respect to the assassination of Coligny and to a general massacre of the Huguenots, furnished by the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors, the following facts may be adduced. At the meeting at Bayonne

¹ 'Qualche nuovo inganno e tradimento a rovina definitiva di una delle parti.'

between her and her daughter, the wife of Philip II. of Spain, in the summer of 1565, one of the objects of which was to concert measures between France and Spain for the suppression of heresy in both countries, she appears to have consulted Alva, who accompanied the young Queen, as to the best measures to be taken for destroying the Huguenots. He urged her to make away with Coligny, and some of their principal leaders. She received similar advice from the Duke of Ferrara, and other influential personages. After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Alva stated that that event proved that she had kept the promises made to him.

The Cardinal of Lorraine, who was at Rome when the news of the Massacre arrived there, declared that it had been resolved upon some months before, when he was still in France, and that he and his nephew, the Duke of Guise, were privy to the design, and promoted it.

Michiel, the Venetian ambassador, in his 'Relazione,' when describing his first audience of Catherine, says that after she had confirmed the declaration of the King that he intended to remain at peace with Spain, she begged him to assure the Doge that 'not only by words, but by deeds, they would daily give further proofs of this their resolution—as if indicating, as regards the result, what was afterwards done against the Huguenots.'¹

Petrucchi, the agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Paris, had, in the early part of 1572, warned his master that an event of grave importance was impending, and on August 9, a fortnight before the attempt upon the Admiral's life, he informed the Grand Duke that the plan arranged at Bayonne for the destruction of the Huguenot leaders was about to be put into execution.²

¹ 'Quasi accennando, quanto agli effetti, quello che è poi seguito contra gli Ugonotti.'

² Petrucci's despatches are in the Florence Archives. This Petrucci, who appears to have been an untrustworthy man, if not a traitor, boasted that he had inveigled Coligny and the other Huguenot leaders into coming to Paris, and that, had he not guaranteed their personal safety, they would not have listened to him. He hoped to continue to receive, as his reward, the revenues of an abbey which had been granted to him. But Alamanni, another agent of the Grand Duke, who had also warned him of what was about to happen, expressed

There cannot, therefore, I conceive, be any reasonable doubt as to the Queen-Mother having long meditated a plan for the assassination of the Admiral, and of the other Huguenot leaders, both as a matter of policy, and to satisfy those who were urging her to exterminate the Protestants on religious grounds. It is probable that she had determined to avail herself of the occasion of the marriage of Henry of Navarre with her daughter, which would bring all the principal Huguenot gentlemen to Paris, to put her design into execution. She dreaded the daily increasing influence of Coligny, who was endeavouring to persuade Charles to give open assistance to the revolted Protestants in Flanders. Such a step on the King's part would have had the inevitable result of bringing on a war with Spain. The Venetian ambassadors at Paris had stated¹ that Catherine had said to them that she would sooner die than see her son and son-in-law, the Kings of France and Spain, at war. On August 13 they wrote that 3,000 Huguenots were ready to throw themselves into Mons, and that 'the King of Navarre was hastening his marriage in order that the large body of cavalry which was with him might join in the enterprise; and that the Admiral was in very secret communication with the English ambassador, in order that the Queen of England might be induced to declare open war against Spain.'²

There was no time to be lost, and Catherine hastened to Paris. She saw her opportunity to rid herself of Coligny, and she found a ready accomplice in the deed of infamy in the Duke of Guise, who had long sought to avenge himself upon the Admiral, to whom he attributed the death of his

his surprise at Petrucci's statement, and his disbelief in it. See his despatch of November 20, 1572, in the Florentine Archives, published by Desjardins, *Négociations avec la Toscane*, vol. iii.

¹ See their despatch of August 4.

² 'E che per ciò il Re di Navarra solicitava le sue nozze, acciò ch'è la molta Cavalleria che era con lui potesse andare a questa impresa. Che l'Armiraaglio haveva avuto stretto negotio con l'Amb^{ro} della Regina d'Inghilterra per che scoppi a guerra aperta contra i Spagnuoli.'—*Rubricario di Francia* (Venice Archives).

father. That the assassin was a paid instrument of the two there can scarcely be a question.

The excuse put forward by the King and his mother to justify the subsequent massacre, that it was a necessary and justifiable act of defence against the Huguenots, who, they alleged, were at that moment conspiring against their lives, and those of their relations, is proved by documentary evidence to have been utterly false. It was not even countenanced by Pope Gregory, who claimed it as a triumph of the Faith.¹ It did not deceive, as the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors have shown us, either Elizabeth or the Princes of Germany. It was rejected, as we have seen, by Michiel in his 'Relazione' to the Senate. Moreover, the excuse is totally inconsistent with the orders given by the King for the extermination of the Protestants throughout his kingdom.

Whether Charles had any share in the plot of August 22 for the assassination of the Admiral, and had been taken, like his brother, into the counsels of Catherine, may be a matter of doubt. But there is reason to suspect that he had long meditated the extermination of his Protestant subjects. He was extolled after the St. Bartholomew for 'the holy deceit and pious dissimulation with which he had laid his plans,' and his confessor, Sorbin, who wrote a narrative of his life, affirms that 'the clement and magnanimous act' (the Massacre) was resolved beforehand, and praises the secrecy with which it had been prepared. When the news of the St. Bartholomew reached Rome, a former papal legate to Charles exclaimed, 'God be praised! the King has kept his word.'²

Although the murder of Coligny and the Huguenot leaders may perhaps be mainly attributed to political motives, such was certainly not the case with respect to the general massacre of the Protestants which ensued. The Venetian ambassa-

¹ The Legate Salviati, in a despatch to the Papal Court, wrote, 'The official account of the trial says in so many words that the Admiral was of late conspiring against the persons of the King and his brothers, although this is most false, and it is a shame that it should be believed by men whose business it is to know something of the world, but the true account stands written on the first page of my letter.'—See Mr. Reade's Paper, *Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 225.

² Article in the *North British Review*, pp. 39, 41.

dors, as we have seen, assigned both to religious zeal, and to a laudable desire to exterminate the heretics. The excitement and indignation caused among the Huguenots by the attempt on the life of their great chief may have excited the fear of Catherine for her own safety and for that of her son, as she afterwards pretended, and may have led her to induce Charles to give the orders for the extermination of the Protestants. She availed herself of the opportunity to put into execution the plan that they had both long meditated. The King's appeal to his Catholic subjects had the desired effect, and the general massacre was a ghastly deed of religious fanaticism.

As regards the complicity of the Pope in the assassination of the Admiral and the subsequent massacre, he may not have been actually cognisant of the plot which led to them, although letters written to the Emperor from Rome, with reference to the approaching marriage of Henry of Navarre, 'contained the significant intimation that the birds were all caged, and now was the time to lay hands on them.'¹ Almost identical words, you will remember, were used by Salviati, the Papal Nuncio at Paris, in his despatch, of which Mr. Reade gave us extracts in his Paper read at our meeting in May last year, and published in our 'Proceedings.'² That both Pius V. and Gregory XIII. had been made acquainted with the intention of the Queen-Mother to take some measure for the destruction of the Huguenots may be inferred from her own declaration to Michiel, as stated in his 'Relazione,' that she had confided the secret to Salviati, with injunctions to inform the Pope of it. It can scarcely be believed that he neglected to communicate a matter of such importance to His Holiness.

Indeed, Salviati's despatch, which Mr. Reade quotes as furnishing evidence which 'completely acquits the Catholic Church and her head, Pope Gregory XIII., from the charge of having been accessory to the deed [the Massacre] before the fact,' appears to me, on the contrary, to give rise to grave suspicions of their complicity in it. Let me refer to the follow-

¹ Quoted by Lord Acton in his article in the *North British Review*, p. 35.

² Vol. I. p. 221. 'When all their rebels were shut up together under lock and key in one cage.'

ing extract from this despatch : ' When I wrote to your Eminence in cipher some days back, that the Admiral was carrying things too far, and was getting some nasty raps over the knuckles, I could plainly see people would not put up with him much longer. In this opinion I was still more confirmed when I wrote to your Eminence in an open despatch that I hoped soon to have occasion to send you ' some good news, though I should never have ventured to anticipate the tenth part of what I now see with my own eyes.' ² The despatch to which Salviati here refers is not given by Mr. Reade; but Lord Acton in his article refers to another despatch from the Nuncio, in the following terms : ' When the peace of St. Germain was concluded, he [Salviati] assured Charles and Catherine that their lives were in danger, as the Huguenots were seeking to pull down the Throne as well as the Altar. He believed that all intercourse with them was sinful, and that *the sole remedy was utter extermination by the sword*. " I am convinced," he wrote, " that it will come to this. If they do a tenth part of what I have advised, it will be well for them." ³ After an audience of two hours, at which he had presented a letter from Pius V., prophesying the wrath of heaven (if the heretics were spared), Salviati perceived that his exhortations made some impression. The King and Queen whispered to him that they hoped to make the peace yield such fruit that the end would more than countervail the badness of the beginning; and the King added in strict confidence that his plan was one which, once told, could never be executed. ⁴ . . . The Archbishop of Sens, Cardinal Pellevé, informed him that the Huguenot leaders were caressed at Court in order to detach them from their party, and that after the loss of their leaders it would not take more than three days to deal with the rest.' ⁵ There cannot, therefore, be a doubt that Pius V. had instigated Charles and the Queen-Mother to exterminate the Huguenots, and that Salviati had been instructed to press the matter upon them.

¹ ' Sua Beatitudine ' (his Holiness) in the original Italian.

² *Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 221.

³ This was written on October 14, 1570.

⁴ Despatch of September 24, 1570.

⁵ Despatch of November 28, 1570.

Salviati writes in his despatch of August 22, quoted by Mr. Reade: 'The plot [for the assassination of the Admiral] must have been known to a great many people beforehand, for being in company with Cardinal Bourbon and Mons^r de Montpensier on the morning of August 22,¹ I heard them talking so freely of what was going to happen, that I was amazed and dumbfounded when I saw how swimmingly everything was going on, and was rather inclined to despair of success than otherwise.'² These words lead to the inference that Salviati had had previous knowledge of the plot and that he approved of it.

In a despatch of the 24th, Salviati confirms what the Venetian ambassador said of his foreknowledge of the Queen's intention to exterminate the Protestants. He wrote: 'That they had put the Admiral and so many other men of rank to death, *conformably to conversations held with me myself at Blois*, when I was negotiating there about the Navarre marriage, and the other business then in progress; and that this is perfectly true I can bear witness to his Holiness and to all the world.'³ Mr. Reade observes that Salviati's 'story of the Blois conversations is probably false. Certainly he had not reported them at the time to the Curia.' But that he should have remained silent upon so important a matter appears to me altogether improbable. Perhaps his Report upon the subject, like other documents tending to show the complicity of the Pope in the Massacre, may have been destroyed, or may have been removed to some place where it is inaccessible to the public.⁴

In the same despatch Salviati testifies his high approval of the King's determination not to spare any of the Huguenots, and his indignation at the attempts made by others to save the lives of some of them, in the following words, as trans-

¹ The 21st in the original despatch. The date is of some importance.

² 'Che in me medesimo restando confuso, conobbi che la prattica andava gagliarda, e piuttosto disperai di buon fine che altrimenti' in the original despatch.

³ Vol. i. p. 222 of the *Proceedings*.

⁴ Such documents in the Vatican as it was not considered desirable to make public, as compromising the Holy See, have been removed, I have been informed, to the Archives of the Propaganda.

lated by Mr. Reade: 'The most Christian King, during all these events, has, in prudence and worth, shown a most Christian disposition, *notwithstanding that he has saved a Huguenot or two*; but the other princes, for all their great professions of attachment to the Catholic religion, and of the favours and privileges which they have deserved at the Pope's hands,¹ have done their best to save as many Huguenots as they could. Nor must you be surprised at my not mentioning names, for all of them acted alike, and that with the most shameless publicity.'² The Nuncio thus shows the relentless determination of the See of Rome to procure the extermination of the French Protestants by the sword.

If Gregory XIII. was not actually privy to the plot for the assassination of Coligny, which was put into execution on August 22, he was thus to a very great extent responsible for the subsequent massacre of the Huguenots. He and his predecessor had long been inciting the French King and his mother to destroy them by the sword. Pius V. had adjured Charles to hold no intercourse with them, to make no terms with them, and not to observe those that he had made. He required that they should be pursued to the death, and that no one should be spared under any pretence whatever, and that all prisoners for religion's sake should be executed.³ After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Gregory XIII., whilst declaring that it had afforded him greater joy than even fifty victories over the infidels such as that of Lepanto, complained that the work had only been half done. He showed ill-humour because so many heretics had been allowed to escape; and there is reason to believe that had Charles lived he would have completed his work, by a further slaughter of the Huguenots, incited and encouraged from Rome. In replying to the official announcement of the assassination of Coligny, and of the Massacre in Paris, while expressing his delight at what had occurred, which he declared to be an extraordinary

¹ 'In the original Italian, *'E di meritar favori e gratie del Papa'* (and to deserve favours and thanks from the Pope).

² *Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 224.

³ Letter from Pius V. to Catherine de' Medici, quoted by Lord Acton in the *North British Review*, p. 62.

grace to Christendom, he expressed his desire that the Huguenots should be entirely extirpated. When Cardinal Orsini, his special legate, informed Charles IX. that the Pope was greatly dissatisfied that the slaughter had not been more extensive and complete, the King was much displeased, and replied that it was unreasonable on the part of His Holiness to ask for more, adding that he had already put seventy thousand Huguenots to the sword, and if he had shown compassion to the remainder it was in order that they might become good Catholics. The Queen-Mother 'could hardly restrain her rage. Salviati had never seen her so furious.'¹ In the Bull which Gregory issued, in approval of the Massacre, he declared that, 'forasmuch as God had armed the King of France to inflict vengeance on the heretics for the injuries done to religion, and to punish the leaders of the rebellion that had devastated the kingdom, Catholics should pray that he might have grace to pursue the auspicious enterprise to the end, and so complete what he had begun so well.'²

How the Pope showed his joy at even this inadequate shedding of heretical blood by processions of the clergy, by illuminations and other public rejoicings, by the Bull and the commemorative medal, and by proclaiming a jubilee, and how he permitted the assassin of Coligny to be presented to him by the Cardinal of Lorraine and the French ambassador, and how the head of the Admiral was sent to him as an acceptable offering (not, however, reaching its destination), and how he summoned from Florence Vasari, the painter of the greatest reputation of his day, to represent on the walls of the Vatican, where his frescoes are still to be seen, the bloody episodes of those terrible days when the unoffending Protestants were slaughtered in the streets of Paris, and how he expressed the hope that the example set by the French King would be followed by the other princes of Christendom, are facts which

¹ Salviati's despatch, September 22, 1572, quoted by Lord Acton, p. 60.

² Lord Acton in the *North British Review*. This Bull, as is well known, is not included in the published collection of Papal Bulls. It furnished inconvenient evidence of the complicity of the Church of Rome in a revolting crime, and consequently attempts have been made to prove that it is fictitious, as in the case of the medal struck to commemorate the Massacre.

can be falsified or denied, but cannot be disproved. De Thou's 'History,' as is well known, was put in the Index, because in it he expressed his disapproval of the Massacre.

The Pope, whilst rejoicing over the slaughter of the Huguenot heretics on religious grounds, was not insensible at the same time to the political advantages which he hoped to derive from the destruction of the Huguenot leaders. We have seen, from a despatch addressed by the Venetian Senate to their ambassador at Paris, that the Papal Nuncio at Venice had expressed the hope that Charles, now that he had exterminated the Huguenots, would be free to join the League against the Turks—which His Holiness had much at heart.

The endeavours of Catholic writers to remove from the Church of Rome the stain of this infamous deed, and to prove that Gregory XIII. was neither implicated in it nor approved of it, have signally failed. The attempts to suppress evidence and to falsify the proofs which might tend to show its complicity in it, have only had the effect of confirming the suspicion of its guilt. Signor Gar, after an examination of the documents in the Venetian Archives, comes to the conclusion that 'the horrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew had been long premeditated, and that the Roman Court, if it did not directly promote it, certainly rejoiced at it as an auspicious event, as did Spain and, too surely, the Venetian Republic, with the other Italian States.'¹ Lord Acton also (a Roman Catholic, be it remembered) comes to the same conclusion, and declares that 'the opinion that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was a sudden and unpremeditated act cannot be maintained;' and after referring to the attempts of Möhler and other Catholic writers to pervert facts and to falsify evidence in order to exculpate the Church of Rome, concludes his admirable paper on the Massacre by these remarkable words, worthy of remembrance by those who deal with historical questions which require to be treated without religious or political bias: 'Such things will cease to be written when

¹ *La Strage di San Bartolommeo*. P. 24 of the introduction to his translation of Lord Acton's article in the *North British Review*.

men perceive that truth is the only merit which gives dignity and worth to history.'¹

In concluding these remarks I must remind you that I have not attempted to give a history of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. My only object has been to submit to you the information relating to it which is furnished by documents preserved in the Venice Archives. For a full history of that event I venture to recommend to you the masterly article by Lord Acton to which I have so frequently referred, and which is as noteworthy for the learning and research which it displays as for its judicial and impartial spirit. Those of our members who may wish to inquire more fully into the true history of an event so deeply interesting to us as descendants of Huguenots, should study that article, which I should be glad to see republished, if possible, under the auspices of our Society.

I have found a Report (probably from the Venetian ambassador at Paris) in the Venice Archives, headed, 'The Reasons which induced the Huguenots to take up Arms against the Most Christian King.' Although it does not directly relate to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew it is of some interest and importance as showing the belief of the Huguenots that some scheme for their destruction had been formed by the Queen-Mother. It was, probably, sent to Venice at the end of 1570, and is included in a collection of miscellaneous papers, without any indication of its author.² It has not, I believe, been published. The following are the reasons assigned:—

'The arrival of the Duke of Alva in Flanders, and the executions which His Excellency subsequently carried out, such as those of the Counts Egmont and Horn.

'The coming of 6,000 Switzers for the service of the King.

'Letters of the Queen that had fallen into the hands of the Huguenots, in which she wrote to the Catholic King (Philip II.) that immediately on the arrival of the Switzers she would turn her attention to what she had promised His

¹ Article in the *North British Review*, p. 70.

² 'Miscellanea di Atti diversi manoscritti.' Filza, N. 119-120.

Majesty, which the Huguenots interpreted to mean their extermination, and on this account they excited the people.¹

'The intention of the King, of which the Huguenots had obtained knowledge, that they were to be forced to live as Catholics.'²

'The arrival at Court of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise.'

'The arrival, also, of the Cardinal Santa Croce, when it was rumoured that the King intended to publish [the decrees of] the Council of Trent.

'Letters written by the Most Christian King to various baillies and seneschals, directing them to put into execution³ that which should be ordered them, which letters were intercepted by the Huguenots.

'And the Reports made by the *maîtres des requêtes*⁴ sent through the Provinces to ascertain who had contravened the Edict of Pacification with respect to their pretended reformed religion, especially as it was found that the greater number of them, and probably even all of them, had incurred the penalties prescribed by the Edict.'

This document then states the conditions upon which the Huguenots were prepared to come to an understanding with the King,⁵ which were the following:—

'That in order to free the kingdom of France from tyranny all foreigners should be expelled, and especially the Italians, who were the inventors of new impositions and taxes.

'That His Majesty should disarm and dismiss the Switzers; that all the imposts and taxes placed upon the people for the last ten years should be abandoned.

'That all donations made to the King and his predecessors

¹ 'Gli Ugonotti interpretarono che fosse a destruttione loro, e con questo sollevarono gli animi de' populi.'

² 'La disposizione dell' animo del Re, penetrata da gli Ugonotti, a voler ch' essi Catholicamente vivessero.' The meaning of this sentence is somewhat obscure.

³ 'Che si tenessero pronti per far l'esecuzione che loro sarebbe ordinata.' The Huguenots may have believed these words to refer to orders to be given for their destruction.

⁴ 'I processi verbali fatti da ministri di richieste.'

⁵ 'Capitoli proposti dagli Ugonotti per accordarsi col Re.'

for the last ten years should be revoked, and should be made over to the public treasury (*fisco*) in order that the King's debts should be paid out of them.

'That all those who have administered the finances for the last ten years should render account.

'That the Huguenots should be allowed to live in liberty according to their consciences, and that the Edict of January should be suspended.

'That they should be pardoned for having contravened the Edict of Pacification with respect to baptisms, marriages, and other practices of their religion.

'That the [Huguenot] nobility be maintained in their privileges, immunities, and exemptions, as in the time of King Louis [XII].

'That as soon as possible the States—that is, the Councils—should be held.

'That as a security for that which may be accorded to them, Cologne, Calais, and Metz should be handed over to them, and that the Duke of Alençon should be given to them as a hostage in Germany.'

ADDENDA.

I.

Despatches from Giovanni Michiel and Sigismondo Cavalli, not hitherto published, of which the 'Rubrica,' or précis, is given in the 'Rubricario' in the Venetian Archives.

August 13, 1572. 'Rappresentano diversi avisi delle cose et stato di Fiandra, et che $\frac{3}{4}$ Francesi Ugonoti erano alla Frontiera di Picardia per tentare di passare à Mons, et che perciò il Re di Navarra solicitava le sue nozze acciò che la molta cavalleria che era con lui potesse andar à questa impresa.

'Che l' ammiraglio haveva havuto strettissimo negozio con l' Amb^{tor} della Regina d' Inghilterra per che la si scopri à guerra aperta contra de Spagnoli.'

September 5, 1572. 'Che per il regno si continuava nell'uccisioni delli Ugonoti, et dice alcune cose particole d'alcuni luoghi.

'Che li in Paris fu preso il principal Seg^o dell' Armiraglio con tutte le scritture et in casa dell' Ambasciator d' Inghilterra in habito di famiglio da stalla un principal cap^o et persona confidente d' esso Armiraglio chiamato Briemero, insieme con un altro detto Chavaner principal suo consigliere, che tra pagati et promessi s' era offerto per suo salvo $\frac{m}{40}$ franchi.

'Il Vongomiri s' era salvato in Inghilterra et cosi si diceva del figliuolo dell' Armiraglio.

'Che per questo accidente dell' Armiraglio s' era fatta una solenissima processione.

'Che al Re di Navarra erano stati assignati dui governatori catholici il Sig^r. di Lochier et il Sig^r. di Focchenò, et si andava seguitando a farli la famiglia.

'Che l' Amb^{re} d' Inghilterra andò all' audienza del Re accompagnato dal Sig^r di Lansach et da un altro Sign^r per sicurezza sua per non recever come temeva alcuna ingiuria dal popolo nel passar per le strade.

'Dice alcuni avisi di Fiandra.

'Manda la declaration del Re della causa della morte dell' Armiraglio et delli altri suoi aderenti pubblicata in stampa et mandata per tutto il Regno.

'Renda conto del mal che continuava all' Amb^{re} Cavalli, et che non partirà che se non lo vede fuori di pericolo d' esso male.'

Extract from a despatch of September 13, 1572.

'Dice che in alcune provincie del Regno non era seguito uccisione d' Ugonoti.'

Extracts from a despatch of September 16.

'Che si continuava l' esecuzione contra Ugonoti con anegarne secretamente di notte alcuni piu segnalati et persone di seguito et di maneggio.

'Che la novella sposa moglie del principe di Condé fece una publica abjurazione con tutte le sue dame.'

Despatch of September 23.

‘Che la Regina d’ Inghilterra haveva fatto sapere al Re che lei è molto ben contenta di quello che haveva fatto contra quelli che trattavano cose tanto gravi contra la sua persona et che cio non sia stato fatto per rispetto di religione, ma che ben si doleva che li editti di Sua Maestà non fossero eseguiti, anzi che in diverse parti contra molti senza forma di giudicio et di processo fosse proceduto per il che molti di Franza ricorrevano a lei; et ch’ ella scrive al suo Amb^{ro} che se queste cose precedono avanti, che cerchi occasion di ritornar in Inghilterra perche non gli sia fatto qualche affronto.

‘La Regina madre rispose che erano sforzati fare delle altre esecuzioni per stabilir le cose loro, et che percio li principi non sono cosi obligati à mantener quello che prometteno a lor sudditi, ma quanta alla sua persona stessa siavea che da ognuno saria sempre rispettata et honorata.

‘Che le cose del Regno per ogni parte mostravano quiete, et che ogn’ un si trovava cosi spaventato che pensava piu alla fuga che al pigliar le armi.

‘Il Principe di Condé alla presentia di molti principi si abiurò pubblicamente et si fece Cath^{co}, et che cosi facevano molti.’

Despatch of October 7.

‘Che satisfecce all’ officio commessogli da sua Ser^{ta} per la morte dell’ Armiraglio et suoi seguaci col Re et Regina madre, li quali l’ ebbero car^{mo} et ne ringraziono sua Ser^{ta}.

Che il Re ha mandato un editto fuori di non si voler servire piu a carico alcuno di persona che non sia Catholica et percio fa intender à quei di religion che debbano diventar tali et in termine di certo tempo possino vender li loro officij, altrimenti passato il tempo restarano privi.

‘Che il Re di Navarra in una capella privata alla presenza

della Regina madre et del Signor Nontio et altri principi abiurò la religion che teneva et si fece Catholico et il Card^l Bourbon haveva espedito à Roma homo à posta per haver l'assolusion dal Papa per lui et per il principe di Condé.

'Sapendo il Re che la gente francese che era in Mons doveva ritornar tutta in quel regno mandò alcuni soldati alla frontiera et secondo che venivano sbandati li ha fatto tagliar à pezzi.

'Che li beni d' Ugonoti stavano suspesi à beneplacito de sua M^a.

'Che Mons^r de Biron governor della Rocella fu ammesso da quei della terra ma senza presidio il qual non vogliono accettare.

'Certi Visconti di Vascogna che erano col Re di Navara, a' quali il Re X^{ma} donò la vita et lasciò andarli per promessa che gli fecero di fargli haver nelle mani Mont' Albano, ma che gionti in quelli paesi sono ritornati piu Ugonoti che mai, et si fano forti in certi lochi.

'Che il Re ha mandato in Alemagna al Conte Palatin ed altri Principi per darli conto dell' uccisioni dell' Armiraglio et altri Ugonotti, et cose successe circa cio et farli credere che il tutto sia stato fatto per conto di rebellione che trattavano. Il tutto per tenir essi Germani ben disposti verso quella Corona.

.

'Che in Bordeos et à Tolosa era stata fatta tagliata d' Ugonoti.'

Despatch of October 20 (extract).

'Dice che il gentil' homo mandato dal Re in Germania era ritornato et referiva che s' era vero che Sua M^a X^{ma} per tradimento havesse fatto morire l' Armiraglio et altri principali essi Germani restariano quietati, ma che essendo per ordine del Re n molte città stati amazzati indifferentemente tutti gli Ugonoti questo indicava tradizione et animo inimico alla loro religione cò che restavano cò mala satisfassione, soggiogendo altre cose che referiva esso gentilhomo circa cio et che la nation Francese odiosa per tutte quelle parti di Germania dove era stato.'

Despatch of October 27 (extract).

‘Che Sua M^{te} haveva fatto publicar in bando che tutti quelli che dalle 24 de Agosto in qua si sono assentati dalle patrie loro debbano in spazio di certo tempo ritornar et non lo facendo restino perpetuamente banditi, et li loro beni siano presi et aplicati al fisco.’

Despatch of November 30 (extracts).

‘Che partito il Re con la Corte de Parigi il popolo prese l’armi per seguir di dar la morte et il sacco a certi Ugonoti et sualeggjar le case di certi mercanti Italiani fatti ricchi in quel Regno, ma il magistrato della villa provide, et non segue altro disordine.

‘Che era giunta da Roma l’assolution di Navara et la dispensa del suo matrimonio.’

Despatch of December 25 (extract).

‘Che era ritornato d’Inghilterra Mons^r della Monisciera cò ressolution che quella Regina accettava l’essere comadre del Re et che mandera ivi un personaggio a tal effetto se ben lui non assistera al battesimo ma fara che la Regina di Navarra farea lei questo off^o.

‘Quanto alla querela di Sua Ma^{te} X^{ma} che quella Regina habbia raccolto li suoi ribelli contra la lega et capitulazioni c’ hano insieme essa Regina dice che mai hebbe animo di contravenir alle Cap^{al} ne manco dar ricetto alli rebelli di Sua M^{te}, ma li ha ammessi come poveri fuorusciti per causa di quella religione che lei tiene ne haveva potuto mancarli cò buona conscientia.’

Despatch of January 9, 1573¹ (extract).

‘Che li mercanti Inglesi che erano in Francia quasi tutti si erano ritirati alla patria loro per l’uccisioni seguite, nelle quali ne erano stati morti anco’ di quelli di quella nazione.’

¹ This in the original is 1572, the Venetian official year beginning on March 1.

II.

Extract from a letter in the Florentine Archives (Archivio Mediceo; Legazione di Francia; Filza 4850, Arvisi) relative to the slaughter of the Huguenots at Lyons.

‘ Di Lione; ultimo Agosto.

‘ Oggi in questa terra su l’ hora del Vespero il Governatore fece mostra di volere fare appiccare alla Ghiglioterra quattro Ministri a tal maniera che fece concorrere il Popolo in esso luogo, et intanto nella prigione dell’ Arcivescovato erano imprigionati da 300 Ugonotti, in Rovana altri 200, ne’ Celestini da 150, a’ Cordiglieri da circa 200, oltra 50 che la notte passata furono annegati nel Rodano; et intanto che il Popolo era andato alla Ghiglioterra per vedere appiccare quelli ministri, che pur’ era bugia, Lui lasciò quà’ ordine che quaranta soldati entrassero nella prigione dell’ Arcivescovato, et ammazzassero tutti quei prigionieri che là si trovarono, il che seguì in spatio di mezz’ hora; et dopo ammazzati, furono a un tratto spogliati, et poi fu aperta la prigione, et tutto il Popolo lì andò a vedere et pareva veramente un giudizio.

‘ Fatto questo, subito il Governatore fece fare une Crida, nella quale diceva ch’ egli haveva fatto imprigionare nell’ Arcivescovato alcuni della Religione, non già per farli dispiacere, ma per metterli in sicuro, acciò che il Popolo non gli facesse male alcuno; et il furore del popolo era stato tale che haveva rotto la carcere et morti tutti; et perciò chi sapesse manifestare chi fossero stati i malfattori, li castigarebbe; et tra questi morti ve ne sono de’ ricchi et de’ poveri; vi è huomo di $\frac{m}{100}$ franchi di facoltà. Questo ha dato a credere in parte che alli prigionieri delle altre prigioni non faranno male alcuno. Però s’ è inteso che adesso stavano facendo il medesimo di quelli che sono a Rovana, Cordiglieri et a’ Celestini. Però non si da per sicuro, et fra poche hore se ne saprà il certo.

‘ Chi havebbe veduto la diligenza che faceva questo popolo hoggi in andare a cercare per le case li Ugonotti, gli parrebbe cosa strana. Quello che è seguito quì, seguirà per tutte l’ altre

terre dove Cattolici sono superiori. Diamo gratie a Dio del tutto, che ci ha liberati delle mani di questi traditori.

‘ Li negocii stanno sospesi, perchè sono otto giorni che si sta solo che colle armi in mano.

‘ Con l’ ultime che sono di 28 di Parigi, avisano che fino a quel giorno si credeva che fossero stati amazzati più di $\frac{1}{16}$ Ugonotti.’

Translation.

‘ From Lyons, the last day of August.

‘ To-day, in this place, about Vespers, the Governor showed an intention of having four ministers hung in Ghiglioterra,¹ so that the populace collected together there. In the meanwhile 300 Huguenots were confined in the archiepiscopal prison, in Rovana (?) 200, in [the convent of?] the Celestines about 250, in [that of?] the Cordeliers about 200, besides 50 who the previous night had been drowned in the Rhone. Whilst the people had gone to Ghiglioterra to see the ministers hung, about which they had been deceived, he [the Governor] left orders that forty soldiers should enter the archiepiscopal prison and should slaughter all the prisoners who were to be found there. This was done within half an hour. After they had been slain they were at once stripped. The prison was then thrown open and the whole populace went to see the sight. It truly appeared to be a judgment [upon the Huguenots].

‘ Immediately after this had occurred the Governor ordered a proclamation (*criida*) to be issued, in which he declared that he had confined in the archiepiscopal prison a few persons of the Religion [Huguenots], not by way of vexing them, but in order to place them in safety and so to prevent the populace from doing them any injury, but that so great was the popular rage against them that the prison had been broken open and they had all been slain; and that if he could only discover the culprits he would punish them. Amongst the dead there are some wealthy men as well as poor people; there are even persons with one hundred thousand francs. This [proclamation] had partly led to the belief that no harm would befall

¹ Fr. *Guillotière*, a quarter of Lyons.

those who are confined in other prisons ; nevertheless it is reported that now those who are at Rovana and at the Celestines and Cordeliers are being dealt with in the same way. This is not, however, certain. In a few hours the truth will be known.

‘Those who could have seen the zeal which this populace has shown to-day in searching the houses for Huguenots would have been greatly surprised. That which has happened here will happen in every other place where the Catholics have the upper hand. Let us thank God for all this, and that he has delivered us from the hands of these traitors.

‘All business is suspended, as we have been for eight days with our arms in our hands.

‘The last news from Paris, of the 28th, informs us that up to that date more than ten thousand Huguenots, it was believed, had been slain.

Notes and Queries.

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| 1. THE DE SOUCHE, OR DE
ZOUCHE, FAMILY. | | 2. LA PRIÈRE DE DAVID
BOSANQUET. |
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I.

THE DE SOUCHE, OR DE ZOUCHE, FAMILY.

(COMMUNICATED BY JOHN JAMES DE ZOUCHE MARSHALL, L.R.C.S.I.)

CLAUDE DE SOUCHE, a 'Notaire Royal' of the province of Poitou, with his wife, four children, a brother, and nine other persons (amongst whom were some ancestors of the La Touches), numbering in all sixteen souls, all fled together from France in the early part of the year 1702, in order to escape the persecutions to which Protestants were then subjected. For several days they were in peril of their lives, concealing themselves in trees during the day to avoid the pursuing enemy, and travelling by night. They finally reached the sea-shore and, taking an open boat, quitted for ever the land of their birth, which had now also become the land of intolerance and persecution.

Claude de Souche and his family settled in Dublin, his four children being:

1. Claude: Claude the younger lived in Temple Bar, Dublin, and himself had one son, John, who went to sea, but returned after an absence of eighteen years, and succeeded his father in Temple Bar. John had one child, a daughter named Judith, who married a Mr. Kelly, a Romanist, and their children were brought up in the Romish faith.

2. Judith Maria. She married a Mr. Rackstraw, and they

had one daughter, also named Judith Maria, who resided many years in Newry and died there in 1806.

8. Anne. Died unmarried.

4. Isaac. Born 1702; died 1740. He married Honor Tyrrell of Ballyburley House, King's County, by whom he had eighteen children. She was the daughter (or granddaughter?) of Captain Garrett Tyrrell, who was in the service of William III. and was killed at the Breach of Cavan, six months before the Battle of the Boyne. Her brother (or cousin?) was Richard Tyrrell, Rear-Admiral of the White, to whom there is a monument in Westminster Abbey. Honor de Souche was still living in 1765.

Isaac's eighteen children were all baptised in St. Bridget's Church, Dublin; fourteen of them died young; the others were:

1. Maurice. Died unmarried.

2. Elizabeth. She married Jerrold Cavanagh, coach-builder, of Drogheda Street (now known as Lower Sackville Street) and afterwards of Great Britain Street, Dublin. They had no children.

3. Magdalene. She married William White, a builder. They had children, one of whom became Mrs. Ellis Dowling and lived to a great age, being born in 1756 and dying in Dublin on Tuesday, September 11, 1849.

4. Edward. Born 1725; died 1765. He married Marie Bouvear (born 1728; died June 18, 1797), by whom he had three children, viz.:

1. James. Born 1753; died December 23, 1807.

2. Isaac. Born July 26, 1755; died August 18, 1813.

3. Marie. Died when only seven years old.

Of these, James, the eldest, married Anne Binns (died at Blackrock, Co. Dublin, March, 1829), their children being:

1. Mary. She married Joseph Bromlow, solicitor, of Peter's Row, Dublin, and died of fever in 1806, six months after her marriage.

2. Anne. Married Henry White, a schoolmaster.

3. Ellen. Married Lieut. Keys, and died at Antigua, West Indies.

4. Sarah. Married Alexander Marshall, of the Bank of Ireland, and died in 1851. They had five children, of whom James de Zouche, the third son, married Jane, daughter of Timothy Bunton, of Limerick. On the death, in 1885, of their eldest son, James de Zouche, his second brother, John James, took the family name of De Zouche, and is the contributor of these Notes.

5. Jane. Married John Smith, an auctioneer, and died of cholera in 1832 or 1833.

6. Caroline. Married David Sutherland. They emigrated to Australia.

7. Rebecca. She kept a young ladies' school in Hartstong Street, Limerick, and died unmarried.

8. James. Died at Bath, May 1829, unmarried.

Isaac, the second son of Edward de Souche and Maria Bouvear, was twice married: (1) on February 19, 1774, to Jane Acheson, who was born April 30, 1759, and died June 12, 1789; (2) on February 14, 1797, to Elizabeth Moore, a widow, daughter of Henry and Cecilia Brown, of the city of Cork. She was born in 1766 and died January 6, 1829. Her father was the son of a merchant residing in Youghal, Co. Cork, who was afterwards British Vice-Consul at Smyrna, where he died. Her mother, whose maiden name was Seymour, was a descendant of that branch of the Seymour family which took refuge in Ireland (at Waterford) after the death of Queen Jane and the Duke of Somerset.

It was in the early manhood of this Isaac de Souche, perhaps about the year 1780, that in the spelling of the family name the *S* was changed to *Z*—most likely because the *Z* better represented to English ears the sound heard in pronouncing the name. In a legal document in possession of a member of the family (Dr. Isaiah de Zouche) the lawyer wrote the name, *Isaac de Zouche*, in the body of the instrument, and the said document is signed by the party himself *Isaac de Zouche*. This suggests the probable truth that the change

was made by the *public*, and that the *family* gradually came to *acquiesce* in it.

Isaac de Zouche's children by his first wife, Jane Acheson, were :

1. Edward. Born July 1, 1775; died October 21, 1775.
2. James. Born December 27, 1776; died on his passage from the West Indies to America, April 6, 1806.
3. Isaac. Born August 21, 1779. He went to sea, and was never heard of.
4. Hannah. Born April 18, 1782. Married John Hodgens, May 8, 1802. Died March 1835.
5. Isaiah. Born February 20, 1783. He went to sea, and was never heard of.
6. John. Born January 17, 1785. He went to sea, and was never heard of.
7. William. Born October 17, 1786; died April 23, 1795.
8. Mary Anne. Born December 18, 1787; died January 17, 1788.
9. Elizabeth Salomé. Born January 21, 1789; died April 9, 1790.

By his second marriage, with Elizabeth Moore, Isaac de Zouche had one son, Louis Henry, who was born at Cork, January 5, 1798, and died in the city of Newark, State of New Jersey, United States of America, September 12, 1870. He married, April 1, 1820, at St. Mary's Church, Dublin, Margaret Emily, daughter of George Cowen of Longford and afterwards of Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford. She died in the city of Albany, State of New York, U.S.A., September 26, 1872, in her 76th year, having been born August 1, 1797.

Louis Henry and Margaret Emily de Zouche had *thirteen* children :

1. George Cowen. Born March 7, 1821.
2. Isaac. Born August 16, 1822.
3. Elizabeth Hannah. Born September 26, 1824; died September 13, 1839; buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin.

4. Margaret Emily. Born May 12, 1826.

5. Mary Jane. Born September 1, 1827:

(These were all baptised in St. Mary's, Dublin.)

6. Louis Henry. Born June 7, 1829.

7. Charles. Born April 21, 1831.

8. Cecilia Anne. Born May 29, 1833.

9. John James. Born January 23, 1835.

(These were all baptised in St. George's, Dublin.)

10. David. Born March 3, 1837.

11. Isaiah.

12. Alexander. } Twins, born July 30, 1832.

Alexander died March 5, 1840, and was buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin.

13. William. Born December 5, 1841.

(These were all baptised in St. Andrew's, Dublin.)

Of these thirteen children, the eldest, George Cowen, married, September 5, 1844, at St. James's Church, Piccadilly, London, Elizabeth Hayward of Berwick Street, Soho, London, by whom he had,

1. Florence Elizabeth. Born January 22, 1846; died September 1, 1848.

2. Margaret. Born March 17, 1848.

3. Mary Jane. Born October 26, 1849.

4. Emma. Born August 9, 1851; died at Williamsburgh, Long Island, U.S.A.

(These four were born in London.)

5. George Louis. Born September 26, 1853.

6. Frederick Charles. Born March 3, 1856.

7. Harry Hayward. Born December 21, 1857.

(These three were born in New York.)

Charles, seventh of Louis Henry de Zouche's thirteen children, married, at New York, September 13, 1855, Mary,

daughter of William Babcock, of Palmyra, N.Y., and has issue.

Louis Henry de Zouche, his wife, and their surviving children, all emigrated at various times to America as under:

Isaac arrived in New York, May 17, 1850.

George Cowen with his wife and four children, and his brothers *Louis Henry* and *John James*, arrived in New York, June 18, 1852.

Charles and *Margaret Emily* arrived in New York, October 1852.

Cecilia Anne (accompanied by her brother *Isaac* and sister *Margaret Emily*, who were returning from a visit to Ireland) emigrated in September 1855.

Finally, *Louis Henry de Zouche* himself, with his wife and their four remaining children, *Mary Jane*, *David*, *Isaiah*, and *William*, all emigrated together, arriving in New York, September 11, 1856.

Louis Henry de Zouche and his wife settled at Pittsburgh, Pa., June 16, 1858, where their daughters *Mary Jane* and *Cecilia Anne* had already preceded them. Their son *William* joined them in September, 1858. *David*, who had been on a visit to Dublin for about a year from November 1857, returned to Pittsburgh, and married *Mary A. Mason*, by whom he had two children, twins, *Arthur* and *Caroline*.

II.

LA PRIÈRE DE DAVID BOSANQUET,

*Né à Lunel le lundi dernier jour du mois d'Octobre, 1661 ;
décédé le 5 Juillet, 1732.*

(COMMUNICATED BY CLARA MEYER, NÉE BOSANQUET.)

SOURCE inépuisable de lumière et de vie, qui illumines tout homme venant au monde, tu es l'unique auteur de mon être, et c'est par toy seul que je respire, c'est toy grand Dieu vivant qui de tes précieuses mains a formé et façonné mon corps ou

tu a versé une ame immortelle créé a ton image, non seulement tu m'a une fois donné la Vie mais ton Soins continuel a garde mon esprit et tu m'as guaranty de tous les dangers auxquels est sujette cette peuvre et fragile nature. Quelque vigueur que je ressente en moy sy tu retires ton esprit et la vigueur qui me soutient, je dessandray aussy tot et je retourneray dans le néant d'ou il ta pleu me tirer. O Seigneur, puisque je ne vis que par Foy, fay que je ne vive que pour Toy, et que je rapporte toutes mes actions à ton honneur et à ta gloire, que je consacre de bon cœur les premices de ma vie et la fleur de mes années, que je me souviennne de mon Créateur aux jours de ma jeunesse et que je m'abstienne du vice avant que le temps vienne auquel je dise que je n'y prens point du plaisir. Père de miséricorde, oublie tous les péchés, supporte toutes les infirmités de cette folle et volage jeunesse; arrête toutes ces émotions déréglées et toutes les actions de cet age bouillant et dompte cette miserable chair quy est rebelle à son Dieu, que sy la crainte de ton saint et grand nom et la reverance que je dois à tes yeux sacrés qui me regardent n'a pas assez de pouvoir pour me retirer du mal et me porter au bien, fay que je me repressente la mort qui est autour de moy et peut estre est dans mon sein, et que je prestel'oreille à cette voix du Ciel qui m'appelle à comparoitre en jugement devant Toy, Souverain juge du monde quy vois mes actions les plus cachées, qui lis mes pensées les plus secretes, et quy esamine tout le cours de ma vie, que cet age florissant et cette santé vigoureuse que je possède ne me flatte point et ne me fasse point accroire que je suis à couvert de tous les traits de la morte, mais que je me souviennne qu'il tombe beaucoup plus des fleurs qu'il ne se cueille des fruits et qui s'arrache beaucoup plus des jeunes plantes qu'il ne s'arrache de vieux arbres que j'aye toujours devant mes yeux, que l'on enterre mille fois plus des enfans que des Vieillards, et meme que la première personne qui est morte et quy est entrée en ton paradis est un jeune homme qui étoit à la fleur de son âge. Dieu des esprits de toute chair, détache mon cœur et mes affections du monde, de tous ses faux plaisirs, et de toutes ses vanités trompuses. Fay moy la grace de trouver

en toy seul ma plus grande joye et mes plus chères délices, que je ne me repaïsse point d'une vaine espérance que j'ay à passer des années dans l'aise, et dans les plaisirs de la chair, mais que je me represante qu'aucun âge de cette vie n'est exempt des maux de traverses, de soucis, et des chagrins, que le fruit encore vert a des vers qui le rongent, aussi bien que le plus mur et que le bouton naissent a les épines, aussi bien que la rose qui est toute épanouie, et que celles dont les feuilles se fanent et tombent de vieillesse. Plus je vivray en ce siècle sy miserable et sy corrompu, plus je souffriray de mal et breuveray d'amertume, et plus je souilleray mon ame et offenceray mon Dieu. O Seigneur, j'auray assez vescu sy j'ay appris à bien vivre, et sy je suis disposé à bien mourir. Je posséderay l'une et l'autre de ces graces et de ces faveurs célestes, sy ta parole me sert de guide et de flambeau, et que ton esprit me santifie et m'apprenne à faire ta volonté qui est bonne et sainte, plaisante et parfaite. Fortifie moy, seigneur, que je trouve ton joug aisé et ton fardeau leger. O bon Dieu, sy tu prolonges mes jours, multiplie en moy la riche abondance de tes graces et m'enflame de ton amour que sy tu retranches le fil de ma vie je ne sois point sy ennemy de moy même que de m'affliger de ce que tu me veux rendre bien tôt hureux et immortel, et de ce qu'il te plait d'abrégér mon travail, de metre fin a cette cruelle guerre de mes convoitises et de me couronner au milieu de ma course j'auray assez de consolation et assez de gloire, pourveu que tu me donnes la force de surmonter le matin, de vaincre la mort, et de triompher de tous les ennemis de mon salut.

APPENDIX.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

ILLUSTRATED FROM STATE PAPERS IN THE ARCHIVES OF VENICE.

By SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., PRESIDENT.

In my paper on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, read at the meeting of the Society on January 12 last, I brought to your notice some information that I had been able to obtain relating to that event from documents preserved in the Venetian archives. In the present paper I propose to place before you an account of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of its effect upon France, derived from the same source. I must remind you that I have not attempted to give a full and complete history of either the massacre or the revocation. I have only endeavoured to show the light which is thrown upon them by the despatches and reports of the Venetian ambassadors who were residing at the French Court when they took place, and were, consequently, either eye-witnesses of the occurrences which they describe, or were in a position to obtain the most authentic and trustworthy evidence with respect to them. These documents, for the most part unpublished, or when published not easily accessible, may prove of use to those who desire to acquaint themselves more fully with the subjects to which they relate. Our Society may render some service to history by collecting such documents and publishing them, when practicable, with its Proceedings.

After the murder of Coligny and the other heads of the Huguenot party and the slaughter of the Protestants which ensued, the wars of religion ceased in France. The Huguenots, deprived of their leaders, no longer formed a powerful and organised party capable of taking up arms in defence of their

liberties and rights. They had become, to a great extent, amalgamated with the rest of the population, and were only to be distinguished from their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens by certain disabilities, and the restrictions placed upon the celebration of their religious rites in some parts of the kingdom. On the whole, they appear to have lived in harmony together. It is true that, although Henry IV. had by the Edict of Nantes granted to them the free exercise of their religion, and had restored to them the rights and privileges of which they had been deprived after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, they were still during his reign subject to occasional acts of persecution, which the King appeared to be either unable or unwilling to repress. But under his successor, Louis XIII., they enjoyed a larger amount of freedom and tranquillity than had at any previous time been accorded to them. The wise and liberal policy of this king with regard to them had converted a discontented and dangerous community in the state into loyal and faithful subjects. St. Simon bears witness that the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV., without any sufficient reason, or any necessity, and that the horrors which ensued were the result of a shameful conspiracy—the offspring of flattery and cruelty.

Excluded, with a few important exceptions, from all public offices and employment, notwithstanding that the Edict of Nantes had placed them on the same footing as their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, the Huguenots had turned their energies principally to commerce and industrial pursuits. Through their assiduity and enterprise, and through the high reputation they everywhere enjoyed for honesty and morality, they had become the most wealthy and flourishing portion of the population of France.

In the reign of Louis XIV., the Protestants again became the victims of religious persecution. They were gradually deprived of the liberties and privileges which had been conceded to them by the Edict of Nantes. The King, encouraged by some of his Ministers and advisers, and incited by the clergy—and especially by his confessor, the Père la Chaise and the Jesuits, and by Madame de Maintenon, determined to

resort to violence to compel his Protestant subjects to abjure their faith and to embrace that of the Church of Rome. He allowed himself to be persuaded that by so great and meritorious a work he would add to his glory and renown, and, atoning for his sins, save his soul, which was in grievous peril. Bodily ills and the fear of approaching death had rendered him a ferocious bigot. He sought to purge his conscience of the guilt of the scandalous licentiousness of his early life, and was anxious to remove the suspicion of heresy to which his quarrel with the Pope, arising out of the support he had given to the claims of the Gallican Church, had exposed him, by affording a striking proof of his piety and religious zeal by forcibly converting to the Roman Catholic faith his Protestant subjects.

The patience with which the Huguenots bore their sufferings, and their steadfast adherence to their religion, notwithstanding the cruel treatment to which they were exposed, only exasperated him the more against them. He resolved to revoke the Edict of Nantes, and by thus depriving them of the little freedom which was still left to them to exterminate them altogether, unless they abandoned the faith of their forefathers. The cruel tortures which were inflicted upon them, and the terrible sufferings which they underwent, have often been described. The greater number bore the persecution to which they were exposed with admirable resignation. Few attempts were made at resistance, although their places of worship were razed to the ground, their pastors put to ignominious deaths, their children taken from them, their property confiscated, and any attempt to escape by leaving the kingdom punished with frightful severity. Even those who, not sufficiently strong and resolute to bear the tortures inflicted upon them, apostatised with their lips, retained their faith in their hearts. It would be difficult to mention any nation whose annals are stained with a more hideous and unjustifiable crime than this persecution of the helpless and unoffending Protestants of France.

At the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Girolamo Venier was the Venetian ambassador at the French

Court. He was, of course, of a patrician family—those who were not were rarely employed by the Republic in such high posts. He appears to have been a man of keen intelligence and of broad and statesmanlike views. In matters of religion, however, he was not more tolerant or enlightened than his contemporaries, and approved rather than condemned the means taken by Louis XIV. to extirpate heresy, although he appears to have considered the persecution of the Protestants as an impolitic act injurious to the interests of France. Even the Government of the Republic, which boasted of being the most liberal in Europe in religious questions, and which resisted all interference and influence of the see of Rome in its affairs,¹ appears to have rejoiced over the attempt to exterminate the Huguenots as a triumph of the true faith and meritorious before God. The Doge and Senate were fully and regularly informed by their ambassador of all that was taking place in France against the Protestants. They received weekly despatches from him, which are preserved in the Venice archives. As these despatches have not, I believe, been published, I have thought that a notice of their contents, when relating to this subject, and, in some instances, translations of them, would be of interest to our members, and might even be of some use to those who may be engaged in studying the history of the events to which they relate. I have had extracts made from the originals, which I have placed in the hands of our Secretary, who will exercise his discretion as to their publication in our Proceedings.

The first despatch from which I shall quote is of July 18, 1685. In it the Venetian ambassador, writing from Paris, informed the Senate that the Bishop of Valence, followed by the greater part of his clergy, had arrived at St. Germain from Versailles, and had entreated His Majesty, in a very learned discourse, to enforce the existing regulations prohibiting the heretics from teaching or expressing opinions contrary to the

¹ No member of the Venetian Senate who was supposed to be connected with, or under the influence of, the Vatican, was allowed to take part in its deliberations in matters in which the Pope was believed to be in any way interested or concerned. When such persons were excluded, the minutes of the proceedings were headed '*Papalini expulsis.*'

Roman Catholic religion. The measures hitherto taken against the Huguenots, he added, had been very successful, for not only had many been converted but the entire population of Oléron, in the Béarn, had been brought into the bosom of the Catholic faith. On August 1 he wrote that some fresh 'thunderbolt' was constantly being launched against the Huguenots,¹ and that such were the restraints placed even upon the most trifling details of their daily life that their existence was one of constant torment. Many, who were unable to bear the sufferings to which they were exposed, had abjured out of despair rather than from conviction. The ambassador, however, was consoled for the insincerity of these conversions by the reflection that although the souls of the pretended converts were not benefited, those of their descendants would be, and that thus the glory to God and the merit of that most pious king, Louis XIV., were equally great.

On the 22nd of the same month, Girolamo Venier reported that it was rumoured that a decree was about to appear for raising ten thousand infantry, and for adding five men to every company of horse—a decree which would apparently be at variance with the policy and professions of the French Government. He had, however, he observed, been able to ascertain the truth as to the object of those measures, although he was still uncertain as to whether this increase of the army would take place. It was a fact that some 2,200 dragoons were being marched into Poitou; but they were intended for the total destruction of the heretics, who were being everywhere harassed, sometimes by open violence, and sometimes by the most cruel persecutions (*acerrime liti*).

On September 5 he reported that 'Milord Preston,' the British ambassador, whom he describes as 'more a friend than a counsellor' (*più amico che consigliere*), had left Paris for Holland, on his way to London, not in very good humour, for the King had refused to include five of his French servants, who were of the (Protestant) religion, in the passports which he required for his protection. This refusal was owing to an order of His Majesty forbidding any of his Protestant subjects from

¹ 'Esce continuamente qualche fulmine contro gl' Ugonotti.'

leaving the kingdom, to establish themselves elsewhere, by which it was expected that the Huguenots would be still further constrained to abjure. But Lord Preston's wife had set off, taking with her the five servants, and the Venetian ambassador was at a loss to say whether this was intended to lead to a quarrel, or whether she had been secretly allowed to reach the frontiers in order that all her suite might cross them unobserved.¹ The zeal shown in the conversion of the heretics, he added, was certainly great and successful. Almost the whole population of the city of Montauban, the principal seat of heresy, had abjured in one day. Whether this was to be attributed to the severe sufferings to which they had been exposed, or to conviction, it was always a very great event, and the merit of the King before God was most signal.

On the 12th of the same month, the ambassador wrote from Blois that the conversion of the heretics was progressing very rapidly day by day; that in Guienne the families which had embraced the Catholic faith and had submitted to the Roman Church were to be counted by thousands. 'The King, with the power of his arms on earth, had joined with the Omnipotent in Heaven to bring about so glorious a result, which would be even more glorious when the children had been duly taught, their fathers having rather abjured under compulsion than through persuasion, as they were exposed to the most cruel treatment from the troops which were quartered upon them, and which were fast bringing the country to ruin.'

In a subsequent despatch, also from Blois, of September 19, the ambassador announced that the King was then engaged in a great work—the conversion of Marshal Schomberg and all his family to the Holy Catholic faith. He was acting with the utmost secrecy, for the Marshal being at the head of the Protestant religion in France, the attempt would be defeated if discovered. Madame de Maintenon had moved to a country

¹ At least, so I understand the following passage: 'E incerto se sij per seguir novità che amareggi l'animo de' Principi, ò se nascostamente s' habbi fatti penetrar a' confini di lasciar inosservatamente passar tutto il di lei seguito.'

house at the distance of three leagues from the place where the Marshal and his wife resided, in order to endeavour to persuade them both to abjure. If she succeeded, it would be a most glorious achievement on her part to have thus separated from the heretics one of their most influential chiefs. To deprive them of him would be to deprive them altogether of a leader, as he was the only one who remained to them. If he abjured, it was held certain that the King would confer upon him the post of Grand Master of the Artillery—one of the most important in the kingdom.

We know how—happily for the Protestant cause—Schomberg resisted all such attempts to convert him, and remained steadfast to his faith.

In a further despatch from Blois, of September 26, Girolamo Venier referred to the unusual movement of troops in different parts of the kingdom which had caused much suspicion, especially to the Governor of the Milanese, and which required close observation on his part in order that he might not be deceived, if other people were. Those, he wrote, who were best able to learn the truth, maintained that all these movements were solely directed against the Huguenots. Others were, however, of opinion that an expedition into the Milanese, or into Catalonia, was intended, or that an attempt was being made to intimidate the Emperor, who was believed to be contemplating peace with the Turk with a view to turning his arms against France.

In October the Venetian ambassador followed the Court to Fontainebleau. In a despatch of the 3rd of this month he described how at his first audience of the King, His Majesty held in his hand a report informing him that in the city of Chartres, in Brittany, the principal Huguenots had abjured, and that it was hoped that the rest would follow their example. In Dauphiny, where the poison of the false religion had struck the deepest roots, seventy thousand persons had placed themselves under the banner of Catholicism on the mere appearance of the troops and their officers. He (Venier) was convinced that others in the same district and in Provence would yield to these 'armed arguments' (*argomenti armati*), there being

so great a force of troops to support them.¹ He was convinced, from all that was taking place, that the large number of troops which had been sent into these provinces was for the sole object of spreading the holy faith, and that with so much discontent in France the Government would scarcely venture to engage in any great undertaking outside the kingdom.

In a despatch, also from Fontainebleau, of October 10, we have the first notice from the Venetian ambassador of the intention of the King to revoke the Edict of Nantes. He wrote as follows: 'The persecution of the abominable heresy continues. The dragoons have been quartered in the very populous city of Lyons, with very great hopes of a good result. The mask has now been entirely thrown aside. The King, in his great zeal for religion, has decided to revoke the Edict of Nantes and the privileges formerly conceded to the insolence of the Huguenots, as he now feels that they were extorted by violence, and only agreed to out of pure necessity. He insists, therefore, upon the conversion of all his subjects, and it will not be long before his Christian piety will achieve a glorious triumph in the entire extirpation of this most pernicious poison. As the very rigorous measures hitherto taken against his Protestant subjects have been extended with equal severity to foreigners of the Reformed Religion, the latter have had recourse to their respective governments to enable them to escape from so grievous a persecution by leaving the country. The States of Holland were upon the point of sending a deputation to France for this purpose; but finally determined to instruct their ambassador, Starenburgh, to speak on the subject. After encountering various difficulties, he obtained permission for the Dutch residents to depart. Almost all those who have families have already left for fear of future persecution. Others have not found it so easy to do so. The Court is grieved that the kingdom should in the smallest way be depopulated, for it is the conversion, not the loss, of those who are guilty before God, that is required. Nevertheless, as it is admitted that it is both impossible and unjust to retain foreigners, the desire to do so has to give way to other con-

¹ 'Les missionnaires bottés' of Louis XIV.

siderations, and permission will either be given to strangers to leave France, or they will be allowed to live according to the dictates of their consciences.'

On October 17, in a long despatch from Fontainebleau, Girolamo Venier returned to the subject of the suspicion—caused by the movements of troops in France—that the King projected some warlike expedition 'for the increase of his territory and of his glory.' He maintained that His Majesty's sole object was to put down heresy, and after showing, by a description of the state of Europe, how necessary peace was to Louis to enable him to carry out this object, he thus concluded:

'The progress made (in the suppression of the Protestant heresy) and the conversions effected are far greater than the King himself and the Council had at first believed possible. Now that the work has been so well commenced, they will endeavour to bring it to perfection. Yesterday news arrived that nearly all the Huguenots in Lyons had embraced the holy and true religion. The people having, for the greater part, been thus brought over to God, measures are being taken to gain over their ministers or preachers. They are offered a month's time, either to leave the country or to accept the Roman rite, retaining their present salaries, and in some instances having them even increased. After the time accorded them has elapsed, they will be treated with the most terrible severity (*atroci rigori*). When its heads, which incessantly spread the most deadly poison, have been removed, the horrible monster (Protestantism) will be unable to rise again, but will be crushed for ever. It is expected that within a few weeks even the temple of Sciaranton (Charenton), in which the Huguenots of Paris celebrate their false worship, will be razed to the ground and the Edict of Nantes abolished.¹

'By setting this example and by the most earnest representations, His Majesty is endeavouring to persuade the Duke

¹ The Edict revoking that of Nantes was signed by Louis XIV. on October 18, the day after this despatch was written. The order for the demolition of the temple of Charenton was given on the same day. The work of destruction began on the 23rd, the day after the edict was promulgated.

of Savoy to convert all the heretics in his dominions, and especially those of the valleys of Luserna (the Waldenses), and has offered him his most powerful assistance to accomplish an enterprise so glorious in the eyes of God and of Christendom. It might be thought that the King, having reached so sublime a pinnacle, would scarcely seek to rise still higher. Nevertheless he has attained—beyond all that could be imagined—the apex of his glory, and has found the true way of crowning it with the applause of the whole world, and with the greatest merit before Heaven. The whole Court exclaims—and Signor de Croissy held the same language to me—that the Pope alone is insensible to this beneficent work; that never were bishops more needed in the kingdom to instruct so many people and confirm them in the way in which His Majesty has placed them, and that, nevertheless, there is no appearance of any yielding (*addolcimento*) on the part of His Holiness.¹ The King himself has expressed his astonishment—maybe his grief—that the Pontiff has not sent him any thanks or praised him for the very great service he has rendered to the Church. His Majesty having thus spoken, it is easy to conceive how open and numerous are the recriminations of the principal gentlemen (about the Court), who, although admitting that the private conscience of the Pope is sacred, nevertheless openly condemn the indiscretion he has shown in his zeal for religion by obstinately adhering to opinions which many consider contrary to the good of Christendom and to the glory of God.'

The persecution of the Protestants, even before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had caused, as we have seen, great offence to the States of Holland, especially as their subjects residing in France were not spared. Their envoy at Paris was directed to protest against the treatment to which Dutchmen naturalised in France were exposed. The French Government maintained that they had become, by virtue of their naturalisation, French subjects, and consequently such as were Protestants

¹ This refers to the misunderstanding, or rather quarrel, which had arisen between the Pope and Louis XIV. on the subject of the rights and privileges claimed by the Gallican Church.

could neither leave the kingdom, nor openly profess the Protestant religion, without the express permission of the King. The States replied that at the time when these persons had become naturalised the exercise of their religion was free, and that, as they had consequently been deceived and had been treated with bad faith, they were absolved from their oaths of allegiance. But M. de Croissy informed the Venetian ambassador that the King was resolved not to yield. The Dutch envoy thought that the affair would cause a great outcry in Holland, and would lead to serious differences between the two countries. The French Minister of State, on the other hand, endeavoured to smooth matters by promising that the subjects of the States should not be exposed to ill-treatment, but should be dealt with leniently.¹

On October 24 the Venetian ambassador forwarded to the Senate a copy of the 'Edict of Revocation,' with the following despatch:

'In my previous despatch I ventured to make some very justly deserved comments upon the great merit of His Majesty before God, on account of the progress that he had made in his proceedings against heresy, which is now almost exterminated throughout this vast kingdom. I ought to add the popular acclamation to the praises accorded to His Majesty for the great zeal he is showing in completing so religious a work. The most excellent Senate will receive, inclosed, an edict which revokes all former edicts in favour of the Huguenots, and especially those of Nantes and Nîmes. Many other very important articles confirm this decree by entirely suppressing Calvinism, inviting those who profess it to join the true Roman Catholic faith, and forbidding the public profession of the Protestant religion throughout the kingdom. All the temples² have been, or are being, pulled down. That of Charenton was closed last Sunday, and at the present moment it is probably buried beneath its own ruins. The son of M. de Ruvigny, who was the commissioner to the King for the

¹ Despatch of Girolamo Venier, of October 17, from Fontainebleau.

² The places of worship of the Huguenots were known as 'temples.' They were forbidden to call them 'churches.'

affairs of those of the pretended reformed religion,¹ has taken leave of His Majesty, and has resigned his commission. May the Almighty bless the admirable purposes of this pious sovereign! In his speedy triumph he has surpassed even his own hopes, as well as those of his Council, who would not believe it possible that a work of such vast importance, and so full of danger, could be accomplished so speedily and so quietly. But the more profitable that it has been to religion, the more angry are the complaints that the Pope has not recognised the great good effected by so many conversions. It would cost little to flatter the King, who loves, and greatly desires, to be praised. But the Nuncio at one time denounces in exaggerated language the doctrines maintained (by the Gallican Church), and at another the pretended rights of the King, and declares that whilst one wound is healed by the conversion of the heretics, the very entrails of the State are infected by the publication of the false propositions of the (Gallican) clergy. Many other misunderstandings are also arising with the Court of Rome, all relating to the delicate question of the (papal) jurisdiction.'

The ambassador adds that the Nuncio was told, in answer to his complaints as to the treatment of the regular clergy, that the King was the master of his own subjects, and that, of his sovereign authority, he could deal with them as he might think fit. The determination of Louis XIV. to resist the claims of the Pope to interfere in matters relating to the discipline of the French Church, and to uphold what he considered its rights, had nearly led to a rupture with the Court of Rome. However much His Holiness may have rejoiced at the persecution of the Huguenots, it appears that he would have preferred that they should have been left unconverted, rather than that they should be instructed in the Roman Catholic faith by those who were, in his eyes, tainted with heresy.

In the same despatch the ambassador informs the Senate that the Duke of Richemont (Richmond), the son of the late King of England, by 'la Posmut' (the Duchess of Portsmouth),

¹ In all official and public documents the term 'pretended reformed religion' was to be used in referring to Protestantism.

had abjured in the presence of Louis and the Dauphin, who had both subscribed his profession of faith.

In a despatch of October 31, from Fontainebleau, the Venetian ambassador again referred to the ill-humour and complaints of the Pope, 'notwithstanding the great good arising from the large number of conversions which were being effected in the kingdom.' He wrote: 'The Nuncio is still somewhat distressed, fearing lest some of the prelates and others appointed for the instruction of the converted heretics, either imbued with evil principles or with the worst intentions,¹ should leave some seeds of heresy in their hearts, or give them grounds for putting forward pretensions hereafter. He knows that the Bishop of Grenoble has neglected to remove all hope from the converted (Protestants), that the Communion in the two forms might be permitted them²—a thing which he (the Nuncio) has in abhorrence, and which he denounces as utterly opposed to the spirit of the canons, and to the very susceptible nature of the Pope (*del genio tanto delicato del Papa*). Moreover, he condemns the Archbishop of Lyons for having allowed the Huguenots of that great city to proclaim that, in abjuring their faith, they had obeyed the sovereign commands of the King—as if the temporal power, and not a call from Heaven, had influenced them in this holy matter. They would thus be able, when times changed, to pretend that violence, and not conviction, had induced them to embrace the Catholic religion, whence great evils might ensue. In the city of Dieppe, in Normandy, there have been disorders. Some Huguenot families, wishing to embark in order to escape violating their consciences by abjuring under compulsion, were stopped and prevented from doing so. The greater part of the heretical population was consequently much provoked, and burnt down several houses. Some troops have been sent there, and orders have been given to all the governors of provinces to proceed to their governments. These are sparks that die out at their birth, and a conflagration, if

¹ *I.e.* to oppose the Pope's claim of supremacy in matters concerning the Gallican Church.

² *I.e.* that they might partake of the bread and wine at the Communion.

it be even possible, cannot take place except at some future time, and after some great revolution that will change the constitution and present state of the Crown.'¹

This remarkable prediction of the Venetian ambassador was fulfilled a little more than a hundred years after by the great Revolution, which French writers of authority attribute, in some measure, to the banishment from France of many of her most enlightened, industrious, and virtuous citizens by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The violent and cruel measures taken to exterminate heresy were not, however, entirely effectual. The Venetian ambassador informed the Senate on November 7 that 'although the King himself had endeavoured to make people believe that heresy had been completely extirpated throughout his kingdom, and that this great undertaking had been brought to a successful issue, the horrible monster still showed some signs of life. But if it could not be destroyed at one blow, it would be soon entirely suppressed through the vigilant foresight of the Ministers and the wisdom of the King. Troops were being incessantly sent into Normandy to crush the insolence—impotent as it might be—of some obstinate fellows, and new and important regulations were issued daily, by which means were found to reconcile men's consciences² to their forced conversion. Above all, measures were being taken to prevent the depopulation of the provinces by the malcontents seeking refuge out of the kingdom. Great had been the complaints that the most perverse amongst them had been received in the Principality of Orange and in the State of Avignon. The Prince of Orange, who had long provoked, and had proved himself an enemy to, the King, was not spared. A very large number of dragoons had been sent to force His Majesty's subjects, who had taken refuge in the principality, to return to his dominions. As regards Avignon, complaints against the conduct of the Pope were loud and general. These complaints had become more violent since His

¹ 'Non ponno essere che nel progresso, e dopo qualche grande rivoluzione di cose, che alteri il sistema et il stato presente di questa Corona.'

² 'Per migliorare l' interno delle conscienze.'

Holiness, who claimed to be the head and father of the true Church, had protected his sinful children, and had encouraged them in their errors. The Nuncio, however, treated them as entirely unfounded. Having recently returned to Fontainebleau, he maintained that the reports in circulation were malicious, and that he could prove them to be so, as he bore letters from the Vice-Legate (the Governor of Avignon) to the King and to the Ministers, which showed the care that had been taken, not only not to allow any heretics, but even their goods, to remain in that State. There was an agreement between the Pope and His Majesty, by which the refugee subjects of the latter were allowed to remain three days in the territory (of Avignon). It was not credible that, after the time thus accorded to them had elapsed, the Pontiff should have shown himself lukewarm with regard to them, so as to give rise to the suspicion that he favoured their errors, of which, from his character, his religion, and the duties of his position, he was the most mortal enemy. However, instead of the animosity to the Court of Rome having calmed down, it had increased, without there being any hope of finding a way out of the difficulty.'

The cruelty with which the Huguenots were being treated had roused the indignation of the European Protestant States, and the Venetian ambassador foresaw the troubles impending over France in consequence. He wrote on November 14: 'At the present moment the only thought of the King is how to utterly exterminate heresy. He does not, however, act with the dignity which he has been accustomed to show in putting down those who offer resistance to him, or who have sought in times past to question his greatness. The dragoons have entered Orange; the outrages have been greater there than elsewhere, and probably have been committed indifferently against Protestants as well as Catholics, as on this occasion the animosity against the Prince could not be suppressed. But the envoys of Holland and Brandenburg continue to make remonstrances with the object of protecting the pretended reformed religion. Neither of them, however, receive satisfactory answers, the King declaring that in this matter he is

fully resolved to exercise his authority over his own subjects, and to make use of the power which God has given him principally for the exaltation of the true faith. The Minister of Brandenburg is, however, treated with the greater consideration. People are beginning to fear that the Congress now being held in Germany, between the Elector of that country and the Houses of Lüneburg and Saxony, has for its object the establishment of a league, in which their mutual interests would be united by the strong bond of religion. In order to watch their proceedings, and to defeat their object, it has been arranged that M. de Rebenac, who is said to have gone to Denmark, should stop at the place where their alliance is being negotiated, and should endeavour to arrange matters in accordance with the interests of the (French) Crown.'

On the 21st of the same month the ambassador reported that the Dutch envoy could only get evasive answers on the religious question, and as to subjects of the States residing in France. Some Dutchmen who had endeavoured to leave the country had been arrested on the frontier. The envoy had, of course, complained, but as yet the reply he had received was not known. It was said that in Orange all Dutch subjects had been converted. This had caused much grief to the Prince of that name, who claimed sovereign rights in the principality, although he could not exercise them, as it was surrounded by the territories of the French Crown.

He further stated that one of the results of the expulsion of the Huguenots had been that 'the most obstinate of them were endeavouring to inflict every possible injury on the Roman Catholic faith. In Holland, by way of revenge for the religious persecution in France, Catholics had been forbidden to have schools for their children, and the exiled Protestants were doing their utmost to induce foreign States to oppress and persecute their Roman Catholic subjects.'¹

The Pope was at length induced to express his approval of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of the persecution of the Protestants. But Louis XIV. was not satisfied with the manner in which that approval was testified. His Holiness

¹ Despatch of Girolamo Venier of November 28, 1685.

was considered lukewarm, and as still hostile to the King on account of the support he was giving to the pretensions of the Gallican Church. On December 2 Girolamo Venier wrote the following interesting despatch to the Senate:

'Yesterday the Nuncio went to Court, and was received in public audience by the King, in order to present to His Majesty a brief, of which a copy is inclosed,¹ in which the Pontiff warmly praises the piety of the King in conferring so great a benefit upon religion and upon his kingdom, by the general conversion of the Huguenots who infested it. The King showed himself well pleased, and there is less murmuring at Court against an imagined indifference on the part of the Pontiff; but the Ministers say that more than a brief is required to remove the many misunderstandings that exist. Moreover, they declare that the merit of the King deserves a more conspicuous reward, as what he has already accomplished is not only great in itself, but is rendered even still more important by the consequences that must ensue. For not only were the repose and happiness of the kingdom exposed to danger from the pretended reformed religion, but even the safety and the life of the King himself. Some days ago a Huguenot was brought here accused of high treason. He was arrested at Spiers on suspicion of being at the head of a conspiracy against His Majesty's sacred person. As yet the truth is doubtful, and the King himself, with admirable courage, declares that before pronouncing judgment it is necessary to examine the charges against the man, as they might prove to be unfounded. At Landau, also, another man has been imprisoned, and those whose surrender has been demanded by the Abbé Morel² at Heidelberg, and who have already been arrested by the Elector of the Palatinate, are likewise accused of having either plotted the like execrable crime, or of having held shameful and wicked language against the King's person. It would seem to be almost necessary that he who is feared by many should have many to fear; but it is, at the same time, a matter for true consolation to be able to believe that this

¹ It is among the papers which accompany this paper.

² Louis XIV.'s envoy.

great monarch is safely guarded by God Himself, whose interest it is to protect him as one of the arms of His omnipotence, to be employed in the exaltation of the true faith, and for the scourging and suppression of those most pernicious of heretics (the Huguenots). Laudable and important precautions are being taken to prevent, with the utmost vigilance and with an increase of guards, all access to His Majesty. I have learnt very secretly that the King makes some of his oldest and most faithful servants sleep, well accompanied, near his apartments. There cannot be a doubt that this is most proper. Too great care cannot be taken to preserve a life which makes the happiness of this kingdom, is an example to kings and the admiration of the whole world.'

Louis XIV. soon began to perceive the difficulties with foreign States into which the persecution of the Huguenots had brought him, and the injury that it had caused to France. The Venetian ambassador writes on December 12: 'The Ministry complain very bitterly of the Elector of Brandenburg, who invites and induces French Protestants to take refuge in his dominions by promising them large sums of money and grants of special privileges. He thus encourages the Huguenots who still remain in France to take every opportunity, notwithstanding the danger they incur, to leave their country, where, it may be truly said, the free exercise of the pretended reformed religion is no longer tolerated. The Elector, who is recognised as the first of the Protestant princes, now that the King of England is a Catholic, seeks to place himself at the head and to become the protector of the Protestant religion. He therefore invites and attracts people from all quarters, through the press and by edicts, to become his subjects, and has himself proclaimed by all heretics as the sole refuge of the unfortunate and the asylum of the persecuted.'

Louis XIV. had demanded, through his envoy, the Abbe Morel, the surrender of certain persons who were accused of having conspired against his life at Manheim, in the Elector's dominions. The Venetian ambassador enters fully upon the subject in a despatch of December 19, and forwards to the

Senate copies of the correspondence which had taken place on the occasion. As the originals are, no doubt, preserved in the French archives and must be well known, and are, moreover, of considerable length, I do not give translations of them, but they are included among the documents that I have had copied. Girolamo Venier states that, although the Elector had promptly arrested the supposed criminals, he did not show the same readiness to hand them over to the King, notwithstanding the envoy's explicit undertaking that if they proved to be innocent they would be sent back. But the Elector, suspecting that religious motives were at the bottom of the business, continued to make evasive replies to the urgent remonstrances of the Abbé Morel, who at last threatened to despatch a special courier to inform the King that the Elector refused to accede to his demands. In order to forestall the French envoy's communication, which he feared might lead to serious consequences, the Elector sent off his own secretary post-haste to Paris, with a letter to the King and copies of the correspondence that had passed between himself and the abbé. This letter, the Venetian ambassador observed, was a kind of manifesto, not only to the King but to the whole world—copies of it having already been widely circulated—to justify the conduct of the Elector. In it the Palatine stated that he could not deliver up the accused until some satisfactory proofs were furnished to him of their guilt, as it was known that many persons had been thrown into the Bastille upon false charges. The Elector's letter was delivered to M. de Croissy, who expressed the King's surprise at his refusal to surrender the criminals, the Royal word alone being quite sufficient to show that there were good grounds for accusing them. He further asserted that religion had nothing whatever to do with the matter, as was proved by the fact that thousands of heretics had fled to Holland, to Germany, and even to the Palatinate, and to Switzerland. With the latter country France had a treaty which authorised her to demand their surrender, yet His Majesty had taken no step to have them given up. The Elector proved obstinate; and, as there was nothing more to be said, it was expected that the Abbé Morel

would be recalled. The ambassador concludes his despatch with the reflection that 'to draw a horoscope of the affair and to judge of the true motives of it, is a very difficult matter, as the future is always doubtful, and what may be in the hearts of princes can never be really ascertained, especially when the great machine of government is regulated by few wheels and by faithful Ministers. Nevertheless, it is probable that either the Elector will yield to the urgent and peremptory demands of the French Court, and surrender the criminals, or that the affair will gradually calm down, and that nothing more will be heard of it for the time.'

On December 19, the Venetian ambassador wrote that he had nothing very important to report relating to the Huguenots, but only small matters of daily occurrence—such as their attempts at flight across the frontiers of France, and the severe punishments which it was reported were inflicted upon the most obstinate of them. But to report such trifles, he considered, would scarcely show proper respect for the dignity of the most excellent Senate. In order to arrest the flight of the Protestants, orders had been sent to all the French ports to fit out ships to prevent English and Dutch vessels from approaching the coasts of the kingdom and taking on board, as they were in the habit of doing for a small reward, the fugitive Huguenots. It was said that twenty ships were about to be armed at Toulon; but the reports on the subject were contradictory, and were not altogether credited, and required confirmation. In the meanwhile, the envoy of Holland continued to demand that Dutch subjects should be allowed to leave the country, and especially that the preachers (*ministri predicanti*) from Orange, who were detained as prisoners, should not be worse treated than those who were permitted to leave the kingdom. Hitherto a deaf ear had been turned to these demands. In every matter in which the Prince of Orange was concerned, the Ministry showed itself most hostile to him.

At length James II. thought it necessary to interfere on behalf of his Protestant subjects who were exposed to ill-treatment in France. On December 26, Venier reported to

the Senate that the new English envoy had arrived at the French Court, and that he had been received in private audience by the King, on which occasion he brought three most pressing matters to the notice of His Majesty. These were, first, as regards Spanish affairs, the appointment of commissioners to settle the question of the Hannovia (Hainault)¹ contributions before coming to an arrangement with respect to the seizure of (English?) ships at Corunna; secondly, the alleged violation of the sovereignty of the city of Orange;² and, thirdly, the permission for Englishmen who were residing in France to be either at liberty to leave the kingdom or to profess their religion freely.

With respect to the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange the Minister of State replied that when the Prince conducted himself otherwise than he had hitherto done towards the King he would be treated with proper consideration, and that he would be allowed to enjoy certain rights of sovereignty in the principality; His Majesty, however, reserving to himself that supreme jurisdiction which would enable him to exercise authority over the Huguenots, according to the laws of justice and the dictates of his conscience. The English envoy did not obtain a more favourable answer on the third point, as M. de Croissy informed him that naturalised Englishmen in France must be subject to the French laws, whilst those who were not naturalised would enjoy the same privileges which were accorded to all strangers residing in the kingdom.

But James had other complaints against the French Government. A French frigate from Dunkirk had seized, in the Channel and near the English coast, six fishing boats, from which were taken several French Huguenots who had been established in England for some years. Moreover, an English despatch boat (*Packebot*) had been stopped and visited in search of Huguenots. Such vessels had, at all times, been respected as privileged, and had hitherto never been interfered

¹ This probably refers to the indemnity to be paid to England and other Powers for losses at sea &c., under the treaty of Nimeguen (1678), which stipulated that a part of Hainault should be ceded to France by Spain.

² By the seizure of the Huguenots who had taken refuge there.

with. Trumbold (Trumbull, the English envoy), who had received orders to make the most urgent remonstrances on account of this insult, feared that there would be a great outcry in England about the affair, as he knew the susceptibility of the King as to his jurisdiction on the high seas, which he would not suffer to be questioned.

This violation of the rights of England was nearly leading to a serious quarrel between the two countries. The Venetian ambassador informed the Senate on January 2¹ that, although some reparation had been given for this outrage to freedom of navigation by the surrender of the vessels that had been seized and of the men taken in them, the differences between the French and English Courts had not been entirely settled, as one of those vessels had been sunk and there was no intention of giving satisfaction for the stoppage of the packet and the seizure in it of fifteen Huguenots. England demanded, not only the surrender of these men but, jealous of her supremacy on the sea, had put forward unreasonable pretensions. France, on the other hand, who could scarcely have acted as she had done without premeditation and mature consideration, might find her dignity too much compromised to give way, and could scarcely bring herself to accord the reparation required by England.

The ambassador, however, expressed a hope that the two kings, having enough to occupy their attention in their own dominions, would arrive at a satisfactory understanding. The French Ministers were turning all their attention to preventing the Huguenots from leaving the kingdom. On the previous day M. de Croissy had seriously complained to the representatives of all the Protestant States that they were giving passports to persons of the pretended reformed religion, and he had had a very long conference on the subject with the Dutch envoy.

It was reported from the Hague, he wrote, that the Dutch authorities were treating with the greatest liberality those who had been officers in the French army, and were thus 'seeking to deserve well both of God and of their country.' The yearly

¹ The despatch is dated January 2, 1685. The Venetian official year beginning on March 1.

sums assigned to 'what they were pleased to call charity' amounted to no less than 150,000 florins, which were to be distributed by the Prince of Orange. So large a sum at his disposal, added to the particular favours he himself was able to confer upon Huguenots, would secure to him a large number of adherents and would increase his party very considerably. The refugee officers, having had their heads turned by the encouragement thus given to them, had assembled before the house of M. d'Aoð (?), the ambassador of the most Christian King, and had insolently expressed their contempt for him. The Dutch Government had wisely given them a sharp reprimand for this outrage upon public liberty, and, in order to prevent misunderstandings with France and danger to peace, had forbidden similar demonstrations for the future. It would not, however, permit the Catholic religious orders to remain in the country, and had resolved to entirely banish the Jesuits. This determination had not, as yet, been put into execution, except in the city of Middleburg. The renewal of the treaties between the House of Lüneburg and the Elector of Saxony had apparently given rise to the report that a religious league had been concluded between them; but hitherto there had only been a private understanding between these two houses. Even if there were more than this, it was not believed that the impotent efforts of the Huguenots could bring about a war into which England might be drawn, when Holland desired peace.

In a second despatch, of the same date, he informed the Senate that the severest measures were still being taken against the Huguenots. In Dauphiny the audacity of those who some time before had taken up arms to open a passage for themselves (out of the kingdom) had been duly punished. A gentleman who was at the head of the attempt had been beheaded, and the greater part of his followers had been hanged. In Paris Protestants were no longer tolerated, and the means taken to convert them were without example; neither could they, without running the greatest danger, seek to leave the country, nor were they suffered to live in it. The foreign envoys, who had to protect the subjects of their respective nations, were all well-nigh tired out by making useless remon-

stances. They got nothing but empty words; consequently they either held their tongues, or resigned themselves to receiving no satisfaction. It was reported from Amsterdam that, in revenge for the sufferings of the Protestants in France, it had been determined to vex the Catholics residing there. Of the one hundred and sixty churches they possessed in that city only eight were to be allowed to remain, and these were to be very heavily taxed. But no step had yet been taken to put this measure into execution. It was only menaced. The Venetian ambassador stated that in consequence of the great falling-off in the revenue, owing to the persecution and flight of the Protestants, the works at Versailles and many important public undertakings had been suspended. Trade was completely paralysed, and the receipts from taxes and contributions had diminished very considerably. The greater part of the public wealth and of the trade of the country had been in the hands of the Huguenots. As they had always feared that some great disaster might befall them they had converted their property into ready money, so that they might be able to carry it away with them. But the ambassador consoled himself by the reflection that the war which the 'pious King had waged against the powers of Hell could not possibly turn to the disadvantage of the kingdom and that the Almighty could not do otherwise than take so holy and glorious a work under His special protection.'

His anticipations were not, however, destined to be fulfilled, and but a few months had elapsed since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes before the King must have perceived the irreparable injury which that shameful and impolitic act had caused to France. Returning to the subject of the falling-off in the revenue, in a despatch of the 26th of the same month, Girolamo Venier stated that the deficit for the year far exceeded the calculations of those who were best acquainted with Government secrets, and that various measures, which he described, were in contemplation for raising money to meet the loss to the revenue caused by the persecution of the Huguenots, and by the sumptuous edifices which were being constructed (at Versailles).

The English ambassador, Trumbull, had renewed his remonstrances against the interference of French vessels of war with English shipping. With respect to the stoppage of the packet, he was informed that measures would be taken to prevent the recurrence of similar mistakes. To his other representations negative answers were returned. His request that a place should be reserved for the burial of English Protestants dying in France was refused. It was denied that the dragoons were cruelly treating English subjects, although Trumbull declared that he had absolute proofs of the fact. He could get little or no satisfaction.

In consequence of the indignation which the persecution of the Huguenots was causing throughout the Protestant world, serious complications were threatened with foreign Powers. The Abbé Morel, who had failed to obtain the surrender of the men who were accused of having conspired against the life of the King, had returned, in January, to Paris. The Venetian ambassador wrote¹ that the most important information furnished by this sagacious envoy to the French Government related to the religious question. The abbé had described the excitement which prevailed among the Protestants throughout the whole of Germany, and the vengeance they appeared to meditate for the sufferings inflicted upon the Huguenots. He stated his belief that in many places, and especially in Westphalia, in the bishoprics of Munster and Paderborn, and in the abbacies of Corvey and Fulda, preparations were being made for a cruel persecution of the Catholics. 'The heretics not being able to obtain redress for their pretended ill-treatment, were determined to render their imaginary sufferings at least more bearable by afflicting the good, in order to have them as companions in misfortune.' The abbé consequently advised that France should undertake no expedition abroad until peace and tranquillity were completely re-established at home. The great work of entirely suppressing heresy, which had hitherto only been put down but not extinguished, was being continued throughout the kingdom. With this object a council had been appointed, consisting of five members,

¹ Despatch of January 23, 1686 (1685, Venetian style).

including the Archbishop of Paris, the Père la Chaise (the King's confessor), and M. de Segneté (?), to act with greater vigour in this most urgent matter, the difficulties having greatly increased since endeavours were being made to reduce the most obstinate heretics. Those who could not be conquered by argument were to be conquered by force; but sometimes, justly remarks the Venetian ambassador, force hardens rather than softens men's consciences. Many obdurate heretics were thrown into prison. Those of the weaker sex were shut up in convents. The Countess de Roy, whose husband was in Denmark, was about to join him with two marriageable daughters, her sons having been taken from her to be brought up in the Catholic faith. When such things were going on it was only natural that those who suffered should complain. It was, however, to be hoped that peace would be maintained in Europe.

Notwithstanding his bigoted attachment to the Roman Catholic faith, and the satisfaction which he felt and expressed at the cruel persecution and sufferings of the Huguenots, the Venetian ambassador was too clear-sighted not to perceive that the result had been to greatly weaken the power of France. He may, so far as the interests of his own country were concerned, have rejoiced that such had been the case, and that Louis XIV. could not, at least for the time, break, in search of fresh territory and fresh glory, a peace which it was then the policy of the Venetian Republic to maintain.

On January 30 he sent a very interesting and important despatch to the Senate, of which the following is an extract:

'The Court of Savoy perseveres in its intentions to convert the heretics; but they are difficult of execution, not so much on account of the inaccessible Alpine sites in which the people of the country are in the habit of taking refuge, as because this region is the principal seat of their errors, where originated the doctrines of Calvin, who was an inhabitant of those mountain caves (*habitatore di quelle grotte*). What the Duke would like—and he has more than once hinted it to the French Court through his ambassador—is that the King should take possession of Geneva, on condition, however, of ceding it to the House of Savoy as its original

legitimate sovereign, otherwise he would rather that affairs should remain as they are than that that important city should pass into the hands of the French. It is not, however, improbable that the King, for political reasons, as well as out of zeal for religion, will attempt the conquest of the place; but before deciding to do so he will have to complete the work, already so much advanced, of suppressing heresy, and of uniting and tranquillising his own subjects. Those who will not violate their consciences by abjuring, and seek to fly, are arrested; amongst them are many persons of rank and of noble birth. It is not as yet known whether the King will deal with them with clemency or with severity. To escape extreme measures they have always the alternative of conversion. The King is excessively susceptible in these matters, and has shown some angry feeling towards the Dutch ambassador, because, on going to the Hague, he took out of the country with him some Huguenot subjects of His Majesty; towards the envoy of Denmark, because he allowed a young lady to take refuge in his house on the pretence that she was about to go to Copenhagen to enter the service of the Queen; towards the envoy of Brandenburg, because a rich lady had sought refuge in his house, and had died and been buried there, leaving him heir to her very large fortune. Fresh decrees (against the Huguenots) are daily issued, and it is believed that there is one, very nearly ready for the press, by which Huguenot women are forbidden to inherit from their husbands, and to receive their dowers. Another has already appeared absolutely prohibiting pilgrimages without the permission of a bishop and a Counsellor of State. With such measures it is sought either to subdue the most obstinate, or to defy the most resolute, and thus to bring to a conclusion this great work, which will be memorable in future ages, useful to France, glorious for the King, and of the greatest merit in the eyes of God and of the whole world. M. de Ruigny, an old man and a meritorious Minister of the Crown, has obtained permission to go to England with his sons in order to end in peace there the few days, or rather moments, of his life.'

In a despatch of February 6 Girolamo Venier related how

M. de Montal, the governor of a French fortress, had crossed the frontiers into Flanders with some soldiers, and had seized a Huguenot who had taken refuge in Binche, in spite of the menaces of the inhabitants, threatening to burn the place if they ventured to resist. The Spaniards had not made any serious remonstrances at this violation of Spanish territory.

The Duke of Savoy had found greater difficulties than he had anticipated in converting his subjects in 'the heretical valleys, the cradle of Calvinism,' as the Venetian ambassador calls the Vaudois country. Ten thousand of them had risen in arms. However, they professed themselves ready to submit if their religion were not interfered with. The Duke, he added, might find himself under the necessity of availing himself of the assistance of France.¹ He had collected all the decrees referring to the Huguenots recently published in that kingdom, with a view to putting into execution those most approved of. He had left, however, every one at liberty to leave his dominions, for which, writes the ambassador, he deserves the greatest credit, as men's consciences should not be too violently outraged, even with the object of compelling them to embrace the most perfect of faiths²—a wise reflection which, it would appear, had not occurred to him when Louis XIV. was persecuting with relentless cruelty his own Protestant subjects.

The French Government continued to complain of the frequency with which the Dutch ambassador at Paris gave passports to persons of the 'pretended reformed religion' to enable them to leave France. A sergeant, or officer of the police, who had gone to the Dutch Embassy, probably with reference to this question, was soundly cudgelled. The French envoy at the Hague was instructed to demand the recall of the Dutch Secretary of Embassy at Paris, the ambassador having been absent on leave when the affair occurred, but he was not to assign any reason for doing so. He received a hint that if he made this demand the States would insist upon the recall of the French Secretary of Embassy at the Hague, against whom they had even more serious grounds of complaint.³

¹ Despatch of February 13.

² Despatch of February 20.

³ *Ibid.*

On February 27 the ambassador reported that Marshal Schomberg being no longer allowed, as a Huguenot, to appear at Court, had obtained permission to leave France with all his family, as soon as possible, for Portugal. On March 6 he informed the Senate that various deputations from Switzerland had arrived in Paris, some of them to offer excuses for the refuge granted to Huguenots in that country. But the King ordered them to be sent away without even condescending to hear what they had to say—declaring that it was not worth the trouble to do so. At which they were much troubled.

The Duke of Savoy, in the meanwhile, was collecting troops at Angrogne, a place at the foot of the Alps, near Susa, whence there was a mountain pass into the Protestant valleys. The 'rebels had shown signs of their audacity' by not only preparing to defend themselves, and by constructing three forts to prevent the advance of the troops, but by arresting two persons sent by the Duke as spies upon their proceedings. It was not known what had become of them. The Duke's envoy at Paris was keeping the French Court fully informed of what was taking place, and had expressed his fear that the Protestant Swiss, impelled by a false zeal for their religion, were going to the assistance of the Vaudois. He believed, however, that the Duke had sufficient troops to close the passes against the Swiss; but that they might, perhaps, successfully attack some more exposed part of his dominions. The King had consequently sent two *corps d'armée* of four thousand men each, under the commands of M. de la Trusse and of M. de Saint-Ruth, to the frontiers of Dauphiny to hold them in check. Some persons were convinced that the real object of the increase of the forces in this part of the kingdom was an attack upon Geneva. The King hoped to accomplish at one blow two great objects—to acquire that city, and to crown the great work for the extinction of heresy in which he was engaged by reuniting to the true Church its severed members. But the ambassador doubted whether any such step, which might lead to a general conflagration, would be undertaken until the effect of other measures then being adopted was known.

Although it was believed that the cruel persecution of the Huguenots had been effectual, it was found, when Easter came round, that those who had abjured were not truly converted, as many of them refused to take the Communion, and to perform other religious duties essential to the profession of the true Catholic faith. A serious quarrel, moreover, was impending with Holland on account of the arrest of the President of the Parliament of Orange, who was accused of not having been sincere in his conversion, and of being in secret correspondence with the Prince.¹

There was a report in Paris, which, however, afterwards proved untrue,² that the insurgents in the valley of Luserna had submitted, the Duke of Savoy having granted them permission to leave his territories within eight days. If this time were not sufficient for the sale of their property, it was to be extended to three months; but they were to give four hostages for the fulfilment of their undertaking to dispose of their goods. The Duke was considered by the Court of France far too indulgent in making this concession, and he was very insultingly attacked for it. It was thought that he ought at least to punish the refugees and the most refractory of the Huguenots, who had been received in the Protestant valleys.³

It was subsequently known that the terms offered by the Duke had been rejected by the Protestants, and he was accused by Louis XIV. of being very lukewarm in his persecution of the heretics.⁴

In France the Huguenots were still giving trouble. In Languedoc many who had pretended to abjure were holding meetings in scandalous contempt of the laws, and in spite of the Royal forces, and, with some of their pastors, had offered up their prayers and had partaken of the Communion. Moreover, they were distributing medals of lead impressed with an anchor and a lamb, the token by which they recognised each other. They were corrupting with money the fidelity of the

¹ Despatch of April 17.

² See despatch of May 1.

³ Despatch of April 24.

⁴ Despatch of May 1, which gives an account of the military measures taken by the Duke to attack the Protestants.

dragoons, who had been ordered to prevent the exercise of their religious rites, and were seeking by all possible means to escape from a burden which was unbearable to their consciences although useful to their souls, and which was even more grievous because not illumined by a ray of Divine truth. Thus the work remained imperfect, and the public peace was troubled, the kingdom being filled with "mal-converts," which meant "mal-contents." So wrote the Venetian ambassador on April 24. On May 25 he informed the Senate that these pretended converts were constantly 'giving scandalous proofs of their obstinacy.' In Languedoc they had assembled to renew their religious exercises. M. de la Trusse and the 'Intendant' of the province were consequently ordered to go by post to collect troops to restrain their insolence, by punishing and throwing into prison the most contumacious. 'Until death, by removing the most obdurate,' observed the ambassador, 'quenches the fervid, but false, zeal which is still nourished in the hearts of many, it will be very difficult to prevent the disorders which exist.'

In July the envoy of the Elector of Cleves, who was leaving France, was refused a passport for two of his wife's maids, who were Huguenots and French subjects. Whether in consequence of the aversion felt for the Elector of Brandenburg, or on account of renewed zeal for the good of the Catholic faith, M. de Croissy had given the representatives of all the Protestant Courts to understand that the King desired that they should no longer keep in their service any of his Huguenot subjects. This had caused a great commotion among them; but it was not yet known whether they would agree to disregard this hint, or whether they would yield to the supreme will of the King.¹ The persecuted Huguenots could not even hope to find an asylum in the privileged dwellings of the Protestant diplomatic agents, who, however, decided not to pay any attention to the new regulations, but to await the orders of their respective Courts. They hoped that in the course of time more moderate counsels would prevail; otherwise the immunity of the domicile of the diplomatic repre-

¹ Despatch of July 10.

sentatives of foreign States, which had always been held sacred and inviolable, might be seriously compromised. As a further effort on behalf of religion, the King seemed disposed to issue a decree inviting the refugee Huguenots to return to France, promising to restore their property if they would embrace the true faith. They would be allowed to the following month of March to accept this offer. It was hoped that, if not conviction, at least necessity, would compel many to return.¹

The English ambassador, Trumbull, found himself much embarrassed on account of the severity with which the Protestants were treated. He had a French secretary and several other Frenchmen in his service who were of the Huguenot faith, but whom he had brought with him from London. He was returning to England on private affairs, and was refused permission to take with him any French subjects. His contention that he was bound to restore those who had accompanied him to the places whence he had taken them was treated with contempt. The King maintained that his decrees were to be obeyed by all his subjects, wherever they might be. The English ambassador declared that the King, his master, would support his demand. He consequently suspended his departure, uncertain as to how the matter would end.²

The zeal of Louis XIV. in persecuting the Protestants did not diminish. The Venetian ambassador reported, on August 25, that fresh orders had been issued in the provinces that the newly converted Protestants should be made to perform the religious duties required by the Catholic Church, and should give satisfactory proofs of having sincerely embraced the true faith. But these orders were not so easily enforced, as 'heresy, having taken deep root, its poisonous shoots were not yet destroyed, and serious disorders were constantly occurring.'

The last despatch of the Venetian ambassador from which I shall quote was written on October 28, just a year after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. 'In the Cévennes,' he reports, 'the pretended converts had assembled in arms to

¹ Despatch of July 17.

² Despatches of July 31 and August 14.

pray according to the Huguenot rites. The very women had, with their husbands, resisted the dragoons who were sent to prevent this false worship, and some of them had been killed. The rebels, followed by the troops, fled to the mountains, only a few women, slow to move, having been left behind, and falling the victims of their impious zeal and of the exasperated soldiery. Now that so many Huguenots had fled, and that there had been so great a diminution in their numbers, the serious prejudice which had ensued to the kingdom was generally admitted. Commerce and trade had ceased. Some of the most populous districts in France had been depopulated. The taxes for the year had been increased by two millions, and it was rumoured that new offices were to be created which would be sold. But as the payment of the salaries attached to them was to be assured to those upon whom they were conferred, the revenue would be for ever burdened with them, whilst the profit would be only temporary.'

In 1688, Girolamo Venier quitted Paris, having been transferred to the Venetian Embassy at Vienna. In the following year, he made the accustomed 'Relazione' to the Senate,¹ and in giving an account of the various events which had occurred during his residence in France, he could not but refer to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and its consequences. He pointed out the great loss that the kingdom had sustained by the departure of Schomberg. He stated that the navy of France had greatly suffered, owing to the persecution of the Huguenots, her western coasts having been denuded of sailors, and of men who were being specially trained at great cost and trouble for the naval service, who were for the most part Protestants.² Commerce had received 'a mortal blow.' He estimates the then population of France at 15,000,000

¹ Published by Barozzi and Berchet, in *Le Relazioni degli Stati Europei lette al Senato dagli Ambasciatori Veneti nel secolo decimosettimo*, série ii. Francia, vol. iii. (Venezia 1857-1863), a work now of some rarity.

² 'Sempre hanno pennuriato di marinai. La persecuzione degli Ugonotti ha reso le Provincie bagnate dall' Oceano così sterili di questa sorte di uomini, per il più della religion protestante, che è diminuita anche quella mediocre libertà di gente marittima che a forza di studio e di buone regole si procurava coltivare.'

souls, of which 1,600,000 were Huguenots, whilst in the time of Louis XIII. it was believed to have reached 25,000,000. He attributes this great diminution mainly to the flight of persecuted Protestants,¹ which caused a very grave injury to the kingdom, and especially to its commerce. 'The Protestants,' he wrote, 'having no hope of advancement at Court or in the army, had gone to reside in the provinces best adapted to trade, and had added greatly to the wealth of the kingdom by their industry, their financial operations,² and their shipping. Two-thirds of the business of the country was believed to be in their hands. The flight of the poorer classes of Protestants had deprived France of a vast number of artisans and sailors; that of the richer, of large sums of money secretly carried away or buried. These evils not having been sufficiently foreseen, and the extreme earnestness of the King, the ever-increasing number of the Protestants, and the facility with which the measures first taken against them were executed, stimulated the ardour of the Ministers and the religious zeal of His Majesty in the prosecution of this great work. It was, at the same time, deemed disgraceful that France should alone be idle, when so many of the princes of Christendom were exerting themselves for the Christian faith, and that she should be in angry controversy with the Court of Rome. Thus ambition, and an emulous desire to accomplish something great in the cause of religion, impelled the King to utterly destroy the Huguenots. The interests of the State were also concerned in this matter, as all these detestable heretics (*malnata gente*) were marrying, and they were increasing so rapidly in numbers that it was to be feared that they would ultimately form the majority of the nation. Although this sore had greatly extended and had spread itself over the principal parts of the kingdom, it would, perhaps, have been better to treat it with soothing remedies, so as not to irritate it; but, had the Ministers so dealt with it, they would have

¹ The wars of Louis XIV., and the departure of the Huguenots, no doubt reduced the population greatly, but could scarcely have done so to this extent. The figures are probably inaccurate.

² 'Cambis,' exchanges.

had to change their policy. As it was, the success of their first rigorous measures committed them to still greater severities. The evil still existing and increasing among the malcontents, it was feared that it would break out afresh, or that it would be the cause of constant apprehension of those disorders to which it must inevitably give rise. The King, wishing to make good Catholics, has made very dangerous subjects. Whilst the pious zeal he has shown in endeavouring to exterminate the false religion was, no doubt, entirely agreeable to God; as far as the political results were concerned, they had not as yet proved profitable to himself.'

The ambassador expressed his opinion that if war had not broken out, the King would have succeeded in his endeavours to compel the whole of his subjects to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. He warned the Senate that Schomberg,asperated by his treatment, was much to be feared, and that the Prince of Orange,¹ the Dutch, and the House of Brandenburg would probably place themselves at the head of the Protestants, who would consequently become more dangerous than they had even hitherto been. The Pope, he said, had abstained from praising the measures taken against the Huguenots, although so meritorious. It was not right, His Holiness had declared, to use armed apostles as missionaries. That this new fashion of converting people was not the best was proved by the fact that Christ had not adopted it, and, moreover, it was not the best time to convert heretics when the misunderstanding between France and the Holy See was greater than ever.

Girolamo Venier was succeeded in the Paris Embassy by his nephew, Pietro Venier, who remained there until 1695. Pietro, in his '*Relazione*,'² read before the Senate, on his return to Venice, referred, like his predecessor, to the grave injury which the persecution of the Huguenots had caused to France; although he pronounced it to have been 'a great and glorious enterprise.' The rural population, he said, were

¹ The *Relazione* contains an interesting account of William and his relations with France.

² Published by Barozzi and Berchet, série ii. vol. iii. of the *Relazioni*.

reduced to the greatest poverty in consequence of the enormous taxation, the quartering upon them of soldiers in the winter, and the frequent levy of troops, which were paid by certain provinces. These heavy burdens had ruined the whole kingdom, the population of which, since the war, had been diminished by two millions. The recent famine had not a little contributed to this result. Very much land remained, consequently, uncultivated, and the harvest had for several years been deficient.¹ He described the dangers which threatened France from the number of Huguenots who had only nominally abjured to avoid the cruel persecution to which they had been exposed, and who still held in secret their religious meetings, and refused to attend mass, and were ready to rise should the occasion offer. They hoped, he added, to recover the liberties which they had enjoyed under the Edict of Nantes. But Madame de Maintenon had declared that the King would never consent to renew that Edict, even if his enemies had reached the banks of the Loire.

Such, then, were the consequences to France of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and of the persecution of the Huguenots, in the opinion of two impartial witnesses—statesmen so clear-sighted and so competent to judge of political events as the Venetian ambassadors, Girolamo and Pietro Venier. An act which was extolled by Louis XIV.'s contemporaries as the crowning glory of his reign, has deprived him, in the eyes of posterity, of that title of 'the Great' which his courtiers and flatterers had bestowed upon him, and which might have been left to him had it not been for the cruelties he perpetrated upon his inoffensive Protestant subjects. A hideous crime, with which his name will ever be associated,

¹ 'Li abitanti villici sono ridotti ad una eccessiva povertà, le taglie grossissime, li quartieri d' inverno con gli utensili, la frequenta leva loro le milizie che pagano alcune Provincie. In generale li grossi aggravii hanno rovinato il regno, diminnito dopo la presente guerra di più di due milioni di anime, al che la carestia passata non ha poco contribuito, onde moltissime terre incolte e il raccolto da più anni scarso. Sopra tutto ha contribuito a tanto pregiudizio la espulsione de' Ugonotti, impresa gloriosa e grande.' The style of Pietro Venier is somewhat involved, like that of the writers of his time, and it is occasionally difficult to understand his meaning, but his *Relazione* is of much historical interest.

was destined, within a little more than a century, to bear its bitter fruits in the horrors of the French Revolution. Retribution was not long in coming for one of the most barbarous, and at the same time one of the most unjustifiable and impolitic, deeds recorded in history.

NOTE.—The MS. extracts from the State Papers now in the Archives at Venice and Florence, which have been consulted in the preparation of the foregoing Paper, have been bound together and presented by me to the Library of the Society.

Claude Collart de Verzy.

By CHARLES DELGOBE.

CLAUDE COLLART was a Protestant of Champagne, as he himself declared in his examination when imprisoned by the Danes at Copenhagen; but the exact place of his birth is uncertain, the name having been corrupted by the Danish writers into 'Wessiro.' We may fairly suppose, however, that it was Verzy, a spot still celebrated for its wines, as we know that his father was engaged in the wine trade, though we need not necessarily infer from this fact that the elder Collart was not of noble birth. As we find one of our authors, Resenius, calling the subject of our memoir 'Belonius,' it is more than probable that his actual family name was Collart de Belon. In Scandinavian history he is known as 'Claudius Collart' or 'Claudius Gallus,' the latter being the name by which he is most generally called in Norway.

Claude received the education then usual for young noblemen, and became page to the Duke of Guise. The Swedish ambassador to France was at that time in search of suitable persons for the household of young Prince Eric, and commonly made choice of such as were of the Protestant faith. These, being well aware that their own country would never afford them the advancement due to their abilities, readily embraced the opportunity of pushing their fortunes elsewhere, and amongst their number we may specially notice Denis Beurée and Claude Collart.

In the year 1554 we find the latter in Sweden in attendance on the young Duke (Prince Eric), who was then residing with his own little court at Colmar. On the death of Gustavus

Vasa he was promoted to the rank of gentleman-of-the-chamber, in which capacity he received the Pomeranian envoys at King Eric's coronation. He is called by them 'the king's first chamberlain,' but it is probable that they gave him this title rather to gratify their own vanity than because it was his actual designation.

He had, however, by this time acquired certain property in Sweden, and is henceforth always called 'the Knight of Tuna,' though, as his name does not appear in the list of those who received the honour of knighthood at the coronation, we may suppose it had been previously conferred upon him. At the tournament which formed part of the coronation festivities he was distinguished by his chivalrous bearing, and carried off a prize.

Claude's fortune was now made, and the King constantly availed himself of his services when he required a trusty and skilful envoy or adviser. We thus find him taking part in the embassy sent to the Landgrave of Hesse to negotiate a marriage between that Prince's daughter and the Swedish sovereign; and again, on August 18, 1563, he was the bearer of the King's orders to Vice-Chancellor Töran Persson relative to the imprisonment and treatment of Duke John. At the same time he played a less creditable part in accusing the Englishman, John Dymock, who was charged with having vilified the King in his public discourses, and having intercepted important letters from Norway. It was to Collart's denunciations that Dymock owed his ultimate ruin.

We now come to the summit of Claude's fortunes. On December 8, 1563, the King put him at the head of the troops intended for the invasion of the north of Norway, giving him the rank of generalissimo, but assigning him, on account of his youth, an experienced counsellor in the person of Jöns Ingemarsson, and on the 26th of the same month he received orders to take the Norwegian provinces of Jämteland and Herjedalen, then belonging to the Danish Crown. On February 8, 1564, he entered Jämteland with 4,000 men, including 300 ski-men (snow-skaters), who proved very useful to him; the rest of the army consisted of German lanzknechts and

Swedish peasants. A single action took place and the Norwegians were put to flight at a spot called Roks-Skift, at the meeting of the roads from Alsen and Malmar, a little to the north of the Church at Morsil. The royal residence and farm at Frösö was also taken, and the whole of Jämteland became Swedish without many blows being struck. Unnecessary harshness, however, was exercised on the Danish functionaries.

By February 21 Collart and his troops had entered the district of Verdalen, near Throndhjem. They met with no resistance, as the Danish governor had sheltered himself behind the strong walls of Stenviksholm on the fjord of Aasen in the parish of Skatvoed, where, between 1523 and 1530, Archbishop Olaf Engelbrechtson had erected a fortress imposing enough for the times.

On the 28th Claude appeared before the place and summoned it to surrender. The Governor, Evert Bild, at first refused to do so, but next day became more tractable, and decided to request an interview with Claude. The conference was held on March 1, the result being that Bild capitulated, urged to this step, it is reported, by his wife. Vibeke, Podebusk, and Stenviksholm all surrendered on the 3rd without bloodshed, and the garrisons were made prisoners.

At the same time Claude began negotiations with the people of Throndhjem, who, seeing that Stenviksholm had fallen into the hands of the enemy, deemed it useless to offer any further resistance, and accordingly, on March 8, took the oath of allegiance to King Eric. This result was rendered singularly easy by the antipathy to the Danish power shown by a large number of the inhabitants, comprising not only members of the Norse national party, but a remnant of the Catholic and that of Christian II. Claude also had a secret correspondence in the town with the burgomaster, Adrian Falkner, who had sent him barrels of wine to the camp before Stenviksholm, and with the old canon Henry Gyldenlöve. The Bishop too promised passive obedience, but was afterwards made prisoner and compelled to pay ransom, whilst the more fortunate burgomaster was rewarded by a gift of the property of a certain Eric Hvittenstjerne.

Having made such progress, Collart soon collected a little court round him at Thronthjem, where his time was chiefly spent in dissipation, though he was by no means neglectful of more serious pursuits. He devoted special attention to literature, and we find him giving orders to Magister Sigvard, Archdeacon of the Chapter, to lecture before him every week in Greek and Hebrew. The King, who had been kept well informed of how matters were going on, expressed the greatest satisfaction at the news of Claude's success, and sent him a present of a very valuable gold chain in token of his favour.

But the work was not yet fully accomplished, and Claude still had to subdue the various provinces belonging to Thronthjem. Of these, Indherred took the oath of allegiance without difficulty, and so also did Helgeland, a vast tract of country where the people submitted and acknowledged the Swedish authority in a general 'Thing' held on April 4. Nordmære, too, surrendered, whilst in the district of Romsdalen the Bailiff was killed and the inhabitants compelled to pay ransom. On April 28, the Sondmære was taken with some loss of life.

Now at length Collart could say that his task was fulfilled. Some of the troops were sent back to Sweden, and by March 29 he had dismissed 1800 men. He intended to start for Sweden himself at the end of April, but was detained by the great depth of snow. His idea was to leave Thronthjem under the guard of the German troops, but it was too late; relief came from Bergen, and the result was that the star of Claude's fortune now began to set as rapidly as it had formerly risen.

He had rendered himself an object of detestation to all Norwegians; many prominent persons had been put to death by his orders, many imprisoned; whilst as to the recalcitrant Jutes and Danes, the sole arguments he condescended to employ with them were fetters, a bullet, or the gallows. His dissolute habits, the vandalism he displayed in sacking the churches and destroying the venerable relics at Thronthjem, rendered him odious to all classes, and the Norwegians, who had been ready enough to swear allegiance to the Swedish

crown, now had no greater wish than to throw off a yoke which was becoming less and less bearable every day. Their discontent culminated when Claude issued an order for enrolling all of them, burgesses and peasants alike, in his army and compelling them to serve beyond the boundaries of their own country. A liberator was all they now waited for, and from Bergen, as said before, a liberator soon came.

Evert Bild, who on March 3 had surrendered at Stenviksholm, had recently effected his escape from Thronthjem with fifty men, and set out for Bergen with the view of obtaining a rescue. On his way he fell in with and captured a vessel sent by Collart from Thronthjem to the Netherlands laden with divers produce of the district, a sufficient proof that our hero was not ashamed of being true to his origin and of playing the part of trader, as well as of statesman and soldier. On reaching Bergen, Bild found the Governor of that city, Eric Rosenkrantz, busily engaged in collecting a force sufficient to recapture Thronthjem. It was a work of considerable difficulty, but at length the troops were got ready. They consisted chiefly of the garrison of Bergen itself, the burgesses (about sixty in number), and some Hanseatic contingents from the 'Contor.' The rest were peasants from Nord- and Sönd-hördland who had found themselves unwillingly obliged to serve in the militia, for which service all those capable of bearing arms were liable to be summoned.

His forces being at length assembled, Rosenkrantz appointed as admiral a nobleman of Halland, Eric Munk, an able and valiant soldier, who set sail for Thronthjem on April 30 with three vessels, one provided by the crown, one by the burgesses, and one by the German Contor. He was also accompanied by a number of boats manned by their peasant owners. On May 2 he was joined by Evert Bild and his sixty warriors.

On its way from Bergen the little fleet attempted to capture a Lieutenant of Claude's, who had been sent to receive the ransom of the district, but the Swede got timely warning and escaped together with his men. From him Collart himself got news of the approach of Bild and Munk, and was

enabled to prepare for them. The Norwegian fleet, however, destroyed near Agdenes a small squadron with two hundred men on board which Collart had despatched for the reduction of Bergen.

On May 3 Eric Munk was before the little fortress of Munkholmen which Collart had just quitted for Stenviksholm, whither the Norwegian army pursued him. From the 8rd to the 14th all operations were suspended owing to the severity of the weather, but the time was not wasted, further good understanding being arrived at with the malcontent population, who desired nothing better than to place themselves again under the supremacy of Denmark. At the same time several small detachments of Swedes were routed by the peasants, and at last Stenviksholm itself was blockaded whilst Collart was waiting for reinforcements from Sweden, which however did not arrive till his fate was sealed. Jönne Olsson and Knut Soop, who were in command of these reinforcements, were afterwards tried for their delay, but acquitted.

Here then was Claude Collart shut up in the old fortress of Stenviksholm with only 400 men, but no doubt determined to defend himself gallantly to the last. The blockade, however, proved a very simple affair; the Norwegians destroyed the Swedish defences by launching fire-ships against them; they erected batteries and intimidated the enemy by summary executions, some of Claude's lieutenants being even hanged on the gallows he had himself set up. But that which contributed most to his defeat was the cutting off of all supplies of both food and drink, the Swedes being reduced during the last eight days of the blockade, from May 18 to May 21, to drink sea-water.¹ Destitute of provisions and deserted by his subordinates, Claude was obliged to open negotiations with Munk on Pentecost, May 21.

He demanded free exit for himself and his troops as he had previously granted to Evert Bild, but this being refused he proposed to his companions to force a passage through the enemy's lines, he himself acting as their leader. But nobody

¹ From this it would appear that the large cisterns recently discovered in the ruins of Stenviksholm were of no advantage to Collart.

responded to the proposal; the roads were impassable, and it was too late to ask further aid from Sweden, so there was nothing left for Claude but to surrender at discretion, merely begging for Christian treatment. This took place on May 22, and a Danish fleet from Copenhagen having arrived in northern waters, all the provinces claimed by Denmark returned to their allegiance.

Great were the rejoicings when this welcome news reached Bergen, and the 'Te Deum' was sung. On July 9 letters patent were received from His Majesty from Copenhagen with orders to bring thither Claudius Gallus, his lieutenants, secretary and recorder, as well as the 700 men made prisoners at Thronthjem.

Meanwhile Claude had arrived at Bergen in the ship 'Bergens Falch,' commanded by Seffrin Jenssön. Absalon Pedersen Beyer, one of the Lutheran clergy of the place, whose account of these events is one of our chief sources of information, was assigned to him as confessor, and embarked with him on July 12. They left Bergen on the 18th, passed Böm-melö on the 21st, Karmö on the 22nd, Lindesnaes on the 25th, and arrived off Skagen on the 27th. Then passing Hjortesund on the 30th and Elsinore on the 31st, they finally reached Copenhagen on August 1 at daybreak.

That very night Claude was put in fetters, and at the same time several French pirates who had been captured in Norway were executed in the city.

On quitting the vessel, Collart walked to his prison, never to leave Denmark again. Considering his rank and position as a royal favourite, the Danes demanded for him a ransom of 1800 dollars, but their demand was not acceded to. A proposal was afterwards made for an exchange of prisoners, Claude being included amongst them. The King, however, had abandoned him, and from this time forth he disappears from the scene and is heard of no more.

The Danes judged his companions from Stenviksholm unworthy of being treated as soldiers. On August 15 King Frederick wrote to Rosenkrantz that he might act towards

hem as he pleased, advising him, however, to deal with them by civil law, as they had not behaved as soldiers.

Perhaps King Eric was also of this opinion, and may have extended the same contempt to the chief who had failed to imbue his followers with a more valiant spirit. At all events Collart was held responsible for the ill result of an enterprise the material success of which was impossible, as was proved by the wars of Charles XII. a hundred and fifty years afterwards. Eric abandoned his favourite in his misfortunes, influenced no doubt by others who had usurped his place and feared to see him reinstated in it. I allude more especially to Vice-Chancellor Jöran Persson, clever statesman and base executioner, the Tristan l'Hermite of Sweden.

A Sketch of the Dupuis Family.

By A. BULLOCK-WEBSTER.

I do not know what may be the feelings of others, but we who are descended from those skilful artisans, learned scholars, and, above all, those faithful martyrs who for conscience' sake gave up home, country, and worldly goods, are justly proud of our Huguenot origin, justly proud of being able to write the name of Dupuis by the side of Portal, Chabot, Romilly, and the long list of illustrious men who were founders of great industries which enriched the land in which they found a refuge.

The early history of the family of Dupuis is somewhat obscure, as there are no papers relating to it in existence of any date previous to about 1800, when Colonel Richard Dupuis compiled a pedigree and collected such information as he could from the members of the family then living. These details were afterwards arranged by his nephew, the Rev. Harry Dupuis, Vicar of Richmond, and form the basis of the present little sketch.

In the middle of the seventeenth century there resided near Bordeaux, a city long distinguished not only by enterprise in trade but also by strenuous defence of its rights and liberties, a certain Pierre Dupuis. Though apparently only a small *propriétaire*, he was a man of gentle birth, as is proved by his possession of armorial bearings, and no doubt cherished like a true Bordelais a warm and deep love for his native province and the little property inherited from his forefathers. But stronger and deeper than love of country and of ease was his devotion to what he deemed right and pleasing in the sight

of God, and warned by the events passing around him he resolved, shortly before the great storm of 1685 burst over France and desolated the homes of so many of his co-religionists, to quit the sunny vineyards by the broad Garonne and seek an asylum in England, escape to which seemed comparatively easy owing to the number of vessels constantly passing between Bordeaux and many of the English ports. Accordingly, having realised all he could of his property, Pierre disguised himself as a pedlar, bid adieu to his native place for ever, and set out on his perilous journey, whether alone or accompanied by wife or children we cannot say, it being uncertain whether he had any family of his own at that time. The probability, however, is that he had, and that he contrived to get these, his dearest possessions, away in safety before he himself started.

Of the details of his escape to the sea-board and voyage to England no record remains, but we find Pierre eventually settled in his new home with a family of five children gathered round him. With the exception of the eldest son Philip, little or nothing is known about any of them beyond the fact that two of the daughters married, one a Pullain, the other a Boucher, their husbands being no doubt fellow-refugees, as their names seem to denote.

Philip Dupuis married a Mrs. Margaret Walker, and both he and his wife lie buried with noble old Pierre in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Philip having died in 1706, Margaret in 1716. They too had five children, three of whom died young and rest in the same churchyard as their parents. Of the youngest we know nothing except that he bore his father's name, Philip, but of Abraham the eldest a fuller record has been preserved. He held a commission in the army, and fought at the battle of Dunblane or Sheriffmuir, that contest of dubious victory which has been immortalised by Burns.

Whether on the winning side or not we may be quite sure that the stout-hearted Huguenot was not of the number of those who took part in the 'running awa', and at all events he did such good service that he received a medal which is still in possession of the family. From the Twickenham

registers he appears to have held the rank of Captain. In 1725 he married Anna Stainsby, at that time Court-milliner to the Dowager Princess of Wales, mother of George III., and died in 1787 leaving his widow with two children. Both he and his wife are buried in a family vault at Fulham Parish Church. Their daughter Anna married, first, Anthony Wagner of Pall Mall, and secondly, Captain Francis Cooke of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, brother of the Dean of Ely and Provost of King's College, Cambridge. She left no children, and is buried in the Fulham vault with her two husbands.

Abraham the younger, son of Abraham and Anna Dupuis, was born in 1726. He was a prosperous London merchant, living and carrying on his business in Gracechurch Street, until the outbreak of the war with America put a stop to his relations with that country. He then retired to his property at Percy's Cross, Fulham, and there passed the remainder of his life. He too lies in the Fulham vault. In 1753 he had married Frances Batchellor, by whom he had six children; of these the four eldest died in early life, and the youngest, Richard, became Colonel of the 2nd Dragoon Guards (a regiment with which, as above mentioned, the Dupuis had already had some connection), and married Rebecca Kilderbee of Ipswich, but left no issue.

George, the eldest son of Abraham and Frances Dupuis who lived to attain manhood, was educated at Eton, and at Merton College and Christ Church, Oxford. He took Holy Orders, and in 1789 was presented to the living of Wendlebury in Oxfordshire, which he held for fifty years, till his death in 1839. In 1794, he married Caroline Elizabeth, only child of Edward Stevens, a Royal Academician, and intimate friend of Flaxman and Wedgwood, the latter of whom employed him in making designs for his celebrated pottery. Of their ten children, three are not unknown to many now living, viz. George, the eldest, who survived all his brothers and sisters, and died quite recently, Vice-Provost of Eton; General Sir John Dupuis, R.A., who died in 1876; and Harry, Vicar of Richmond from 1852-67. A full pedigree will be found in the 'Miscellanea Genealogica' for August 1879.

Edward Stevens, the Royal Academician, married Rachel, daughter of Benjamin Kishere, who had a porcelain manufactory at Mortlake, and it was at his father-in-law's house that Stevens became acquainted with Nollekens and Banks. By their advice he went to Rome in 1772 with his wife, to prosecute his art studies, and there he fell ill and died in 1775. His widow shortly afterwards returned to England, having in the meantime refused an offer of marriage from Sir Horace Mann, then in Rome as *Chargé d'Affaires*. After her father's death, Mrs. Stevens made her home with her son-in-law, the Rev. George Dupuis, at Wendlebury, where she died at the age of ninety-five. She was an intimate friend of Mrs. Trimmer, the founder of Sunday Schools, and originated one on that lady's plan in her grandson's parish, at a time when such teaching was in its earliest infancy.

In 1839 Mr. Dupuis died, beloved by all, rich and poor alike, and, with his wife, lies buried beneath the Communion-Table of Wendlebury Church. He was a strikingly handsome man, with a most benevolent expression of face; so much so that he was called by his friends 'the beauty of holiness.'

There are many portraits and miniatures of the older members of the family in existence, now in the possession of the Rev. George Dupuis of Sassay, Yorkshire, but the most valuable perhaps of the whole collection is unfortunately lost, that of Pierre Dupuis the refugee. His descendants, however, need no 'counterfeit presentment' to remind them of their noble-hearted ancestor, whose name and virtues will ever remain in their memory honoured and venerated as they deserve.

Huguenots in Scotland.

BY THE REV. A. W. CORNELIUS HALLEN, F.S.A. Scot.

A CAREFUL study of the subject I have undertaken has convinced me that were I given years to do so I should fail to bring before you facts equal in interest or number to those which illustrate the history of the Huguenots in England. As I met with disappointment after disappointment during my investigations, I felt inclined to throw up my hands and confess my inability to carry out my undertaking. I have, however, some doggedness, perchance inherited from Flemish ancestors, and therefore I stuck to my work, and will give you the result, trusting that this first attempt to throw light on the history of the Huguenots in Scotland may lead to further and more successful efforts. The circumstances which we find in Scotland in the sixteenth century are sufficiently well known to you, and are unlike those in England. Influenced by them, Scotland did not offer a refuge tempting to the strangers flying from Flanders and France; and apart from the disturbances of the times, it has ever been a characteristic of her people to hold aloof from foreigners, especially when their presence threatened a rivalry apparently hurtful to the interests of her own children. It is true that for many years she had maintained a close mercantile connection with Flanders, while to France the sons of her nobility and gentry had gone to gain skill and fame in war, and a knowledge of the arts and sciences. Flemish artificers had also come in great numbers to Scotland, and had settled in the districts near the coast and on the banks of the chief rivers, where they taught and practised the craft of weaving, salt-making, working in wood and metal, and also engaged in

mining. It is, however, a noticeable fact that they seem at once on touching Scottish soil to have lost their own distinct national marks. Flemish Christian names are exceedingly rare in old records, and the prefixes 'van' and 'de' are almost unknown. The same fact, however, is noticeable of Scotsmen in England, 'Mac' being very rare in 16th and 17th century registers. Chroniclers mention that the Stuarts, with a wise policy, encouraged the presence of Flemings, much as Edward III. did in England at an earlier date. I mention these facts as a probable cause why the Huguenots who arrived later on so quickly lost all outward marks by which alone we can trace their movements with any accuracy. There are other circumstances which add to the difficulties of the work. No official 'lists of strangers' were made in Scotland as in England. By treaties, dating 1359, 1448, and 1551, between Scotland and Flanders, the workmen of the latter nation were admitted as qualified to join the trade guilds, without membership with which no man could carry on his craft. When the Flemish Huguenots arrived their position was already defined, and without any formal naturalisation they mingled with the people. The earliest instance of any formal act of naturalisation is in 1661, when 'all strangers making cloth, soap,' &c., were made denizens; again, in 1671 Philip van der Straten was naturalised and received a licence to dress and refine wool at Kelso.¹ In England we derive much information from church registers. The old London registers alone are most instructive, and as the printing of them proceeds the histories of many Huguenot families will become clearly known, and England's debt to the whole body of strangers better realised. In Scotland, alas, the old registers were very carelessly kept, and none are as ancient as many of the London books; very few indeed date back to the 16th century. I have searched those most likely to contain entries of strangers without success; the designation 'stranger' or 'Dutchman' does not appear; at Dysart the designation 'Brabaner' is found in the burgh records, but in the church register nothing of the sort; yet between 1613 and 1640 I found such names

¹ Chambers's *Dom. Annals*, p. 346.

as Flucker, Latta, Dalein, Meline, Shegrein, Higgin, Hart, Hebron, Consalle, Huckar, and Dorkie; yet in no case was there a Christian name of evident Flemish origin. There were no Dutch or Walloon congregations in Scotland, save one in Edinburgh, which I shall mention presently, and, as no register books of this are known, we have not the assistance which such volumes as the 'Registers of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars,' give us in England. Possibly the form of worship which found favour in Scotland was readily accepted by the Huguenots, and the difficulties of worshipping in a strange tongue more easily overcome owing to the strong family likeness between Dutch and old Scotch.¹ I think that the Scottish people were not at that time likely to have looked favourably on the formation of separate places of worship. Very possibly this is the reason why the only foreign congregation that is met with owed its existence to a special Act of Parliament passed 1587 (Cap. 119)² in favour of 'John Gardin, Philip Fermant, and John Banko, Flemings, for five years, for establishment of manufactures of searges, growgrams, fustians, bombesis, stemmings, beys, covertours of beds, the work-people to have a kirk and minister of their own.' It is very evident that the Scots took heed to the religious opinions of these strangers, for we find in the 'Edinburgh City Records,' May 8, 1588, 'By reason of the difference in matters of religion between the kirk and two Fleming Webstars dwelling within the Burgh called [names illegible], ordain them to despatch and end their work by 1 September next, and in the meantime to convene and confer with the minister, and if they do not agree with the kirk to remove forth of the realme.' These men may have been Anabaptists. The information I have succeeded in gathering from many sources will appear, I fear,

¹ The Protestants abroad found no difficulty in admitting English and Scottish divines to officiate in their churches, and even to take charge of their congregations. In page 38 of our last report I find that in 1559 John Knox was for seven weeks pastor of the Reformed Church at Dieppe; this was before May when he returned to Scotland. Short as his ministry was, it shows the close alliance which rendered separate places of worship needless here as it was in England.

² For text of the Act see end of paper. Note specially § 8.

in rather a patchwork form ; but I think it will be sufficient to indicate the presence of a large number of Flemish and Walloon Huguenots in Scotland during the latter portion of the sixteenth century and the earlier portion of the seventeenth. They are referred to without special notice—a clear proof that there was nothing unusual in their presence. In England the presence of Huguenots is to be accounted for, not only that they at first sought a refuge, but that they were afterwards attracted by the opening offered them of succeeding in such trades and handicrafts as were well-nigh ruined in their own land. The same causes doubtless led them to Scotland, and thus we find it impossible to distinguish between the religious and the prudential feeling which influenced those who fled from a land where trade was dying and liberty of conscience impossible. In 1588 we read of a ship that 'brocht hame the Flemyng Wobsters, Walkers, Wevers and Litsters,' and a month later a sum of 68*l.* Scot. was paid to these people 'for their charges and expenses in transporting them their wives children and families to this burgh' ('Ed. Burg. Rec.'). We have no indication as to the numbers who came in this ship, or how many vessels were employed in like manner. In November of the same year the 'Flemyng stranger weavers' were 'put to work and ordered to have their names enrolled'; but no trace of the list can be found. Next year, in February, some of these strangers moved to St. Andrews, leaving behind them a debt of four hundred marks, which the Town Council voted towards the reparation of the Fraynche kirk in Trinity College. It is certain, however, that though the Scotch had a shrewd appreciation of the value to be got out of the Flemings in their distress they also showed their sympathy with a cause which was indeed so full of interest to themselves;¹ in 1575

¹ A ballad written soon after the massacre of St. Bartholomew shows that the Scots saw the danger of suffering France to pursue her course of persecution and the advantage of an alliance with England; it is entitled 'Ane new Ballet set out be ane fugitive Scottisman that fled out of Paris at this lait murder,' and presses upon Elizabeth the prudence of united and vigorous measures of defence.

Now, wyse Quene Elizabeth, link to yourself,
Dispite them, and wryte thame ane bill of defyanee,

a collection was made in Edinburgh for the benefit of the French Protestants in great poverty who had taken refuge in London, and we read in the diary of James Melville that in 1586 a considerable number of exiles, including Pierre du Moulin, a minister of Paris, came to Edinburgh, where the magistrates gave them a common hall of the University for their worship, along with a stated allowance of money for support of their clergy. This congregation is the one to which I have already referred, as is shown by the following extract taken from the 'Ed. Burgh Records,' 'Anent the Fraynch Kirk to come to this burgh.'

' 11 May, 1586.

' Anent the heids and articles gevin in before thame for the pairt of the ministeris of the Frayneche Kirk that is to cam heir to mak residence at the Kings Majesties desyre, als weil for thame selffis as for sic utheris of that nationn that will follow thame, off the guhilk the tenour followis : First, thay desyre of the guid towne ane tempill sufficientlie to be provydet and put in decent ordour. Secondlie, ane ludgein for the ministeris provydet frelie with fyve chalmeris, als neir the kirk as it may be gottin, and helpit with sum movebills after the guid townis discretionn. Thirddie, that the said Frayneche strayngeris may huif ane testimoniall of my lord provest, bayleis, counsall and dey kins, to be welcum and visit freyndlie to do thair honest besynes and exerceis thair particularecraftis without impediment as thair awin frie burgessis. Last, gif any uther thing be thocht necessar or expedient that sall nocht be preiudiciall to the towne that may serve the said strayngeris, without the guhilk thai can nocht be commdet, that of the townis guid will thai may be helpit (p. 458).' All requests are agreed to.

Besides the 'Fraynch kirk' there was also a French school.

The Papistis and Spanyards hes partit your pelf,
As newly and trewly was tald me thir tythance,
Beleve thay to laird heir, and get us for nocht;
Will ye do as we do, it sall be deir bocht.

The calendar of State Papers, Scot, mentions a riot of the salt-makers on the coast of Fife, May 3, 1564, in behalf of the Protestant cause; most of these men were Flemings.

An interesting paper was read by the late David Laing before the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh in 1865, on Esther L'anglois, the wife of Bartholomew Kello and the daughter of Nicholas L'anglois, who, with his wife, Marie Prisott, and their infant children, fled from France after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The city treasurer's accounts, 1578-9, March, state :

'Item to Nicholas Langloys Francheman and Marie Prisott his spouse for thair help and releif of sum debt contractit be thame in the zeir of God 1578, 70*l*.

'1581. *July*.—Item to Nicholas Langloys Francheman, Master of the French scole, conforme to his Ma^{ties} precept, 80*l*.'

I find also mention made of French teachers about the same time at Perth—Alexander Rowland at Aberdeen, 1635 ; and Lewis de France, 1675 ; and Montrose, where the teacher's name was Marsilliers, in 1586. The Edinburgh Town Council exempted Henry Howpe, burges of Deip, from payment of his interest in respect 'he is banist for the caus of religion' ('E.B.R.') Again, in 1587, 'wark lomes' (i.e. tools for labour) are provided for 'twa Fraynchmen calsay-makers' (i.e. causeway-makers) ('E.B.R.') These men were employed to repair the causeways in the Cowgate.¹ I have failed to find that any of these

¹ For the information of our English readers we will explain that the word 'calsay' is a well-known old form of causeway. Jamieson, in his *Scottish Dictionary*, gives 'Calsay, s., causeway, streets'; Acts James VI., Part 13, 'Act for mending of the Calsay of the Cannowgait and outw^e the Watterzett,' A.D. 1597.

'Scharp hailstanyes

Hoypand on the thak (thatch) and the causay.'

DOUGLAS'S *Virgil*, 202, 32.

Phrases.—'Causey-webs,' persons who neglected their work and were always on the street. 'Causey-cloaths,' dress for public use—for wearing on the street.

Bad as the country roads were in Scotland, much care was bestowed on the making and repairing the streets in Burghs, and many Acts of Parliament were passed in connection with them. The superior skill of the foreign workmen led to their employment. In the city of Edinburgh a special toll, denominated 'Causeway Mail,' was levied on all vehicles from time immemorial; this toll latterly amounted to 2,500*l*. per annum. On May 15 this year (1887) it was abolished by an Act of Parliament, passed 1878. This fact makes it the more desirable to explain the exact meaning of a word which will now soon grow obsolete. No connection exists between 'calsay' and 'kersey' (cloth) as might be thought from the previous mention of 'looms,' which have been so long con-

strangers rose to high position in the State or in the city, unless John Moyses, Walker, who in 1584 was a deacon in the City Council, may be reckoned as one. A Fleming, Eustachius Roche, succeeded in acquiring a competency. Chambers, in his 'Annals of Scotland,' speaks of this man, somewhat contemptuously, as a mere adventurer. In 1588, however, he had a patent from James VI. for making salt (Stat. Pap. Scot.), and the 'Edin Burgh Records' show that he was a householder possessed of some property; he had a knowledge of mining—a business much taken up by strangers, for in 1567 Cornelius de Vos, a Dutchman whose name is found in English records, had a licence to search for gold and silver; after him came Abraham Gray, a Dutchman. Both these men are stated to have come from England with recommendations from Queen Elizabeth. Waldgrave, and Vautrollier, printers,

nected solely with 'weaving-loom' that its wider meaning has been utterly lost sight of. We give Jamieson's definition:—

'Loom, s. An utensil of any kind. *Vide* Lome.

'Lome, pronounced lume. An utensil or instrument of any kind, or for whatsoever use.

"Eneas . . .

With lume in hand fast wirkand like the laif."

DOUGLAS'S *Virgil*, 169, 25.

Werk-lome is often applied to instruments used in labour. s. Warkloom.

"Al instruments of pleuch, graith, irnit, and steil,

As culturis, sokkys, and the sowmes grete,

War thidder brocht, and tholis tampyr new,

The liest of all sic *werklomes* wer adew,

They did thame forge in swerdis of metal brycht,

For to defend thare cuntrie and thare richt."

DOUGLAS'S *Virgil*, 230, 31.

'Brewlumes, milklumes. A.S. ge-loma, utensilia. Heir-loom = hereditary supellex.'

It will thus be seen that to speak of the 'looms of Flanders' is incorrect unless with the explanatory prefix 'weaving.' It is clear that the Frenchmen or Walloons mentioned in the Burgh Records were men skilled in making such paved streets as existed at that day, and that the city authorities provided them with tools and set them to work to repair the Cowgate, one of the main thoroughfares. In the Act of Parliament in favour of 'craftis-men Flemynge' the word 'werk-loom' occurs, meaning there a weaver's work-loom or machine. In reading old Scottish documents the nature of the 'werk-loom' will be found to vary with the handicraft of the user of it.

In the glossary of words in 'Records of the Royal Burgh of Peebles' *wark loom* = utensil.

were Huguenots of whom mention is made (Stat. Pap. Scot.) Bassendyne, the printer of the Bible in Scotland, is stated to have been born in the country: he however was for some time a printer in Antwerp, and there is reason to think his origin was Flemish. Scotland enjoyed peace for some time before the accession of her sovereign to the English throne, and felt the good effects of that event. The state and municipal records of the period show that trade and manufacture made great advances. References to the Huguenots are, however, few and far between; and are valuable chiefly as showing that the presence and usefulness of these men was recognised, and that they attracted no particular attention. They found employment not only in burghs but in country districts; in fact, complaint is made of their outwitting their rustic neighbours—'There is much more cloth woven, and living made, and more clothmakers resident in landward (i.e. rural districts), than in the said free burghs . . . and through their own inability and the iniquity of strangers, they sustained great loss' (July 2, 1605, 'Rec. Conv. of Bur.') Several Flemish strangers were brought from England by the agency of the Convention of Royal Burghs in February 1601. Twenty such men came from Norwich, settling, in the first place, in Edinburgh, but passing on to Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen ('Rec. Conv. of R. Burghs'). In July 1601 twelve more arrived, and a list of their names is preserved.¹ The frequent occurrence of Flemish names in the weaving-villages in the Perth district shows how numerous these people were. The baptismal register of Muthill, which commences nearly a century later, abounds with Flemish names. Their presence in this remote village was doubtless due to the fact that Sir Patrick Drummond, a cousin of the Earl of Perth, who was the resident proprietor, was appointed conservator of the

¹ Men engaged by Gabriel Byschop, Flemyng, of Norwich, July 10, 1601: George Bawert, 'Plotter and Comber,' Ayr; Jhon Stirman, 'Comber'; Abigail Vanhurst, 'Spinner Woman,' Perth; Henry de Turk, 'Spinner and Weaver,' Dundee; Christian de Reill, 'Weaver'; Jacob or Jaques Claers, 'Weaver,' Ayr; Gellis Pakkat; Jurane Knykreyn; Jacob Peterson, 'Shearer,' Perth; Aron Janson, 'Shearer,' Ayr; Claes Losser, 'Shearer,' Dundee; Jaques de Bodge, 'Comber and Spinner,' Perth; Cornelius Dermis, 'Weaver,' Dundee.

Scottish trade at Campvere in Holland A.D. 1625, deposed 1640, but afterwards restored. Many Flemings, who had fled to Holland, probably came to Scotland through the agency of the Scottish factory at Campvere in Zealand, of which much might be written.¹ I have noticed a fact which is a clear and important indication of the rapid increase of Flemish weavers in Scotland about this time. Manorial meal-mills, paying rent to the Crown as such in the fifteenth and the earlier part of the sixteenth century, were converted into 'waulk-mills,' a name the presence of which has been held sufficient proof of the influence of Flemings in Lancashire; in Scotland we must accept it as of equal weight.

FRENCH HUGUENOTS OF 1685.

I would now treat of the second great epoch in the history of the Huguenots—the presence in Britain of those who escaped from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. I wish I could afford you some interesting information as to the position in, and influence on, Scotland of these later refugees. Alas, much less is known about them than of the earlier Flemish and Walloon strangers. The language our historians have habitually used has made us regard France as the old and affectionate ally of Scotland. We might therefore expect that Frenchmen would have come to Scotland with far greater readiness than did the Flemings in earlier days; but such certainly was not the case. To account for this, we must recognise that the alliance between France and Scotland in the sixteenth century was the result of State policy; it was not popular in its origin, and its influence on the Reformation had been injurious. It was of a nature much more likely to be made much of by the old school of historians than was the more substantial but less brilliant alliance with Flanders. But, more meteoric, its brilliancy was fast dying out in the mind of the nation. The long and

¹ Frequent mention of this place is to be found in the *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs* (5 vols.) A paper was read by the late Dr. Laing to the Society of Antiquaries (Scot.) in 1858 (see *Transactions*, vol. iii.) giving an account of the marriage of Wolfert, Lord of Campvere, with Mary, daughter of King James I. of Scotland.

peaceful reign of James VI. made Scotsmen value the benefits to be derived from trade with England and Flanders above the more unsubstantial advantages of French refinement or the more subtle advantages of French learning. The troubles of the Civil War made the mass of the people mistrust France, whose rulers sided with the Royalist party. Nor was this mistrust lessened—it was rather increased—when, after the Restoration, both Charles II. and James II. proved themselves the tools of French intrigue, and were suspected of a desire to reintroduce Popery by French assistance. The later French Huguenots, as a class, were not likely to ingratiate themselves with the middle classes in Scotland, and they certainly were not cordially received by the nobility and gentry, who were then, as now, mostly Tory and High Church. The Huguenots, refined in mind, and many of them of good lineage, and naturally clinging to all that was left them in their exile—a noble and unspotted name—would shrink from a reception cold and unsympathetic, as it too often must have been. In England, from their numbers, they could form coteries for themselves; and they found a field where their industry and military talents were appreciated. They were permitted to rise to high positions in the army and in the Church. Hence it is that so many founded families in England which still maintain their ancient lustre. I have not been able to discover in Scotland one family of high social position descended from a French Huguenot of the later period: not one pedigree of such a family is enrolled at the Lyon office, which answers to the English College of Arms. Of the four hundred families mentioned by Smiles in his appendix to his ‘Huguenots,’ only nine seem to have been in any way connected with Scotland. Nor is Mr. Agnew, himself a Scotsman, more communicative. I cannot trace the presence of French names as I have traced Flemish names in any district of Scotland. Some, of course, came: we have a proof of their presence in a Bill of Naturalisation passed 1707, just before the Act of Union.¹ A small

¹ *List of names. Act of Naturalisation, Scotland, 1707.*

Col. Scipio Hill,
Henry Verrière,

Joshua Legoux,
Francis Gobron,

colony existed in the suburbs of Edinburgh. Lord Hailes, a great antiquary, left a MS. note, to the effect that some French Huguenots planted mulberry trees on the slope of Moultrie Hill, in the Barony of Broughton—a spot now occupied by the buildings at the back of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. But, finding that the manufacture of silk from the worms they fed did not answer, they gave up their undertaking and took to linen-weaving, being employed by a company now known as 'The British Linen Company Bank.' Smiles states that Charlot was one of this band, and the name occurs in the Bill of Naturalisation I have mentioned. From the city records we learn that they were provided with a place of worship by the Town Council, and an allowance for their minister. This was in consequence of an Act of Parliament passed 1690, by which the council had to pay 800*l.* per annum to the minister.¹ I have been informed

John Cadour,
Theodore Dury,
Daniel Charlot,
John Burgaud,
✓ James Cavalier,
Peter Charanton,
Peter Cregut,
Jeremiah Bossuque,
Balthazar Guydette,
Mr. James le Blanc,
Daniell Lasagette,
Robert Keith,
William Garshore,
James Binet,
Paull Roumieu,
Peter Petite,
Eneas Leblanc,
George Keith,
John Medina,

Peter Bishop alā La Marr, —
Mr. John Godfrey,
Francis Loumeau Du Pont,
Andrew Ferre,
James Kremberg,
Henry Hue,
— Laurence,
Matther and David Laurence,
Lieut. James, Peter, and Frederick Bruce,
David Pirie,
Kenneth Smith,
Henry Cramden,
James Morgin,
— Fashier,
John Medina,
Francis Borie,
Anthony Robyne,
John Hamilton

Of these Paul Roumieu was, I believe, a watchmaker in Edinburgh, and had a shop in the Nether Bow, over the door of which, by way of sign, was a piece of mechanism which went by wheels; the remains of this were in existence not more than fifty years ago. I think that reference to it is to be found in an early volume of 'Good Words,' in a story 'Lady—and her maiden'; also in Chambers's traditions of Edinburgh.

¹ Amongst the documents belonging to the Edinburgh Town Council is one which I have not yet seen, dated October 31, 1768, 'Letter of Resignation of room in the College by the Minister of the French Congregation in Edinburgh.'

that a library belonging to this congregation was sold about a hundred years ago, but I have not been able to verify the statement. There were also some foreign, probably Huguenot, linen-weavers at Drumsheugh, near Edinburgh, and it is related that a Dunfermline weaver early in last century visited their works and surreptitiously made himself master of their secret process; possessed of it, he returned to his home, and may be said to have created the present celebrated linen trade of Dunfermline; but in the records of that Burgh I cannot find any trace of Huguenots. As in earlier days, the Church was not unmindful of the sufferings of these French exiles, for we find that collections were made and assistance sent to them in England and abroad; but no reference can be found of any colony in Scotland receiving aid. As Kirk session records are now being carefully examined, and as the value of family papers is better understood, it is quite possible that we may yet learn more on this subject. Indeed it is my chief excuse for venturing to offer you a paper containing so little information that I trust it may induce others to labour in the same field, possibly with more success, certainly with more ability, but not, I venture to assert, with a greater desire to throw light on the history of a race of men who, I believe, conferred on the land which received them blessings hitherto very imperfectly appreciated. Our Society is largely composed of the descendants of Flemings, Walloons, and Frenchmen who at different times, but from the same cause, left home but not hope behind. It is our duty to them to show the good they did, and the consideration of their work will establish in our own minds a sense of the value of holding fast that which is true, and noble because it is true.

ACTA PARLIAMENTORUM JACOBI VI. C. 119,

Act in favour of the craftismen flemyngis.

(1.) Oure souerane lord and thrie estaittas of pis pñt parliamēt upoun þe humill supplicatioun of Johne gardin philp fermant and Johne banko flemyngis strangeiris and warkmen haifing considera-

tioun þat the saidē strangeairis ar cum within þis realme to exercise þair craft and occupatioun in making of searges growgrams fusteanis bombesies stemmīgis beyis covertorē of beddis and uperis appertening to þr said craft and for instructioun of þe saidē liegis in þe exercise of þe making of þe warkis and hes offerit to oʳ said souerane lord and hail cōmoun weill of þis realme the experience and suir knowlege of þair lauboʳē qlk will tend to ane perpetuall floresching of þe said craft within þis realme. Thairfoir oure said souerane lord and thre estaittis foirsaidē hes thoʳ ressonable and expedient and for the cōmoun weill of þe realme hes aggreit and concludit wʳ the saidē craftismen and strangeairis foirsaidē upoun þe particulair heidē and articles following. That is to say þe saidē craftismen sall remane wʳin this realme for the space of fyve ȝeiris at þe leist efter the dait heirof and salbring within þis realme the nowmer of xxx personis of wabsteris walkaris and sic uperis as may wirk and pforme þe said wark as alsua ane litstair or ma for litting and perfitting of þair saidē warkis and þr thai and þr seruandē walkaris wobstaris and litstaris to be brocht hame be þame sal mak and pfitte þr steikis and peeces of warkis according as þe samin ar or hes bene maid in flanderis holland or England kepand lenth breid and fynes conforme to þe rule and stile of the buik of þe craft foirsaid pñtit befor his Maʳie be þe saidis craftismen Sene cōsiderit allowit markit and autorizit be his hienes and deliverit in keping to þe superintendent of þe said craft and keipare of his hienes sell þrof efterspecificit.

(2.) Item the saidis craftismen ar oblist be þir pñtis to tak na prenteiss bot scottis boyis and madinnis of this realme and before onie utheris the burges bairnis of Edinburgh to be preferrit and acceptit upoun þe conditionis following to wit to be prenteiss be þe space of fyve ȝeiris and þat þe saidē strangeairis sall learne þair prenteiss sum pairt of þ craft qʳby þ labouris may be worth þ meat and clething within þe space of halff ane ȝeir efter þ entrie and þ saidē mʳē sall instruct þame in the haill pointis of þ said craft within þe space of fyve ȝeiris and sall hyde na pairt þof fra thame and alsua sall furnishe þame ressonable in meit drink clething bedding wesching and wringing ffor the qlkis causs to be performit be þe saidē strangeairis to þ prenteiss during the said space of fyve ȝeiris. The saidis prenteiss and ilk ane of þame sall pay to þ mʳē for ilk ane of þ prenteisseis the sowme of fourty poundis scottis money for eilk man chield and twenty pund for ilk madin A Clʳ Reġrj alsua þ saidē strangeairis ar oblist be þ pñtis not to suffer ony personis of þair awin natioun and vocation to beg or trouble this cuntrie for povertie and þat þai sal interteny thame be þ warkis and furnessing

conforme to þe ordor obstruit be þ nation in Ingland and þe price of the said seillis to be payit be þe byaris of þe said stuff.

(3.) Item to þe effect þat his Ma^{ties} lieges be not dissavit nor preiudgeit to þe said strangeairis unsufficient wark bot þat þe samin wark and every peice and parcell þof salbe als sufficient as ony uper siclyk stuff that is maid in þe said cuntries of flanderis holland or Ingland according to þe reull and forme of þe buik of þe said craft producit and mkit as said is. Thairfoir his Ma^{tie} w^t avis foirsaid hes appointit constitute and ordanit ane honest and discreit man Nicolas udwart burges of Edinbur^t to be visitor and o'sear of þe said craftismen hail warkis steikis and peeces and to try the sufficiencie þof and to keip his hienes seill stamp and Irne for marking þairof ffor the qlk seill and furnessing of Irnes and lead þairto as alsua þe timmer and lomes quhairupon þai stent the said stuff. The said Nicolas salhave sic dueties as is cōtenit wⁱⁿ the said buik and as is cōmounlie usit to be payit þfoir in flanderis holland or Ingland quhilk office his Ma^{tie} w^t avis foirsaid gevis and disponis to the said Nicolas during his lyvetime and be þpūtis exemis him fra all extēte watcheing wairding and uperis chairges and Impositionis quhatsumeuer alsfrelie as þe said strangeairis ar exempt þfra and þat for guid cōsiderationis moving his Ma^{tie}.

(4.) And his Ma^{iestie} willing to gratifie the saidis strangers for thair gude offices forsaidis hes grantit and be thir pūtis grantis to the saidis strangers and workmen ane patent place within the burgh of Edinburgh or within ony uther burgh wⁱⁿ this realme quhair they sall remane upoune the ordinar mēat dayes of the said burrowis to sell thair maid steikis and peces of stuff to the lieges of this real^m, providing that thay sall sell na wool nor worsett befoir the same be put in wark. Alsua that the burgh quhair thay duell and usis thair craft sall appoint thame sufficient places to sett up treis draw and dry thair stuff and uther neidfull thingis for thair craft upoun ressonable payment conforme to the ord^r of thair said buke.

(5.) Item his hienes with avise foirsaid be thir pūtis exemis the saidis strangers thair cumpanyes servandis and prentiss fra all taxationis subsideis tributis impositionis watching warding stenting and utheris chargeis quhatsumevir within burgh or outw^t the same. And ordanis that the magistrattis of the burgh of Edinburgh and utheris quhair they sall remane to mak thame burgess of thair burgh and grant thame the libertie thairof gratis during thair remaning. And als his Ma^{iestie} grantis to thame the libertie and privilege of naturalizatioun and to be as frē within this realme during thair remainig as gif thay wer borne within the samyn.

And that thair lauchfull barnis sall brouke the saidis privilegis as gif thay wer naturalizat or borne Scottismen.

(6.) Alsua his Maiestie ordanis the provest and baillies of Edinburgh and of the uther burrowis quhair the saidis strangers salhappin to mak residence to furneis and deliver to ilk ane of the saidis thre workmen ane sufficient worklwme to begyn thair work and na further.

(7.) Item it is permittit that strangers may bye the saidis personis steikis of work in the oppin mercat allanerlie. And alsua that thay may cheise to thame selffis within the said burgh of Edinburgh and libertie thair of or ony uther burgh of this realme ane convenient place for the use of wattir to thame and thair servandis and to ane walker and littistair conforme to thair said buik. And that thair servandis and prentisse that sall cum within this realme salbe exemit fra all exactionis as said is. And alsua salbe reburat and payit of pair expense and passage cūing be sey be the Magistrattis of the burgh quhair thay sall arryve and mak residence thay being alwyse craftismen hable to exercise the said vocation.

(8.) It is alsua grantit be his Maiestie with advise foirsaid that the saidis flemyngis craftismen and thair cumpanyes quhen they ar ane sufficient nowmer and sall require ane kirk and mister to be the kirk of thair natioun That the samyn salbe permittit to thame upoun thair expenses ressonable for mantenyng of the kirk and sustentyng of ane mister thairat as thay can aggre with the parteis providing that thay and thair congregatioun of the said kirk salbe subject to the disciplene and professioun of the kirk of Scotland and to the ecclesiasticall and civile lawes thair of.

(9.) And lykewyse it is permittit be his Maiestie that the saidis craftismen may bring within this realme and interteny within the same ane wricht of thair awin cuntrie for making of thair worklwmes quha salbe exemit and brouke thair liberties foirsaidis as thame selffis.

(10.) And for the bettir furtherance of this gude and godlie interprise his Maiestie with advise foirsaid gevis and assignis to the saidis thre strangers and thair cumpanyes the sowme of ane thousand merkis money of this realme. To be payit to thame of the first and reddiet of the guidis qlkis salhappin to be maid be thame for the dewtye of his Maiesties custome qlk salbe ressavit for ilk steik and pece of thair work and laboure and that to be payit efter the said nowmer of threttie workmen be brocht in and plantit within this realme.

(11.) Item his Maiestie with advise of the saidis thre estaittis declaris and ordanis that ilk steik and pece of the saidis craftismen

work sall pay to his hienes be the workers thair of for his Maiesties custume of the same sic custumes and dewetye as is payit thairfore in flanders holand or england conforme to the said buik and valoure of the said stuff as salbe gevin in table to the said Nicolas udwart quhome his Maiestie alsua be thir pñtis constitutis ressaver of the said custume and dewetye during the space fairsaid.

(12.) And the saidis strangers and workmen pñtie within this realme or that salhappin to cum within the same to the effect fairsaid salbe bund and obleist to pñt thame selffis befor the provost baillies and counsale of the saidis burrowis Befoir thay be admittit to brouke the privilegis abouewrittin and thair gif thair aythis for obsving of the lawes of this realme spirituall and temporall and for dew obedience to his Maiestie and his successouris thair Jugeis and officiaris thair superintendent and owersear as accordis to the lawes of this realme, and that they sall remain within this realme at thair work and sall not vaig thairfra during the said space of fyve zeiris and further during thair remanig within this realme.—
Extracted from the 'Acts of the Parliament of Scotland,' vol. iii. p. 507.

Foreign Settlers at Colchester and Halstead.

By W. J. HARDY, F.S.A.

AMONGST the records of the Court of Exchequer I have noticed some depositions taken in the year 1618 relating to the weaving trade followed by the Dutch congregation at Colchester which I think may be of interest to the Society. Let me say at the outset that I have made no elaborate researches into the subject of the settlement at Colchester, the history of which may, I believe, be fully sketched from materials preserved to us. I am simply bringing to the Society's knowledge the existence of the Exchequer record, and the few disjointed notes I have made in looking amongst the State Papers, and elsewhere, for anything illustrative of the dispute.

We learn from these Exchequer proceedings that in the year 1617 the Dutch congregation at Colchester exhibited a petition to the Privy Council against John Fitz John (deputy Alnagar to the Duke of Lennox, the King's Alnagar for sealing broadcloths and other draperies in the county of Essex) and John Withers.

The office of Alnagar is a very ancient one; it is mentioned in a statute of the 25th year of Edward III.'s reign; his duty was to examine the quality of cloth made throughout the land. The Dutch complained that these two persons had forcibly sealed certain Stametts (a particular kind of cloth made by the Dutch congregation) in Colchester, 'supposing,' i.e. alleging, the same to be *old* draperies, whereas the Dutch alleged they were *new*. This, the congregation complained, was contrary to the privilege of quiet enjoyment of their trade granted them by Queen Elizabeth and by the then king, James I.

Withers had exhibited four 'Informations' in the Court

of Common Pleas against the Dutch for making, since the previous March, *broadcloths* at the rate of forty cloths apiece, called 'handy warpes.' These, the Dutch alleged, were *new draperies* called *blue-list bayes*. It also appears that the Dutch themselves acted as deputy-Alnagars to the Duke for sealing bayes and new draperies in Colchester, presumably those of their own make.

A Commission was issued out of the Exchequer to examine witnesses as to :—

(1.) The length, breadth, and weight of the stametts and handy warpes or blue-list and country bayes so called by the said Dutchmen, being one piece of stuff or cloth.

(2.) Whether these were broadcloths or not, or whether they were sold as stametts and handy warpes or blue-list or country bayes, or as new draperies.

(3.) Whether the said stametts &c. were of the same kind of cloth usually used in England before the Dutch came.

(4.) Whether making stametts was first brought in by the said Dutch.

On the return of this Commission the question of the further manufacture of them was to be settled by the Court of Exchequer. Meanwhile Withers was not to prosecute his Informations, and the Dutch were to peaceably continue sealing their 'stametts' till it should appear that the same cloth was anciently made by Englishmen.

The depositions were duly taken, and by them we learn that at their first coming the Dutch made three sorts of 'bayes,' called 'four and fifties,' 'sixties,' and 'eight and sixties.' After they had been at Colchester about six years they began to make 'fourscore bayes,' and, about 1580, 'hundred bayes.' Soon after 1576 they began to make 'stametts' and the 'country bayes,' now called 'blue-list bayes.' These draperies were made of fleece and 'skynwool.' The Dutch never used broad looms.

The witnesses agree that the broadcloth and 'handwarpe' cloths were made in different parts of Essex before the arrival of the Dutch. The blue-lists are narrower than the handwarpe cloths. The blue-list bayes and the stametts were sold

as new draperies, and not made before the Dutch came. One witness (an Englishman) describes the difference between the handwarpe cloths and the blue-list bayes. 'The warpe of the handwarpes,' he says, 'is spun with the rocke, and the warpe of the blue-lists is spun with a long wheele. The rock-spun doth twist, and the other doth untwist, and so the spinning of the blue-lists is much weaker.'

Blue-list bayes were sixty yards in length, and stametts thirty-four or thirty-five yards. All agree that stametts were not sold as English cloths or old draperies, but as new draperies; and that they were the same as those usually made by the settlers at Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton. I have not found any decree in this case.

The witnesses tell us that the first Dutch settlers arrived at Colchester about the year 1568; some allude to stray arrivals so early as 1560. On their first coming they carried on the occupation of gardening and hop-planting, and making 'lyncey wolsey' and other 'small stuff.' Their extensive weaving operations developed after they had been settled at Colchester a few years.

The witnesses also agree in stating that the English in due course began to make blue-list bayes, and that the Dutch made a proposition to the effect that the 'better sort' made by themselves or by the English should be brought to the 'Hall' and go under the name of '*Dutch*,' and that 'worsen' sort should 'go' as country bayes. Not unnaturally, the English viewed this proposal as 'utterly distasteful,' because, by it, the Dutch would get the credit of the English 'ware' and leave the 'worsen' sort to the credit of the English. One of the English weavers refused to bring his blue-list bayes to the Hall, and so the Dutch refused to seal his 'hall baies.' With regard to the 'Hall' here spoken of, nearly every one of the witnesses tells the same story,—namely, that almost immediately after their arrival at Colchester, the Dutch used 'a common hall' for their assemblies; and at meetings held there from time to time made orders and constitutions concerning the making of 'bayes' and 'sayes,' though the 'country bayes' or 'stametts' were not 'halled.' For

this Hall they paid an annual rent to the town of Colchester.

The Rev. Philip Morant, in his 'History of Colchester,' 1748 (Book I. p. 74), minutely describes the strangers' method of sealing and searching 'bays' and 'says' at their Hall. He refers to the trade being first 'sensibly hurt' by the wars of Queen Anne, which he describes as 'more glorious than profitable to England.'

A few of the names of the Dutchmen at Colchester appear, and the ages of some of them at the time of taking the depositions (1618) are given :—

Malliard Casier, 'merchant,' aged about 58.

Michael de Butter Drier (*sic*), 'Baymaker,' aged about 75.

Hugh de Lobell, 'merchant,' aged about 69.

Andrew Hart (? Hatt), 'Baymaker,' aged about 64.

Jacob Ruben, 'Baymaker,' aged about 45.

Symon Ricarde and Abraham Vangover, whose ages are not stated.

You have probably noticed that the Dutch witnesses state that the first arrival of strangers in any number at Colchester was in the year 1568, but that a few had come there in 1560. Morant states that their arrival was in 1570. He quotes a letter from the Bailiffs of the town to the Privy Council, written in the August of that year, which states that 'of late' the Dutch had come to Colchester from Sandwich to the number of about fifty persons, 'small and great,' and that they had made their abode in Colchester 'longer time than other strangers have been accustomed.' The wording of this letter seems to point to the date mentioned by the witnesses being the more correct one. The Bailiffs' letter goes on to say that the strangers were 'partly the dispersed flock' driven out of Flanders for conscience' sake, for fear of the Duke of Alva, and that they do not purpose to use any trade then practised at Colchester by the inhabitants. The Bailiffs added their opinion that the presence of the strangers was a great benefit to the town, and asked the Privy Council to consent to their residence there. Morant could not find the answer returned by the Privy Council, but permission must have been duly

given, as he prints a letter, written in the following March, which alludes to the quiet and good behaviour of the strangers then settled at Colchester. He goes on to say that Walsingham, Burleigh, and the Earl of Salisbury were often obliged to support the 'strangers' against the 'natural jealousy' of 'the rude and meaner' of the inhabitants of the town.

In 1580 the authorities at Colchester found it necessary to put some limit on the number of strangers arriving in the town, and I have found among the State Papers¹ the following petition from the English preachers in Colchester, addressed to Walsingham, and dated on the 4th of September in that year.

'Right Honorable, our Dueties premised, upon the pitifull request of our Christian brethren of the Dutche Church and Congregaçõn residing in Colchester, we are in the Dutie of Christianitie as fellowe members wth them ingrassed in Christ Jhesu, moved in their behalfe to writt unto your honor for that they, or the most parte of them, by the unjust complaint of the meanest sorte of the saide Towne, are lycke to be removed from thence to the greate grieffe of a godlye number of people, seinge that the number of them is not suche but that the Towne maie verye well beare, and before have suffered a greater; besydes ther demeanors and behaviours verie civile, honest, and godlye, and by theyr meanes a greate number as well in the saide Towne as in other places in the Contrie by setting them on woorke wth liberall rewards therfore relieved w^{ch} before weare ydle and miserable poore, in to w^{ch} estate by the absence of thes strangers they are lycke to retorne. Further we judge that for ther sakes God dothe blyss that Towne and the places aboute the same wth plenty of all things, for that all thinges be ther as plentye and of as reasonable pryces, yea and reyther better, (thankes be to God) as in any other Shyre or Towne wher none of them be. We therefore doe moste earnestlie beseeche your honor to be a comforter to thes poore strangers, as that by your honorable meanes to the Bailiffes and Aldermen of the same Towne of

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Eliz., vol. cxliv, No. 18.

Colchester, they maye have continuance there, to the quietnes of ther consciences and fruition of the puer religion of Christe's Gospell. And your honour shall do a most acceptable thinge to the Almightye, and bynde both them and us to poore forthe ther and our prayers to His Heavenlie Ma^{tie} for your honour in all felicitie longe to endure. Thus we humblye take our leaves, prayinge the eternall God to blesse you in all your actions.

From Colchester this viiith of November, 1580.

Your honours humble to commaunde,

NYCHOLAS CHALYNER	} preachers.'
ROBERT LEWIS	
ROBERT SAULE	
ROBERT MONKE	

I have not found an answer to this petition.

Morant, referring to the dispute then going on between a section of the native inhabitants and the strangers, says:—

'Yet such was the unthankfulness and corruption of some of our English weavers that they not only carried complaints against them [the strangers] to the Privy Council, but also indicted and presented them at two several quarter sessions of the peace here for assembling themselves in a company and congregation in their Hall without the King's subjects, and there making orders and setting fines upon his Majesty's subjects contrary to the Statute of 21 Henry VIII. And also for using partiality and unjust dealing in their searches and orders concerning the New Draperies,' and so, he continues, the Privy Council were forced to interpose on Dec. 31, 1603, and Sir Thomas Lucas, Kt., Edward Waldegrave, Esq., and Henry Osborne, one of the Bailiffs, by an order of February 18, 1605, enjoined that the proceedings against the strangers should be stopped, and that thenceforth they should not be molested. In 1612, King James I. granted them, for their better security, his Letters Patent, in which he recites the advantages which the Dutch had conferred upon the town, and confirms all their privileges, permitting them to use their 'Assemblies and Congregations' as Queen Elizabeth allowed

them to do. He also granted that no information, indictment, or preferment should be preferred against them.

After that, says Morant, there were often small differences between the strangers and the natives of the town; but both the strangers and the town continued in prosperity. I think, however, that Morant is scarcely justified in his conclusion that matters went on so peaceably in Colchester after King James's Letters Patent. We have seen that the Exchequer suit was commenced, five years after, in 1617; and on July 5 in that year I find a joint opinion given by the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General that the Privy Council had acted contrary to the Colchester Corporation Charter, granted by Henry VI. and renewed by Edward IV., in appointing certain Essex gentlemen, not members of the Corporation, to assist in the settlement of the dispute then going on as to the doings of the strangers. The opinion was that 'the execu^con of your Lo^{pp}'s letters whereby other gentlemen residinge wthin the said Countie were appointed to joine wth the bailliffes of the said Towne in hearinge and endinge of suche questions and greivances as may arise betweene the Dutch Congrega^con and others of the said Towne, whereof the moste are like to be suche as are determinable before the bailliffes and justices of the said Towne by the ordinarie power of their Charter, woulde be prejudiciall to their Charter and cannot stande wth the true sense of the same. Also wee finde that the comp^lt made to this ho^ble Boarde and delivered unto us by the Dutch congrega^con against the bailliffes of the said Towne, arisinge since the makinge of the laste order of the 15 of December, had not good grounde, the same arisinge upon the bailliffes proceedinge in Sessions against one of the Dutch congrega^con for usinge the trade of weavinge beinge not bound apprentice accordinge to the statute of 5 Eliz., the Dutche men pretendinge that the trade of weavinge is a trade annexed to theirs of bay and saye makinge, w^{ch} wee are of opinion it is not, and doe thinke it would be very prejudiciall to the Englishe weavers there if all the Dutche generally shoulde use the saide trade. Howbeit wee thinke it convenient for the peace bothe of the Towne and the Dutche Congrega^con that,

accordinge to the order of the 15 of December laste, they who have auncientlie used the trade of weavinge wth their bay and saye makinge be still permitted to use the same. Wee also finde that the English weavers in their petition did not well understande themselves, for the generall admission of all Dutche men to be weavers would much have hindred them. Wee are perswaded they will henceforth better conceave it, and wthall acknowledge that the bailliffes of the said Towne did more tender and provide for their goode then they at that tyme understoode, and w^{ch} wee finde to bee done by them providentlie and accordinge to the lawe and libertie of their Charter and for betteringe of their Corporaçon. All w^{ch} noth^{with}standinge wee humbly leave to your Lo^{pp}'s greate judgment.

HENRY YELVERTON.

THOMAS COVENTRYE.

5 July, 1617.'

Five years after this, in April 1622, the Bailiffs of Colchester submitted to the Attorney-General, as requested by him, the following particulars of the strangers in their town: ¹

' Householders aliens	234
Householders Inborne of Duche parents	879
Children borne here	798
Menservantes and Maideservantes born here	124

There sevall pfections and trades:—

Bay and Sayemakers	68
Marchants	8
Tailors	8
Wevers	104
Chayermakers	5
Lomemakers	2
Gardiniers	17
Cardmakers	7
Thickers	46'

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Jas. I., vol. cxxix, No. 70.

In the same volume of State Papers in which I found the foregoing is the following complaint to the Attorney-General, signed by the Bailiffs, showing, if it may be taken as representing the feeling of the majority of the inhabitants of Colchester, a very different sentiment from that which the four English clergymen described as existing in the town in 1580. The complaint is addressed to *Sir Thomas Coventry, Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and others, Commissioners for 'reposing' the differences between the English and the strangers.* It commences:—

'Right Worshipfull—The Master, Wardens, &c., of the Comp^y of Clothworkers, Bay & Sayemakers, &c., on behalf of themselves & the greatest part of the Tradesmen of the town of Colchester longe wearied under the yoake and spoyled of our tradinge by the Duch Strayngers & their officers here inhabitinge, ask for such relief as to your wisdoms shall seeme fitt.'¹ They then set out their grievances, stating that the Dutch congregation at their first coming were not to exceed 200 persons, and were to be conformable to the government of the town; but they had for many years *usurped* the whole authority of 'searchinge and sealinge' many sorts of bayes and sayes made as well by English free burgesses as by themselves; and also 'debarr' the English from 'searching and sealinge.' At their first coming they were only permitted to make some sort of 'new draperies,' viz. '54, 60, and 68 bayes.' The English had Letters Patent from the then King (James I.) for ordering the government of making bayes, &c. The Dutch then made all manner of bayes, and hindered the English in the enjoyment of their privileges duly confirmed. There were, the complaint continued, divers 'Dutch Shippers,' not denizenized, continually bringing oil, corn, wine, cloth, and hops, who took 'readye moneys' in gold and silver, and carried the same beyond the seas. This was a hindrance of His Majesty's custom, 'to the wasting of the Treasurie of this Kingdom,' and impoverishing of the Town. And there were divers Dutch strangers, 'factors,' who

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Jas. I., vol. cxxix, No. 701.

buy bayes, &c. ('as we make') of the Dutch strangers and sell them to strangers. This was a great prejudice to the English trading. At their first coming, and for many years after, the strangers did not, nor were they allowed to, 'thicke' their bayes, sayes, &c. at the fullinge mill, but were forced to scoure and thicke them 'by the foote' in the 'foote stock.' Now they make many sorts of draperies, &c., worn in 'clokes' and other apparel, 'which ought to belong to the English only, to the overthrow and spoiling of many in the town.' At first they did not buy wool in the fleece, yet of late they buy 'fleece woole' before the feast of the Purification, &c., contrary to the Statute 5 Eliz. cap. 6 & 7, to the great hindrance of clothiers and others, 'they pretending they are noe strayingners bycause manye of them are borne heeré of Dutch parents.' They would not suffer the 'Allenger' nor his deputy to measure either the bayes they themselves made, nor those which the English made, at the Dutch Hall; and by a new order they had made, contrary to the Council's order, would not 'set' the full length of those bayes which the English make at the Dutch Hall; although the Bailiffs of the town had forbidden them to put in execution that order. This was a hindrance to tradesmen. In 1623 the weavers had complained to the Bailiffs of their small wages for weaving bayes. The English 'company' and Dutch 'governors' were called before them to show cause why they should not give higher wages. The English consented to a 'reasonable' rate, but the Dutch refused. When some of the Dutch congregation had been warned by the master and wardens of the English company to answer these wrongs, they refused to come, pretending exemption from obeying, by the King's letters patent, (granted Aug. 10) confirming their former usages and orders. They also threatened with discharge, divers 'poore English weavers' and tradesmen of the town, 'and pretend we are the cause.' All which, the complainants argued, 'disturbs the peaceful government of the town.'

Following this comes a complaint against some of the strangers specified by name :¹

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Jas. I., vol. cxxix, No. 70 II.

' Complaints of the Englishe against the Dutche Strangers.

Michaell Cock, Alien borne, bay and Saymaker, buyeth and selleth Sayes to Forryners besides those that he makes.

Francis Toispill, alien, doth the like.

Isaacke Size, borne here of Dutch parents, appⁿtice to a Cardmaker and doth use the same Trade; And selleth the aliens goodes brought from beyond the Seas as a factor for them.

Samuell de Heame, borne here of Dutch parent^e, by p^fession and trade a Lomemaker, who upon his promise to deal wth nothinge but that w^{ch} concernes his trade, because he had beene troubled by Informers, obteyned to be a free man of this towne; Yet he now keepeth a common shop in his house and selleth all manner of Lynnen cloath and haberdasher's wares by retayle.

Thomas Benn, borne here of Dutch parents, his trade a bay and saymaker and weaver; he is now a Beerebruer, A Malster, a Farmer, A maker of bay cheanes and sends them [to] Sandw^{ch}, and farmeth lands about 100^h p. ann.

Jasper Vanhulst, an alien borne, a Saymaker, And is a marchant and factor for strangers.

John Valender, borne here of Dutche parents, A Baymaker by his p^fession and is a factor for strangers.

Hugh de Lobell, an alien borne, A Saymaker; he is a marchant and factor for strangers.

Samuell de Gavate, borne here of Dutch parentes; he hath erected and sett up a new Brewhouse; he maketh vinegar and Aquevita; he is a dier, a Marchant, and Factor for strangers.

John Miller; he is by p^fession a Scholer brought upp in the Univ^sitie, and is now a marchant and factor for strangers.

Josias Suace, a Bay and Saymaker; his wife selleth blacke browne and white thredd, all sortes of bonelace, valure gardes, and other comodities w^{ch} they receive out of Holland.

Isaacke Bowman, an alyen borne, by his profession a Chirurgeon and useth the same; he is a marchant and factor for strangers, selleth in his house all manner of Lynnen cloath stufes, bone laces, and such like, Oyles hoppes and othe

comodities, to the great greewance and hinderance of the Freeburgesses.

Charles Toispiell, an alien borne, and a singleman aboute the age of XXXth years; he is a marchant and factor for strangers.

Michaell de Govate, an alien borne, usinge the trade of a Fringemaker by the space of 25 yeares, and before that a Bayemaker, and nowe a Beerebrewer, a Malster, and a Farmor.

The Englishe Tailors wthin this Corpora^{ti}on, beinge aboute lower score, complaine that diverse strangers borne, doe much hinder them in useinge their trade wthin this Towne contrarie to lawe, and doe desire reforma^{ti}on by suppressing of them.

The Englishe Wyerdrawers complaine that they are much hindred in their trade and cannott sett themselves on worcke to maineteine themselves and famelies, by reason the strangers doe send for such quantities of wyer readie wrought from beyonde the Sea, and doe worcke some of yt into Card^e, and a greate parte they sell to others, whereof they do humblie desire reforma^{ti}on and that the strangers may be restrayned.

W^m Mott, Tho^s Thursby, Baliffs.

Following these last two documents in the volume of State Papers is an undated petition from the tailors of Colchester to the same effect as the former.

Whereas wee within the libertie of Colchester, by our Trade and occupa^{ti}on professinge the Misterie of Taylors, have founde out by infallable inquisition that many Dutch alien Strangers within the said Libertie doe use, practice, and goe forward in using our art and science contrarie to the Lawes of this Realme, and to our great hinderance, decaie, and without your favorable reliefe in this our desperate deplor'd estate to the utter overthrow and impoverishing of us with our wholl families both wives, children, and servantes. Wherefore wee are inforced lamentable to implore and humblie to desire, that it may please you to be moved with compassion towards us, and sende us some speedie remedie, and free us from that grievous

miserie to which wee are all daylie incident by reason of these practicers of our profession, whose names are here first subscribed.'¹

'Following this is 'A note of such Strangers as are Workers of Bayes and Newe Drapies as followeth.'²

Norwich	300
Colchester	250
Canterbury	200
Sandwich	150
Yarmouth	
Southampton	

In the very hasty search I made to obtain these references to the strangers at Colchester, I came upon some papers relating to a branch of the Colchester settlement established at Halstead, which I may just mention in case they should not have been previously noted.

In 1580 (about the time when, as we have seen, disagreement had broken out between the English inhabitants of Colchester and the Dutch strangers) a similar disagreement arose at Halstead. This settlement had been established by Queen Elizabeth's licence in 1576. Some of the strangers had moved there from Colchester, and, finding it suitable for their trade, addressed the following petition to Sir Francis Walsingham for licence to settle there:—

'The humble Peticyon of the Duchemen Straungers inhabitinge in the towne of Halsted in the Countye of Essex unto the right honorable Sir Frauncis Walsyngham knight one of the Quenes Majesties Honorable Privie Councell Chief Secretary to Her Ma^{tie}.

'First that it would please your honor to be so good unto them that by your meanes they may obtaine of the Quenes Ma^{tie} a Lycence wherby they maye have fourtie householdes of Straungers, being of their countrymen, to be inhabiting and dwellinge in Halsted aforesaid, And ther to occupy and make Bayes, Mockadoes, and such like, as other congregacions of

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Jas. I., vol. cxxix, No. 70 iii.

² State Papers, Domestic, Jas. I., vol. cxxix, No. 71.

their countrymen do now use, wych doe inhabite and dwell in Sandwich and Colchester, according to Her Majesties Councelles as directed unto Sir William Waldegrave, knight, in that behalf.'¹ They then ask for the usual protection.

Their petition was referred to Council, who answered that—'We have good likinge of the motion and thinke it verie resonable to be granted, So the number of houtholdes that shall come thether may be sett downe in some certentie, and that by Her Ma^{ties} grant they may be established in such good order as other of the like sorte be placed allreddie in Colchester and in some other Citties and Townes of this Realme; The forme whereof, if yow and the said straung^{ers} shall cause to be drawne, so as it may be viewed & allowed of by Her Ma^{ties} lerned Councell to be thought resonable for [Her] Highness to grant, We shall be gladd to give the same the best furtherance that we may. And so we bidd yo^r hartelie farewell. From the Court at St James', the 12th of July 1576.'²

However, in less than four years after settling at Halstead the Dutch withdrew, presumably back to Colchester, to the great loss of many in the town and in the neighbouring villages. Indeed, the picture of distress—consequent on the withdrawal of the Dutch from Halstead—drawn in a letter written about this time to Walsingham, illustrates in a forcible manner the energy and rapidity with which the strangers must have worked up the trade of that town. The letter is from the inhabitants of Halstead, who state that, according to permission, thirty families of Dutchmen established themselves in the town, and used their weaving trade so successfully that the poor inhabitants both of Halstead and the neighbouring hamlets 'were well maintained by the weaving, spinning, and working of the said Dutch Companye.' Some few English baymakers were, however, jealous of the Dutchmen's success, and in order to drive them away hit on the expedient of inducing Walsingham to urge the foreigners to seal with their seal the cloth made by the English. The Dutch would 'in no wise consent' to do this, as it was

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Eliz., vol. cxx, No. 22.

² State Papers, Domestic, Eliz., vol. cviii, No. 54.

‘a course contrary to all customes used by their nation wheresoever they inhabited,’ and, fearing compulsion, left Halstead ‘most unwillinglye,’ for they accounted it ‘one of the most convenientest towns in England’ for their trade. By this withdrawal, the inhabitants state, the town ‘is full of poor people,’ who had resorted thither to work for the Dutch and ‘now find themselves without employment.’ They state that when the said Dutch were at Halstead, eight or nine score bayes were made there weekly and sent to London, and twelve or thirteen score pounds weekly returned, the greatest part of which was paid out amongst the English poor of the said town and the towns adjoining, for weaving and spinning, which sums of money, says the petition, ‘what relief they were to the said poor, your honour’s wisdom can well consider.’ And now since the departure of the said Dutch there are most usually made seven or eight single bayes in one whole week. ‘We therefore, the inhabitants of the said town of Halstead, together with the consent of our neighbour towns as may appear by their several petitions hereunto annexed, do most earnestly and humbly beseech your honour to direct your letters to Colchester, being about ten miles distant from Halsted aforesaid, to the Governors of the Dutch Company there (the number of the said Dutch there being as is credibly reported above three thousand) to command twenty or more Dutchmen of good ability to remove their dwellings from thence to Halsted aforesaid, to reside there and use their trade of baymaking there in such sort as their Nation hath used the same there heretofore, and as they do use the same in Colchester, and in other places of this realme where their nation doth inhabit, and thereby no doubt your honor shall wonderfully relieve the sayd poore, and bind us and them always to pray for your honor long to continue in all happiness and felicity.’

In conclusion I must again observe that I have made no attempt to write a connected history of the strangers at Colchester. I have only brought to your notice a few references to them which may be of help to the historian of the Colchester settlement when he or she appears upon the scene.

The Foreign Element in the Parishes of St. Peter and Holy Cross, Canterbury; 1575-1684.

By J. MEADOWS COWPER, F.R.Hist.Soc.

THE two parishes of St. Peter and Holy Cross were united for ecclesiastical purposes a little more than two hundred years ago. But long before the year 1679 their union was so close that it is practically impossible to speak of one parish without making constant reference to the other. A hundred years ago I first find the church of St. Peter called 'The Mother Church of the two parishes,' the phrase being used by John Gostling, who held the united livings from the year 1786 to 1804. As an illustration of the closeness of the union before the parishes were joined by Act of Parliament, I may be allowed to carry you back to the year 1653, when Cromwell's Little Parliament declared all religious marriages illegal. By this 'Act' contracts of matrimony, as they were called, were to be published on three several market days in the common market-place or on three Sundays in some place of worship, and the marriage was to be celebrated before a magistrate. Now I find that *all* the contracts which were published in Holy Cross church were registered at St. Peter's.

But to-day I have to speak to you of the foreign element in these two parishes, and to do this I must carry you back to the year 1558, when Amand Colfe came over from Calais. His effigy has, as you will see, been recently restored, and placed as near as possible to the stone which records his death and that of his wife. On the right hand of this effigy, and close to the west door of the church, is all that is left of the memorial of the Rev. Francis William Durand. Fortunately

John Gostling, whom I have elsewhere called the Pri-
Registrars, made a minute entry of Mr. Durand's bur-
ial in the parish register. This entry runs thus :

Reverend Francis William Durand, aged 74 years, 40
Minister of the French Church within the Precincts of the
dral Church of Christ, Canterbury, was buried in this (C)
September 20, 1789.

Of the number of foreigners residing in these two
parishes some idea may be obtained by consulting the
register. I prefer to take this rather than the bap-
tismal register because, naturally, large numbers of the child-
ren of the refugees were baptised in the 'French Congreg-
ation'. But in passing I may remark that some parents set
little value of the parochial registers, and, although their children
were baptised in the French Church, they were registered
in the parish books. A few instances may be cited.
The first of which I have a note is the baptism of John
son of John Laynell, who was baptised in the French
Congregation on June 30, 1588. Then in 1606 I find John
Despaigne and Andrew Le Crosse, son of David Le Crosse,
in 1608 John Batteur, son of John Batteur; in 1615,
1618, 1620, and 1622, children of John Laynell were
entered in St. Peter's, although they were all baptised in
the French Church. Possibly the father of these was the
John Laynell who was baptised in 1588. In 1621 three
entries occur, namely Sara, daughter of Mordochie Ra-
binder, daughter of James Du Boys; and Jaques, son of
Bulte. In 1627 another child of the last-named was
entered, and this entry I must give in full as it is recorded
in the register and in the transcript: ' Marie, daughter of
Bulte, baptised in the French Congregation on Wednesday
Monday, as Rufus Rogers, parson of this parish, recorded
—R. R.' Other entries of a similar character are found for
the years immediately following, and in these entries occur
the names of James De Cassel,
Peere, Hester le Peere, Steph-
an Peter Vanacre, James Cornwell

Le Moane. The registers of the French Church are, I understand, being edited by Mr. Hovenden. I shall be curious to know whether the names I have mentioned occur in those registers also. Most likely they do. But before I quit this most interesting subject of the baptismal registers I wish to remark that in 1614 James Du Boys, *alias* Wood, the son of James Du Boys, was baptised in St. Peter's Church. This James Du Boys, *alias* Wood, was, I am told, an ancestor of the late Dr. Albert A. Wood, the well-known writer on Christian antiquities. Descendants of the family are still living in Canterbury.

Turning to the burial register I shall, I fear, have a sad story to tell. And no wonder, when we consider the distressing circumstances under which these 'gentle strangers' forsook all that was dear to them in their own country for the sake of their faith, and sought the hospitality of our ancient city. Here numbers of them died and were buried without even leaving a name behind them. Here are some of these nameless ones, beginning as early as the year 1575, or only three years after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day :

Agnes, wife of Elyas, a Frenchman, out of Father Bellinger's house.

Anthony, a Frenchman, his wife, and Paul, his son, were all three buried within ten days out of Leonard Dogrell's house.

Ezechell, a Walloner's child, from Mr. Stransome's house.

Elizabeth, a Wallone's child.

Out of Mr. Bawden's house a Wollone called John.

Another maid from Mr. Bawden's tenement called Martha.

From Mr. Bawden's tenement an old woman called Margery.

From the same house two young damsels, the one named Christian and the other Joan.

Another maid from Mr. Bawden's house called Katharine.

These six out of Baldwin's house or Baldwin's Rents, as the name sometimes is given in the Transcript, were all buried between July 25 and August 11, 1582. In 1585 I find the brief entry 'A Wallan,' and in the same year 'Antine, a Wallin, servant to Edward Nethersole.' After this date the name of the deceased was usually given. A few of these

foreign names must be mentioned as I pass on : Peter le Canter, Thomas Morell, John de Bever, Gabriel Bisset, Richard Mounteere, Elias Du Peere, Peter Le Keuch, Mark Clarece, Francis Lapeire, John Denew, Simon Boodree, Anthony Greate, Peter Morter, Anthony Moorhe, Jacob Sacke. All these are found between 1626 and 1661.

In the year 1660 of ten burials six were those of foreigners or their descendants, and in the next year they numbered exactly one-half. In the next three years (1662-3-4) the burials of the following persons are recorded among others: Abraham Hooke, Mary Spaine, Isaac Mahew, Elizabeth Lushare, Noah Detree, Peter Lortew, Paul Dishmere, Jane Fudee, Peter Leshure, Philip Depare, Abram Pottoore, Elizabeth Blesee, Ann Moate, Clement Lenore. In 1664 the proportion of foreigners buried in St. Peter's was again about fifty per cent. From these figures I infer the refugee element in St. Peter's parish about this time amounted to one-half the entire population, for I cannot believe Death was a respecter of persons.

In 1665 and 1666 we reasonably expect to find the number of deaths to be very large, for the Plague made sad havoc in Canterbury, as it did elsewhere. In the two years 102 burials were registered in Holy Cross, and sixty-seven in St. Peter's. In the former I find the names Focat, Moree, Carpenter, Carneloe, Clarise, Peloo, Tree, Disshuler, Morroum, Hommee, Dissemove, Mershee, Lontewe, Jordayn, Mahew. In St. Peter's the following names occur: Foye, Waterlow, Lesure, Bisset, Maree, Rigbore, Demow, Lushare, Beda, Sacke, Vocate. How certain families were affected by this Plague will be seen from the following examples :

- 1665. Aug. 27 Elizabeth Moree, d. of Anthony.
- Aug. 28 Anthony Moree and Elizabeth, his wife.
- Sept. 1 Cornelius Moree.
- Sept. 10 Mary Moree.
- Sept. 18 Anthony Moree.

That is, six members of one family in seventeen days. John Clarise, Dorcas his wife, and two children, were buried within

less than a month. John Mershee buried his wife and three children within fifteen days. Elizabeth Dissemove, her brother, and her widowed mother, all died within ten days. These will suffice to show what the mortality was in Holy Cross during that terrible time. In St. Peter's matters appear to have been even worse. For instance: John Kinge was buried Nov. 13; his wife Mary, Dec. 5; his daughter Ganne, Dec. 9; his son Abraham, Dec. 12; his daughter Mary, Dec. 12; his daughter Ann, Dec. 16; and his son John, Dec. 22. Of the Beda family, five died within three weeks; of the Sacke family, five were buried in twenty days; of the Vocates, five in twenty-four days; and of the Lushares, five in a little over a month. In 1666 nearly two-thirds of the total number buried in St. Peter's were foreigners.

Between the end of 1666 and 1684, the year before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many foreign names occur, but I can only mention these: John Cordier, John Vanderbrook, Philip Lapa, Peter St. John, James Ferree, Jeremiah Le Man, Francis Depaw, Abraham Lepare, John Say John (St. John), John Blewze, Peter Boraine, Simon Du Peere, Mary Le Po, James Provo, Samuel Guenin, Jacob Lecuse, James Cotten, Jarman Denocoure, Peter Le Hooke, John Patee, Philip Le Parr, Zachariah Barres, Peter Jedvain, Petir Fafee, Anthoine Beall, John Detree, Dennis Gestain, John Pivion, John Durru' (? John Durrunt), Mary De Feafe, James Decaselle, Francis Lepard, James Parree, James Gothrie, James Pariss, James Barmo, and Anthonie Pettitt. These are all from St. Peter's burial register, and are, I think, sufficient to show the extent of the foreign element in that parish during the period between 1572 and 1684. If I were to enter into the details of the registers of Holy Cross, or if I were to extend my remarks over the years immediately following 1684, my Paper would prove of unreasonable length. Suffice it to say that the St. Peter's registers are printed, and that I only await time in which to complete the Index. When this volume is issued, containing as it does the christenings, weddings, and burials for 240 years, the student of Huguenot history will be able to realise, what no one has fully realised

hitherto, the full extent of the continental element in this tiny parish.

From the marriage register I only give a few extracts, and they nearly all belong to the time of the Commonwealth.

1654. June 11 A contract published betweene John Foquet and Margerette A La vaine, both of the parish of Holy Crose, West gate, published in the French congregation in the Pallace Church according to the Act of P^lliament bearing dat the 24 of August, An. Dⁿi, 1658, one the Lord's Day.
- Mar. 26 A contract published three severall Lord's Dayes betweene Isaacke Patow and Susan Le Sedt, at ye Pallace church in the French congregation, and their nuptiall celebrated this day as by a certificate vnder the French minister's hand more plainly appeareth.
- Mar. 4 A contract published betweene Peter Lehooke and Judith Mesman in the French congregation, according to the Act of Parliament in that case made a[nd] p^rvided.
- Mar. 11 The like contract of Matrimony published, Peter Lehooke being of the parish of St. Petter.
- Mar. 18 The like contract published, Judith Mesmee being of the parish of Holy Crosse.
1655. Jan. 27 Published a contract of matrimony betweene Peter Martyr of the p^rish of St. Marie's, in the towne of Sandwich, Schoole master, and Mrs. Frances Miller, of the p^rish of St. Petter's, in the City of Canterbury, widd. Published in the p^rish church of Holy Crosse, Westgate, one the Lord's Day, according to the Act beareing date the 24 day of August, 1658.
- Feb. 8 Published the like the secound tyme, beinge the Lord's Day.
- Feb. 10 Published the like the third tyme, beinge the Lord's Day.
- Feb. 24 Published a contract of matrimony betweene John Lehooke and Mary Le Keuch, widdo, both of the p^rish of St. Peter's in this Citty. Published in the p^rish church of Holy Crosse, Westgate, being the Lord's Day, according to the Act beareing date the 24 of August, 1658.

- Mar. 15 John Le Hooke and Mary Lekeuch were married by Henry Knight, Alderman and Justice of Peace in the City of Canterbury, in the presente of James Gunney and Peter Le Hooke, senior.
1657. Dec. 12 Published a contract of matrimoney betweene James Denew, of [the] parish of Holy Crosse in the County of Kent, batchelor, and Ester Verry, of the said parish, widd. Published in the com'on Markett Place, called the Bulstak, in the City of Canterbury, beyng Satterday.
- Dec. 19 Published the like the secound tyme, being Satterday.
- Dec. 23 Published the like the third tyme, being Wensday.
1658. Sept. 26 Published a contract of matrimoney betweene James Gourden, of [the] p'ish of All Saints', and Rachell Bart of the p'ish of St. Peter's, both of this City. Published in the p'ish church of Holy Crosse, being the Lord's Day, according to the Act of Parliament bearing date the 24 of August, 1658.

During the years 1660-1661 only three marriages were registered at St. Peter's, and all were celebrated by the minister of the French Congregation; but whether in the French Church or in the parish Church I cannot say. The three entries run thus:

1660. June 10 Peter of Lushore, s. of John Lushore, was married to Mary Merrillyowe, d. of Daniell Merrillyowe, by the Minister of the French congre'con.
- Sept. 30 John Lushore, s. of John Lushore, was married to Mary Ducshmauwe, d. of Susanna Dushmawe, by the Minister of the French congregac'on.
1661. Aug. 25 James Brasshue, s. of James Brasshue, was married to Christian Dampere, by the Minester of the French congregacon.

I will close this Paper by making some reference to the occupations followed by the refugees who settled here. Sometimes they are mentioned without any name, as 'the French barber,' 'the French doctor,' 'the French fuller,' 'the French potter,' 'the French salesman,' 'the French turner,' and 'the

French wigmaker,' but such entries are confined to the Overseers' Accounts. The registers throw much light on the subject, and I have thought it well to classify these occupations as far as my researches have gone:—*Attorney-at-Law*, Dedier. *Brewer*, Lyneal. *Carpenters*, Lefever, Shoveller. *Combers*, Terree, Decroo, Feraugh, Fermo, Devine, Martyn. *Cordwainer*, Lemar. *Counsellor*, Petite. *Cowkeeper*, Savage. *Dancing-master*, South. *Dyers*, Duree, Valenduke. *Flax-dressers or Flax-men*, Rew, Grezow, Goodar, Gronshaw. *Hemp-dresser*, Dessaine. *Hop-planter*, Lynehall. *Joiner*, Lineall. *Labourers*, Loshaw, Larew, Grezow, &c. *Merchant*, Carpenter. *Shoemakers*, Frankeling, Lama, Lacoore, Skiddaine, &c. *Silkweavers*, Santhuns, Boratt, Mosengarb, Six, Boudry, Dessantaine, Pottoo, Singon, Hooke, Jeduaine, Riquebourg, Phinnee. *Spinners*, Mahew, Frantee. *Tailors*, Lettoo, Vandebrooke, Leffoo, Deffoo. *Weavers*, Curnau, Barnor, Angell, Gourdain, Polaine, Dispaine, Massengarb, Borat, Ducro, Senjohn. *Woolcombers*, Detree, Desaine, Devine, Duymhall, Hannott.

For one minute I wish to refer to St. Mildred's parish in this city. From 1745 to 1772 Theodore Delafay was rector there. In the last-named year he disappears from view—the register is as silent as the grave. But, curiously enough, the clerk, or it might have been the churchwarden, of St. Peter's made the following entry in the Transcript for 1772: 'July 31, the Rev. Theodore Delafay buried at Stockberey Church. Aged 70 years.' The entry is not in St. Peter's register; and why the fact was recorded in the Transcript I do not know. I can only feel grateful to the unknown writer for his thoughtfulness.

**Notes on the Dutch, Walloons, and Huguenots at
Sandwich in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth
Centuries.**

By THOMAS DORMAN.

At the request of Mr. Kershaw, a member of the Council of the Huguenot Society of London, I have taken notes of such references as I could find in the records of Sandwich relating to the settlement of the Dutch, Walloon, and Huguenot refugees from the Continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and I had hoped Mr. Kershaw would have had leisure to prepare a paper on the subject, but as he is unable to do this, and has asked me to undertake it, I must beg your excuses for any imperfections, as the subject is not at all familiar to me.

The records of Sandwich are found principally in what are called the 'Year Books,' which extend from the year 1480 to the date of the Municipal Reform Act, when the old Corporation became merged in the new body of Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses under that Act.

I am afraid, however, that the notes I have made will not give you much information as to the Huguenots themselves, for as far as I can discover, the observation which the Rev. Jas. D'Ombraïn, of Sotby Rectory, a Fellow of your Society, left in the Corporation copy of Boys' History in July 1881, on the occasion of a visit he made to this town, viz., 'That after carefully examining, (1) all the Parish Registers, (2) the Municipal Archives, and (3) Boys' History, he came to the conclusion that the French Huguenots never settled in Sandwich, but that the foreign Protestant congregation was purely

Dutch and Flemish,' is quite correct, as the references I have found are nearly all to the Dutch and Walloons.

The first entry I find is in the Year Book called 'The Little Black Book' (*folio* 180), 29 June, 1561, and is as follows:—

'It is ordered, that John Tysar, and John Gilb't, Juratts, shall ride to London unto Mr. Roger Manwood, and they with him to have auctoritie to drawe cten articles, and thereupon to conclude w'th cten Strangers that be mynded to come and Inhabit wthin this towne of Sandw^{ch}, and that theyr chardgs shalbe be borne at the towne's cost.'

Again, (*folio* 185), under date Nov. 17, 1561:—

'It was thought good to make sute againe unto the queene's Ma^{tie} and her most honorable counsell for the amendments of the haven, and for a warrante to be obteyned under the great seale of England for the receyvynge of the Flemynge strangers to inhabit this said towne, and the Maior, John Tysar, and John Gilbert, shall ride to London to presente the sayd [sute] and to have authority to give unto such p'sons as they shall think mete to further the said suit.'

By the 22nd December (*folio* 192) some of the strangers appear to have arrived, as 'Order was made that the Dutchmen, makers of clothes, viz^t., bayes and sayes within this [town], should bring them to an appointed officer of the Corporation to be sealed, and to pay for the sealing of every fine piece of cloth, iiij^d and every other piece of bays and sayes, ij^d ;' the officer to have one shilling in the pound for his fee.

On January 8, 1561 (*folio* 194), 'The Fleminge strangers of this towne made supplication unto the Maior and Jurats for a place to be appoynted unto them for sale of their yarns and what daie sholde be their M'kett daye for y^e same; Thereupon y^t was ordered and decreed by the said Maior and Jurats, that they shall sell their sayd yarne wthin the corūmkett Crosse wthin the seyd Towne ev^r Wensdaie in the forenoon.'

And on the 19th of the same month (*folio* 195), there appeared before the Maior and Jurats 'the Duchemen alyens, before whome the Queene's Ma^{tie}'s lrēs patents under her greate seale was redd for the admytting and warrant of them, and for

theyr safe dwelling in this said Towne, wth declaration of the chardgetherby susteyned, being lⁿ; Whereupon the sayd Duchemen agreed to paye xxⁿ towards the seyde chardge, viz., At the feast of Candlemas next xⁿ, and at the feaste of Easter then next following other xⁿ; And y^t was agreed further betweene the said Maior and Jurats and y^e sayd Duchemen, That twoo of the Jurats of this Towne and two of the M^{rs} of the seyde Duchemen, wth Mr. John Utenovo or Thomas Thompson of Sandw^{ch}, M^{ch}ants, shall yerely cesse also the seyde Duchemen Alyens, and none other; And y^t was also graunted unto y^e seyde Duchemen the coppie of the seyde Queene's Ma^{ties} l^{tes} patents aforesayd wth them to remayne.'

The above-mentioned letters patent are dated July 6, 1561, and the following is a copy of them, with other information extracted from Boys' Collection for a History of Sandwich, pp. 740-7, which I have thought it as well to make, as the work is one not very readily accessible to many:

'Elizabeth, by the grace of God quene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faithe, &c., To our ryght trustie and well beloved counsaillor, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, keper of our greate seale of England, greating, We woll and commaund you, that under our saide greate seale of Englonde, beinge in your keepinge, ye cause our lettres patents to be made forthe in forme followinge:—Elizabeth, by the grace of God, &c., To our well beloved the mayor, jurats, and commonaltye of our towne and porte of Sandwiche, in our countie of Kent, greatinge, For divers speciall considerations us movinge, as well for the helpe, repayre, and amendement of our said towne and porte of Sandwiche by plantinge in the same men of knowlege in sondry handy crafts, as also for the relief of certaine strangers nowe resydyng in our citie of London, being verie skilful therein, belonginge to the churche of strangers in our said citie of London, we, of our gras especiall and mere mocion, do by theis presents give and graunte lycence to all and everye persons strangers, as by the most reverend fathers in God, the Archbushop of Canterburie and the bushop of London for the tyme being, shalbe unto youe signefied to be persons mete to inhabite within our said towne and porte of Sandwiche, for

the exercise there of the facultie of makinge saes, bay, and other cloth, which hath not been used to be made in this our realme of Englonde, or for fishing in the seas, not extendinge the nombre of twentie or fyve and twentie housholders, accomptinge to everye houshold not above tenne or twelve persons, that they and everye of them may savely repaire to our said towne and porte of Sandwiche, and there by our consent and order inhabite and take houses for their inhabitation, and to have such and as many servants as shall suffice for the exercise of the saide faculties there, not exceedinge the number above expressed, without any payne, forfacture, or other losse, damage, or hinderance to be sustayned or incurred by youe or any of you, or by them or any of them, for or concerninge the premises or any part thereof, any acte, statute, provision, usage, custome, prescription, lawe, or other thinge whatsoever to the contrarye hereof had or made in any wise notwithstandinge, And theis our letters shalbe unto you and every of you, and also unto them and every of them, from tyme to tyme a suffycient warraunt in that behalf, to continue duringe our pleasure. Given under our privy seale, at our manor of Grenewiche, the vith of July, the third yere of our reigne [1561].

‘Memorandum, quod undecimo die Julii, anno regni regine Elizabethæ tercio, istud breve deliberatum fuit domino custodi magni sigilli, apud Westmonasterium exequendum. (*Ex apographo penes G. B.*)’

‘Hi sex, qui sequuntur, in literis S. D. R. continentur :

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Franciscus Bolle. | 4. Gerardus Matte. |
| 2. Petrus Ael. | 5. Willielmus de Huussere. |
| 3. Johannes Hayseeck. | 6. Franciscus de Raed. |

‘Pro his novem sequentibus testatus est, suo ac R. D. archiepiscopi Cantuariensis nomine, Rs. episcopus Londinensis, ac D. Chobham.

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 7. Joannes Vander Slaert. | 12. Jacobus Van Brouckercke. |
| 8. Georgius Boeys. | 13. Joannes Looten. |
| — 9. Petrus Basset. | 14. Georgius Babelaer. |
| 10. Joannes Beaugrand. | 15. Matheus de Rycke. |
| 11. Petrus Hacke. | |

‘Pro istis x sequentibus, reliquis itidemque, demississime postulamus testimonium reverendi domini episcopi Londinensis, suo ac R. D. archiepiscopi Cantuariensis nomine ac domini Chobami.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 16. Franciscus Waleweyn. | 21. Petrus Van der Slype. |
| 17. Joannes de Brune. | 22. Joannes Van der Eke. |
| 18. Thomas Bateman. | 23. Georgius Van Ixen. |
| 19. []. | 24. Georgius Wraumbaud. |
| 20. Joannes Lieuen. | 25. Jodocus Roo. |

‘Hos viginti quinque suprascriptos, ministrorum ac seniorum ecclesiæ Londino Germanicæ testimonio ut viros pietatis ac honestatis studiosos nobis commendatos, quique non solum in dicta ecclesia confessionem fidei suæ fecerunt sed et disciplinæ ejusdem sese subiecerunt, ad opificia sua, juxta privilegium a maiestate regia impetratum, Sandwici libere exercenda admittendos esse judicamus.

MATTHÆUS CANTUAR.

EDM. LONDON.

W. COBHAM.’

(*Ex autographo penes G. B.*)

‘Nomina omnium qui sunt in ecclesia Germanica Sandwyco, atque exercent opificia illa concessa a S.R.M.

‘Hii qui sequuntur, numero octo, sunt opificiorum magistri seu prefecti.

Franciscus Bolle, cum uxore Christina, filia Jacomina annorum 18, item Jorina annorum 16, Christina annorum 15, Caterina an. 14, item cum filio Christiano an. 13, Jacobo an. 11, Petro an. 9, Francisco an. 6, Georgio an. 3.

Joannes Vanderslaert, cum uxore, &c.

Willielmus de Huussere, cum uxore, &c.

Pieter Aels, cum uxore, &c.

Franciscus de Raed, cum uxore, &c.

Joannes Hayseeck, cum uxore, &c.

Gerardus Matte, cum uxore, &c.

‘Hii sunt magistri opificii panni standuci et bæi, numero 7.

Willielmus Hornenaghel solut. adhuc, magister opificii saey, cum uxore, &c.

‘Hii qui sequuntur sunt servi, qui omnes sub suis magistris censentur, quibus in exercendis opificiis navant operam.’

‘The names of the workmen, their wives and children, follow:
‘Jacobus Bucerus, minister verbi, cum uxore, &c.

‘Hii qui sequuntur sunt vidui aut viduæ, juvenes, virgines, et pupilli.

Anno 1561, Novemb. 28, per me Jacob Bu.

The names of all the married men and married women be c. iiii score.

Item, iii wydowers and vi wydowes.

Item, batchelors between the age of xxx^{te} yeres and xviii, xxii.

Item, of maydens and servants, xvii.

Item, of men—children and women—children, from one weeke old to the age of xviii yeres, clxxviii.

‘Summa totalis of all the men, women and children, ccccv persons,¹ wherof ther be masters in the facultie of making of bayes and seys but only viii, and all the rest be servants unto them, sayng the mynyster only.’

‘The persecution for religion in Brabant and Flanders, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, communicated to all the Protestant parts of Europe, the paper, silk, woollen and other valuable manufactures of Flanders and France, almost peculiar at that time to those countries, and till then in vain attempted elsewhere. The manufacturers came in bodies, and chose their situations with great judgment, distributing themselves, in England at least, so as not to interfere too much with one another. The workers in sayes, bayes, and flannel, fixed themselves at Sandwich, at the mouth of a river which had communication with the interior parts of Kent, and afforded them an easy export to the Continent. The silk-workers settled higher up upon the banks of the same river, at Canterbury. The workers in thread seated themselves

¹ These numbers do not accord, but with the addition of the minister's family the sum total is right.—*Boys's note.*

upon the Medway, at Maidstone. A body of gardeners at once discovered the nature of the soil about Sandwich to be extremely favourable to the growth of all esculent plants, and fixed themselves there, to the great advantage of the landholders, whose rents were considerably increased, and of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, whose tables were cheaply supplied with a variety of new and wholesome vegetables.¹ These advantages were made more extensive by means of the seeds of those and other useful plants, which grew there in the highest perfection, and were conveyed at an easy expense by the boys to London, and from thence disseminated over the kingdom. These people cultivated likewise with advantage, flax, canary, and teasle. The growth of the second article was confined till within these few years to this corner of Kent, and is still cultivated there upon a greater scale than in any other part of the kingdom. (See Dr. Franklin on the interest of Great Britain considered with respect to her colonies.)

‘These strangers, by their industry and prudent conduct, were soon in a flourishing condition, which excited the jealousy of the native tradesmen, as appears by the records of the town and the following petition of the Dutch congregation copied from the original in my possession.

“To master mayor, and his worshipful brethren the jurates, of this towne and porte of Sandwyche.

“In moste reverend wyse obediently shewe we minister, elders, deacons, masters, and governours of the dutche congregation within Sandwyche, after what sorte ytt is well knowne unto your worshyps that we hetherto have shewed our selves willynge and obedient unto her maiesty, the honourable counsell, and to your worshyps, whiche we in all fidelity doe intende to continue for ever by the grace of almighty God, so that we would have submitted ourselves in this present matter of this newe burden of the head monney, yf we had not bene

¹ Anderson, in his history of the rise and progress of commerce, asserts that in 1509 there was not a salad in all England, and that cabbages, carrots, turnips, and other plants and roots were imported from the Netherlands. — *Notes by Boys.*

burdened over measure by the same, for the whyche cause we have made our supplications as we humbly doe by theis presents, considering that we, under her maiesty's gracious protection, are here received and permitted to dwell under your worships, support also all common chardges of this towne as inhabitaunts of the same, are also within theis next past fower or fyve yeares (which was not used hertofore) sessed, all those that be no pure baymakers; besydes this, your worships doeth well knowe what profyts yearly doe growe for this towne from our bay-makynge, and that there be 2 pence sett uppon every baye goyng out, which was not before. In [] besydes the money for the seales which we in the begynnyng did paye [] we [] must paye fowrtene every yeare, wherewithaul straungers are not burdened, [] well knowne to your worships, that by credible wrytyngs may be evident, that the order for the head money (of the whiche we nowe make here our complaynts) was not taxed above 2 pence for a christian, and but 4 pence for a jew, which 2 pence we are hertely willyng to paye; yt is also in fresh remembrance, that here in our dutche congregation, by the commaundement of those that ruled this towne at that tyme, hath bene publyshed, that of the head money (of the whiche now we speake) every body should geve but 2 pence. Your worshyps do likewyse knowe, that such as amongst our people doe goe for to passe the seas at this tyme doe paye not onely 4 pence (which in tymes paste was the taxe for a jew), but are come to the summe of 22 pence for their goyng out, whereof the servaunt of the water ballyve doeth challenge 4 pence, the towne's substitutes 12 pence, and the searcher's manne of every head 6 pence, whether he doeth searche or not searche theim. The whiche aforesaid summe, how chardgeable she be to our congregation, your worshyps can well consider by your selves; and yf in case that it could be proved, that any menne of our congregation doe misuse theimselfes in carrying out of monney, or otherwyse committynge thyngs agaynst the law, that suche myght and shoulde be tharfore punnyshed accordingly, and that for their transgression's sake this present burden should not be

imposed upon the whole congregation. Praying and beseeching therefore, that yt may please your worshypps to cause, that by your authority that thes burdens and chardges myghte be brought downe, or ells at the least to assist us with your said authority that this same myght be effectually brought to passe at such tyme and place where this oughte to be done; and in so doeynge your worshypps shall herein shewe a sondry charible pleasure to Jesus christ and to his church, and take awaye the teares and lamentations [. . .] of suche as are chardged herewithall. Whiche condition is suche, that by means of theis chardges they should finally be secluded and syndered from the hability of those manifolde and necessary contributions whiche yet in this our exile are practised amongst us, as well towards the maintenaunce of the ministry of God's word, as lykewyse in the sustentation of our poore, besyds the chardges first above rehearsed. Performing therefore our foresayde humble petition, we shall be the more moved to directe our warmest prayers to our mercifull God, that of his heavenly grace he will beatify your commonweale more and more, grauntinge to ytt spirituall and temporall blessyngs, whiche he gracefully powreth upon them that shewe favour and consolation to the poore afflicted straungers. Geven in our consistory, the seaventh day of Junius xvc. thre scoure and seaventene (1577)."

'June 7, 1575. A letter from her majesty's commissioners, appointed for the purpose of examining sundry strangers born in the low countries, "who maintain the moste horrible and damnable error of anabaptists; and feering lest theese corruptions be spred in sundrie places of her majesty's realme where these straungers do inhabit, and so would dayly increase yf it be not in tyme carefully foresene and suppressed," they direct that all straungers as well men as women, being of yeares of discretion, remaininge in any place within her majesty's realme, shall give their assent and subscribe to the articles inclosed, devised for the purpose. Upon refusal they are to be sent to the commissioners to be further considered as shall appertaine.

"Ed. London., Edmund Roffens., Roger Manwood, R. Monnison, Thomas Wylson, Alexander Nowell, G. Gerrard, Tho. Bromley, John Yonge," and two others.

"To our lovinge frendes the maior and jurats of Sandwich, and to the ministers ther.

Articles to be subscribed.

1. That Christ take flesshe of the substance of the virgin.
2. That the infants of the faithfull are to be baptized.
3. That it is lawfull for a christian to take an othe.
4. That a christian man may be a magistrat and beare the office of auctoritie.
5. That it is lawful for a christian magistrat to execute obstinate heretiques.
6. That it is lawful for a christian man to warre.
7. That it is lawful for a christian man to require the auctorite of the magistrat and of the lawe, that he may be delivered from wronge and restored to right.
8. That a christian man may lawfullie have propriety in his goodes, and not make them common; yet ought he accordinge to the rule of charitie to releve the nedie accordinge to his habilitie.

To theis above-wrytten articles of the hygh commissioners of her majesty we, minister, elders and deacons of the dutche congregation in Sandwyche hereunder wrytten doe subscribe and doe approve them with our whole harts; and concerning the fyfth article we acknowledge, that it is lawfull for a christian magistrate to execute obstinate heretiques, when the quality of their persones, of their heresies and their deedes doe require the same. Acting this seventh daye of Julius, anno domini xvc. threscore and fyftene. This present subscription we doe in our owne names and in the name of our congregation.

Ysbrandus Trabijs, frisijs, verbi minister.
 Joannes Erodus, leselensis.
 Rolandus Carpentarius, mesniensis.
 Joannes Fermius;" and twenty-two others.

'March 29, 1582. The lord warden, lord Cobham, signifies to the mayor and jurats, that it is recommended to him by the privy council upon information of the mayor and jurats, that there are divers strangers in Sandwich not of the church there established. He therefore requires that the mayor and jurats will, "with gentell speeches and in courteous manner," will and "commaunde" all such to depart between the present time and Whitsunday next, they and their families.'

'Archbishop Laud seemed inclined, about the year 1694, to break through the toleration which had been granted to the Dutch and Walloons on their settlement in England, and to be very harsh with them on the score of religion, insisting on their conformity to the English liturgy and Church government. He cited the ministers of the Dutch Churches at Maidstone and Sandwich to appear at his consistory court at Canterbury, and before himself at Lambeth, and required their answers to interrogatories proposed to them. The congregations were much alarmed at his proceedings, and deputed some of their ministers and lay elders to supplicate his favor, but he was inexorable. They however contrived to delay the matter till the Scots war came on, and then the persecution ceased. (See "A Relation of the Troubles of the Three Foreign churches in Kent," written by John Bulteel, minister of the Walloon congregation at Canterbury, 4to, 1645.)'

'The trades and occupations of the Dutch Settlers in Sandwich taken from a cess-book called the Dutch foreign book, dated 1582, in which are 351 names, with the station and employment of every person.'

Apothecaries	2	Basket maker	1
Aqua vitæ, seller of . .	1	Beater of mill-stones .	1
Bay makers	86	Bookbinder	1
Bay weavers	74	Bonnes clerk	1
Bay broker	1	Brewers	3
Bakers	4	Cardmakers	2

Carpenters	3	Post into Flanders . .	1
Coblers	3	Sawyers	3
Coopers	2	Schoolmaster	3
Cowkeepers	4	Sealer of bayes	1
Crier of the lieucopel ¹ .	1	Shipwright	1
Denizen	1	Smiths	5
Dier	1	Spinners	3
Fullers	17	Spoler for bays	1
Gardners	13	Spoller of yarn	2
Goldsmith	1	Strykers of bays	2
Grogram weavers	4	Surgeon and woolcomber	1
Hatcheler	1	Tailors	6
Joiners	5	Maker of teazle-handles.	1
L. weavers ²	24	Tiler	1
Linen weaver	1	Turners	3
Linsey woolsey weavers	2	Upholsterers	1
Labourers	6	Wagoner	1
Loder to Mill	1	Wheelwright	1
Merchants	7	Wood-carrier	1
Millers	4	Wool-beater	1
Millwright	1	Wool-combers	24
Packmaker	1	Occupations not men-	
Painter	1	tioned	6'
Potter	1		

Returning to my notes I find (*folio* 204, Little Black Book) that on April 24, 1562, upon petition of the Dutchmen, it was ordered that they should hold two market days a week, for sale of their 'saes, bayes, and other clothes by them made,' upon Wednesdays and Saturdays, the Wednesday's market for the freemen of the town only to buy, the Saturday's market for freemen and strangers, and all the cloths not sold on the Wednesdays shall be offered to be sold on the

¹ This word is still used at Sandwich for an auction or sale of household goods, and is pronounced lifcoop.—*Boys*.

² *Query*, linen, linsey-woolsey, or lace weavers? In subsequent cess-book I meet with flannel weavers, makers of lace, makers of point, hatmakers, linen drapers, shoemakers, pursmakers, sackmakers, and sailors.—*Boys*. But both linen and linsey-woolsey weavers are mentioned below.

Saturday following, as well for all strangers as English, after English measure. And all cloths not sold after the two market days to be taken at the owner's liberty to another market, but no cloths to be sold in the City of London except in the hall of the said city appointed for that purpose. These regulations would apparently work more in favour of the free-men of the town than the Dutch. And on July 10 following (*folio* 209) an arrangement was made between the Dutch strangers and the Wardens of the Tailors' Company, under which eight of the Dutch were to be allowed to exercise their trade, but only to make Dutch apparel, paying 5*l.* a year for the privilege, and this agreement appears to have been continued the following year.

In 1564 the plague made its appearance in the town, and on April 30 (*folio* 248) I find the following: 'At whiche daye, for that the Flemings in this towen be greatly infected with the plagge, and have used to come some days to St. Peter's church and some dayes to St. Clement's church, to the greate danger of the infection of this whole Towne, For remedy wherof yt is ordered and decreed by the said Mayor and Jurats, and Co^mon Counsell assemblyd, that the seyd Flemings shall from this p^rsent daye have the p^rische church of St. Peter's wholly and only for them both holly dayes and woorke days wthoute Lett or troble of any Inhabitts in this towen to the contrary, so longe tyme as y^t shalbe thought meete and convenyent by the sayd Maior and Jurats, and that mornyng prayer shalbe used also at S^t Clement's church after this daye untill otherwise determined.'

At *folio* 249 there is an entry that on May 12, 1564, a precept was received from Dover Castle, and a letter from the Queen's Council, inquiring how many French were taken prisoners within the town and its members since the last war, (by whom, when, and their charge), and likewise what Englishmen were taken into France, when and where they remain, and their supposed ransoms, copies of which are said to be in the Book of Letters.

On June 28, 1564 (*folio* 250), a license was granted to one Lyveng Symons, Fleming, to 'open his shopp and worke his

sciens' as a tailor, paying five shillings yearly to the Tailors' corporation.

On December 7, 1564 (*folio* 262), after reciting that no scavenger had been appointed last year, whereby the town had become so far out of good order, from the abundance of dirt and filth, that the inhabitants were greatly annoyed, and think it one special cause of the great infection of the town at present, (which Almighty God cease), a scavenger was appointed at a salary of 20*l.* a year, the Dutch inhabitants to pay 5*l.*, and the English 15*l.* It is not probable that this assessment in any way favoured the Dutch, and it may therefore be assumed from it, that the proportion of the Dutch in numbers and wealth to the whole town did not at this date exceed one fourth.

On October 10, 1565 (*folio* 287), certain Flemings and strangers 'who are not of the dutch congregation, nor wolde be of the same, but refused to be of the same,' were warned to avoid the town with their wives and families by the feast of All Saints next, upon pain of forfeiture of their goods and also imprisonment; their names were as follows:

Nowell C. Cante	Charle Van Nout
Francis Har	Gerard Peminet
Lauchier Beaugrand	George de Verver
Jaques Maynteyn	Peter Plasscott
Antony Qiryon	Peter Vecke
Nichas Willcot	Jarome Nishernan
Peter Teyvens	Roger Masse
Malliar Van Deusten	Nichas Rawse
George De Pennell	William Drosyan
Jacob De Querec	John De Ardee

On August 31, 1565 (*folio* 288), the Mayor and Jurats, careful to preserve and keep the government of the Town in good union and quietness, and to redress all disorder and contentions that might rise by evil and lewd persons' 'opynation,' especially among the Dutch congregation, and because some heretofore proved very busy persons, disputing matters tending to base seditious error, and for the same have been

punished and imprisoned, and for that complaints have been made anew against some of the Dutch consistory, it was decreed that no manner of person nor of stranger do at any time argue or dispute any matter now in variance touching religion in any place out of the said consistory, and it was charged that all persons of the said congregation, both English and Strangers, that they do conform themselves unto the preachers (?), elders, and other rulers and guardians (?) of the said Dutch congregation, and to be obedient to the statutes, decrees, and ordinances of the said consistory, upon pain of banishment.

What effect this decree had does not appear, but on December 4, 1565 (*folio* 289), it seems that Tulicling (?) De Brand, Romains de Baker, Gerrard Plateau, and John Michells reconciled themselves to the elders of the Dutch congregation.

On February 6 following, 1565 (*folio* 308), Elizabeth Bryocke, widow, and Agnes Smith, of Wynterton in Norfolk, widow, appeared before the Mayor and Jurats, and were committed to ward 'for railing on the Dutch ministers in their own church in service time, calling him knave, and for striking Gyllam de Husher in the same church for rebuking them, on Sunday, 5th February,' and Agnes Smith was to be banished the town for ever.

On March 1 (*folio* 310) I find a curious recognizance entered into by John Iden, of Sandwich, tailor, and fourteen other tailors, some of whom are Flemings. Each person gave his recognizance in the sum of 40*l.*, conditioned that 'he do at no tymes hereafter make, neyther cause or suffer to be made, by hymself, his s'vants, adherents, any man^r of hose but such as be lyimited, appoynted, and pmytted to be worne and used by the Quene's Ma^{tie} lawes and pclamations.'

On March 4, 1565 (*folio* 312), the Dutch congregation appealed to the Mayor and Jurats, on the ground of their great poverty, for relief from the charges of 2*d.* per piece for bayes shipped, which was granted.

That the Dutch sometimes offended against good manners appears from the following: August 8, 1567 (*folio* 348), 'John Dobrys, Joysyua Peter Stowton, Aston Vanderarde, Royall

de Boyes, and Cornellius De Busse, Flemings, and for that they are not of the Dutch congregacion, and do evely dis-measne them selfs lyke Dronkards in the said towne to the evell example of others,' were banished the town for ever.

In 1567 the tax of 2*d.* upon shipping bayes was restored.

The benefit derived by the town from the Dutch settlement appears from an entry of September 10, 1567 (*folio* 350), by which persons were appointed to solicit the Queen that the grant made by her that the strangers making bayes, sayes, and other things, might be confined to Sandwich, as other towns were making suit to have the like privileges.

On December 29, 1567 (*folio* 364), John Awdley, Jacob Platt, John de Kyser, Jacob Van Heuchen, and Edward Bayarde, 'estranger,' confessed that they were not of the Dutch congregation, and it being further proved that they were persons who put their delight in drinking, and so known to be common 'dronkers,' were banished the town.

On July 22, 1568 (*folio* 373), the elders of the Dutch congregation again appeared and declared what a great number of poor they had, and what need they went in, and petitioned that they might be relieved from the 2*d.* a baye shipped to the town, but promised that the same should be duly paid and given to the said poor, which petition was granted.

On July 29, 1568 (*folio* 373), it was ordered that it should be lawful for the Dutch tailors to work their science in their houses, and do no English work; and they were to pay five marks a year for the privilege, to the Treasurers of the town 33*s.* 4*d.*, and to the Corporation of Tailors 33*s.* 4*d.*; and Mathew Platesoofe and Georg Wall were appointed Wardens of the Dutch tailors.

On February 11, 1568 (*folio* 15 of the New Red Book), upon consideration of the bond of the strangers it was ordered that it be entered into by the several members of the congregation for the amounts set out below.

The Dutch Church.

The Ministers and Consistory for the 25 Masters in 3*l.*

The 25 Masters for the Ministers and Consistory in 3*l.*

The 25 Masters in 2*l.* apiece for their several households.
Thè 6 Deacons for the poor in 2*l.*

The Wallonde.

The Consistory for the 8 Masters in 5*l.*
The 8 Masters for the Consistory in 5*l.*
The 8 Masters for each of their several households in 2*l.*
The Consistory for the poor in 2*l.*

The condition that none of them shall depart the town without license from the Mayor or his deputy.

The last entry shows that the Dutch and Walloons were two distinct bodies and of two different churches.

It was also ordered the same day, that whereas the strangers of this town, as well of the congregation as others, do daily walk into the country with weapons and otherwise, to the offence of the country people in this time of restraint, that proclamation should be made on Wednesday next that they none of them do walk out of town further than the liberties, upon pain of fine and imprisonment; and like proclamation was ordered to be made by their ministers in their church on Thursday next. The proclamation is set out in full. At the same time an order was made that all innholders and tipplers should give notice to the Mayor of any strangers coming to their houses, and not let them walk about the town without license.

The new inhabitants appear to have encroached upon the rights of the old freemen, and the following regulations were made on July 22, 1569 (folio 26). 'Itm whereas by the Queene's M^{tie} Lrès patent a certain number of Estrangers for th'only exercysinge of the faculties of making of says, bays, and such other cloth or tapisrye, as hath not been used to be made w^{hin} this Realme, or for fyshing in the seas, may lawfully and safely inhabit within this towne and porte of Sandwich, and exerceyse the said faculties only and none other, and for thoes intents and purposes the Maior, Juratts, and Co^{mtie} may safely and lawfully hier and let to farme dwelling houses, shoppes, messuags, or teñts, for vii yeres or

under; and where a great number of thoes strangers nowe inhabiting wthin this towne by sufferance only, contrary to the said l^rs patent, the Lawes and statuts of this realme, have and yet do not only use and exerceyse dyvers other occupa^{co}ns and trades, but also selling by Retayle of sondry things to the great hinderance and impoverishment of the English Inhabitants of this towne using the same trades and occupa^{co}ns, and in tyme to their utter decaye, Therefore such reforma^{co}n by this assembly ys to be taken herein as the Estrangers in their faculties may be favorably used, the English inhabitants in their said trades by the said strangers not hindered or greved, and the towne lawfully warranted in their doings.'

August 12, 1569 (*folio* 30). 'Itm the same daye theis articles hereunder wrytten were red and consented unto, to be gyven unto the Walloons' mynister under the seale of office of Maioraltie, and he to be charged to publishe the same accordingly in the Walloone churche as followeth:

'Willm Southaick, gent, Maior of this Towne and porte of Sandw^{ch}, and the Jurats of the same, willet and comandeth that the Mynister in the f^rench tonge shall subscribe unto theis articles followinge, and that theis articles be afterwards by him published as they may be observed accordingly.

'First, that the mynister in the f^rench tonge admytted shall firmly houlde the appostolical doctryn, and observe the order in mynistrenge the sacrements as the minister in the flemishe tonge Dothe, all beinge one Church.

'Itm, that he follow as well all rights and customes about the ministry Ecclesiasticall, as also the use of dyssepline receaved and used in the said flemishe Church, And yf he fortune to vary in any thinge, then forthwithe to amende and reforme himself. Itm, as conc^rning theis things and suche lyke, as he shall submit himselfe to the flemishe consistory, or ell to lett M^r Maior of this Towne for the tyme beinge to understand.

'To conclude, Let the mynister dilligently take heede that as well in teaching as in governinge that God's honor and public peace may be furthered, so that yt may as well appeare in all things that they are all one body in Chryst. In wytnes &c.'

January 22, 1569 (*folio* 37). 'Also warninge was gyven unto Lewys de Haunce, Henryck Skirde, [] Buskyn, fraunce Aughtie, M^r Willm, scoolemaster, Peter le Porte, Xpian Kyrker, Gilles Earle, Mycaill Van Orowt, and a fleming in Verrier's house, that they do neither sell or utter any Drinke but only to such as do dwell in their howses, neyther yet do bake any bredd to sell other than their swete bredd.'

On February 24 following (*folio* 41), 'The Maior, Juratts, and Comon Counsell beinge assembled in the counsell chamber, for Reformaçon to be hadd against the abuse of the Strangers not following their arts according to the Queene's Ma^{tie's} graunte in that behalfe made and pvyded, It was Decreed in man^r and forme followinge, that is to say,

'1. First, yf any Stranger dwellinge in Sandwch who are allowed to bring from beyonde the sea, bays, yarne, and household stuff, yf they do any of them during the Tyme of Restraynte, from and after thanunciacon of o^r Ladye next, Do under color thereof bringe, or cause to be broughte, from beyonde the sea, any kynde of mēchandyse whaso^{er}, And do put the same to sale by waight or meazure, to say, eyther by the yarde more or lesse, or by the pounce more or lesse, Retayling the same, and not sould in grosse and whly by wholesale, shall forfait the same, the one halfe to the Towne, th'other halfe to the p^rsenter upon prooffe.

'2. That no stranger, as a shoemaker, from and after thānunciacon of o^r Lady next shall make any new shooes wthin the towne of Sandw^{ch}, or put any to sale unto stranger or Englishe, but he or they shall forfayt the same shoes, and be fyned at the Maior and Juratts' pleasure, uppon pōffe.

'3. That no stranger, as Taylor or hosier, do take uppon him or them to worke for themselves in that arte before he be lycensed by the Maior and Jurats, And have compounded with the corporaçon of Taylors, otherwise every such offender uppon complaynt and pōffe to be fyned unto the Towne and unto the corporaçon.

'4. That no stranger, to say, Carpenter, bryklier, or mason, nor any other artyfecer, nor allowed in her Ma^{tie's} graunte, wthout allowance of the Maior and moste p^rte of the

Juratts, shall take unto them any buylding frames or otherwyse, as masters of the worke w^{thin} Sandw^{ch} or their libties, otherwyse then as a hiered man unto the same Englishe M^r workman, Except the Englishe artyficers cannot or will not in convenient tyme do the same and at reasonable pryce, but he shall be fyned at the pleasure of the Maior and Juratts, th'one halfe unto the Towne, and th'other unto the p^senter uppon prooffe.

'5. That no stranger, maker of silke, Lace, or other Laces, stryped canvas, sack-cloth, or such Lyke comodeties, fringe, or any other kynde of thinge made within the Towne of Sandw^{ch}, do put to sale any of the said comodeties by Retayle, but only by whole sale, to saye, by the whole peece or pounce, except only suche as kepe Cranes wth habardashe wares, and that but only betweene the howers of ix of the Clocke in the forenone and one of the clock at afternoone of the market dayes, uppon payne of forfeiture the same, th'one halfe to the Towne, and the other to the p^senter uppon prooffe.

'6. That no stranger, as a Baker, shall bake any kynde of bredd as comon bredd to be sould by any rate, but only a kynde of bredd not heretofore amongst us used, otherwyse then to occupie themselves in bakinge eny strangers' bredd by pecke or bushell for their money, So yf they do bake bredd, and sell the same at any rate other then aforesaid, th'offender to be fyned by the Maior and Juratts, th'one halfe to the Towne, th'other halfe to the p^senter uppon prooffe.

'7. That no stranger from hensforth shall sell by retayle any Englishe butter, cheese, or bacon, uppon payne of forfeiture of the same, th'one halfe to the Towne, th'other to him that shall p^sent the same uppon due prooffe.

'8. Whereas before this tyme yt hath ben ordered by the Queene, her maiestie, that no traveck shoulde be hadd betwene this o^r Realme of England and the Low countreys w^{thin} the Kinge of Spayne, his Domynions, yet notwthstandinge some of the Dutche people uppon vehem^t suspicōn do traveck into the p^tes aforesaid, to the greate slander and infamy of this Towne, ffor remedy whereof by th'authoretie aforesaid yt is decreed and ordered that whatsoev^r of the said Dutche here-

after shall attempte any thinge contrary to the order afore-said shalbe fyned according to the qualitie and quantitie of the facte, And to be banished this Towne.'

On April 22 following (*folio* 44), articles 1 and 8 were repealed on the petition of the Dutche that they were somewhat grievous to them.

Certain cesses appear to have been made upon all foreigners, including in the term English non-freemen, as well as Dutch and other nationalities. No hint is given of the purpose for which the cess was made, nor anything to show upon what principle the amount assessed was arrived at. The Foreign Book, 1582, mentioned in the extract from Boys, must have been the record of one of these cesses. As the names of the persons cessed may be of interest, I will give a copy of the portion of the cess made in 1572 (*folio* 110) which relates to the strangers.

'The Forren booke as well of Englishe as strangers of this Towne of Sandw^{ch}, endinge in Anno Dñi 1572, xiiij Elizabeth Regine, &c.

OF STRANGERS.

The 1 Ward.

George Hulse, Coriar . . . ij^s
Mychell Van Ecowt, Cooke,
Mr. Gilbert's house . . . iij^s iij^d
Andrew Mayny, Lace weaver . . . v^s
George Haynes, sackcloth weaver . . . x^s
Lyvyn Symons, Taylor, In Mr. Duffield's house . . . v^s
John De Brune, by Mr. Manwood's stable, selleth butter and sope . . . x^s

Lowys Kalendar, Silke weaver . . . vj^s viij^d
Dyurick Score, Silke weaver . . . ij^s
Joyce De Came, Lace weaver . . . vj^s viij^d
Jacobe Loy, the post . . . vj^s viij^d
Jacob Dock, Cobler . . . ij^s
The Carde Maker . . . xij^d
Martyn Decker, selling haberdashery, in Thom's Smyth's howse . . . vj^s viij^d

*The 3 Ward.**The 2 Ward.*

War (?) Geese, Silke weaver . . . x^s

Vincent Jacob, the Baker . . . v^s
Fraunces Ente . . . vj^s viij^d
Christian Kyeke, Baker . . . v^s

John Stallowe, Joyner . ij^s
 Peter Bekart, Taylor . xij^d
 Peter Van Dyck, In Mr.
 Thomson's howse . iij^s iij^d

The 4 Ward.

Charles Van Ferle, Joyner xij^d
 Jacob Clark, Joyner, by Willm
 Jacobes ij^s
 Peter Johnson, Whelwright
 vj^s viij^d
 Andrew Clark, lace weaver,
 In Tyne's howse ij^s
 Peter, Labourer there ij^s
 Gelym Van Est, selleth
 lynn xij^d

The 5 Ward.

Gilles Rose, purse-maker
 iij^s iij^d
 Lawnse Long, Baker v^s
 Gyssel, a Smyth iij^s
 Cristian Lamot, gardener xij^d
 Jacob Wildeners, in Jackson's
 howse xij^d
 Robert Cowerson, Uphol-
 sterer v^s
 Charles Carpenter, in Mr.
 Lee's howse, Cardemaker v^s

The 6 Ward.

Martyn Tewley, selleth Lyn-
 nen xl^s
 George Devos, Turner ij^s
 Mathew Johnson, goldsmyth
 v^s
 John Claris, Cobler, in Mr.
 Minerer's howse xij^d

Engle Robert, in the butchery,
 Basket maker xij^d

The 7 Ward.

Peter Bectory, in Peter
 Knyght's house, carde-
 maker ij^s
 Dyrrick Dyrrickson xij^d
 Peter Van Aples, in Alexan-
 der's howse, Lace weaver v^s
 Peter Bolley, selleth sack-
 cloth and sayes ij^s vj^d

The 8 Ward.

John de Booney, Silke weavor
 v^s
 John Basset, in Bowland's
 howse, silke weavor v^s
 Peter Ballen, turner xij^d
 John de Pryse, shett-maker
 xij^d
 Gyssel Makenowe, Joyner xij^d
 Garret de Hound, by Mr.
 Cobbe's, selleth lynn x^s
 John Plausant, Pot maker
 iij^s iij^d
 Charles Hergebert, gardener
 xij^d
 Gabriel Apart, Baker ij^s
 Jelles Batten, in Mr. Cripp's
 howse, lace-weaver ij^s

The 9 Ward.

George, the sherurgion ij^s vi^d
 John Reigisbere, pothicary x^s
 Willm. Obryth, by the pelli-
 cane, pedlar vj^s viij^d
 Charles Firmyn, Baker, v^s

Fraunys Joyner, in Mr.
Thomson's howse, lace
weavor . . . v^s
A. Long, Cherurgion . . xij^d

The 10 Ward.

Hendryck Ekyer, Cooke
ij^s iij^d

The 11 Ward.

Mathew Platefote, Taylor, In
Mr. Southaick's howse ij^s
Andrew Vramorth, by Thom's
P'her's, taylor . . . xij^d
Lucas Allye, grograyne dyer
and useth mchandize . . ij^s
John Phillippe, the Wallound
post . . . ij^s vj^d

The 12 Ward.

Willm, a Joyner, over against
P'ker the brewer . . . xij^d
Jacob Bowden, Baker vj^s viij^d
Lanselot, in Raynsberd's
howse, smyth . . . xij^d
Jasp' Trowbles, in Elner's
howse, sack-cloth weaver
xx^d

Matyse Hendrick, in Rayns-
berd's howse, Smyth ij^s vj^d

Merchands.

Phillipp Muse . . . ij^s iij^d
Brice Gilles . . . x^s
Gilles Ente . . . v^s
Olyver Peron . . . x^s
Jacobe de Brune . . . x^s
Peter Ayle . . . v^s
Lowrence Bordy . . . x^s
George Babler . . . x^s
Charles Wyts . . . x^s
Jaques Vyrundell . . . xij^s iij^d
Peter de Laport . . . v^s

Tylers and Carpenters.

Mathew van Stable, tylor xij^d
Matyse Smekers . . . xij^d
Haukell Weymeil, tylor xij^d
Charles Manetts, tylor . . xij^d
John Tecker, carpenter . . xij^d
Jacob, a carpenter . . . xij^d
Georg Peperstreate, sawyer
xij^d
Marks Andre, Furrier . . xij^d

On April 15, 1572 (*folio* 99), there appeared before the Mayor and Jurats 'Legier van de Bargar and Charells van Hente, of the Dutch congregaçon, and for that they have refused to have their children cristened accordyng to the order now here used in their congregaçon aforesayd, yt ys ordered by the said Maior and Jurats that they shall have tyme to advyse and have conference wth th'elders of their sayd congregaçon between this and sondaye next, and that they bryng their children to be baptised according to the order now here used, or ells to dep'te this towne within syx dayes then next following.'

On May 4, 1573, certain Dutch men and women were banished 'for certain evil rules by them kept, contrary to the good orders of this towen, at unlawful times.'

On June 1, 1573 (*folio* 130), the Mayor and Jurats gave to the Minister and certain Elders of the 'Walche' Church to be distributed to the poor Frenchmen which have of late come out of France for their conscience' sake the sum of 50^s received from John Cooke, Minister, by the hands of Thomas Andrews, Mayor of Dover.

On September 30, 1573 (*folio* 140), John Bewgrand was appointed to declare who were denizens. He declared that Jacobe de Cort, Giles Ente, Martyn Tewle, and Jacobe Loy, Dutchmen, were reported to be 'Denisons,' and Mathue Hovenugle, 'Walloune,' 'Denison' also; and they with certain others were appointed to cess the Dutchmen and Walloons.

On August 20, 1574 (*folio* 156), there was given to the Dutch and Walloons a certain proclamation against the lodging, harbouring, and receiving strangers to dwell with them, upon pain of banishment and fine of 20*l.*, and that none of them shall forstall anything coming to market, upon pain of forfeiting the thing bought, and 6*s.* 8*d.*, and 28 days' imprisonment.

On December 9, 1574 (*folio* 161), it was enacted that two of every ward should search and see what doings, dealings, and exercises the strangers inhabiting the town do use and exercise, over and above such liberty and grant as is to them licensed by the Queen's letters patent, and to make report and further order to be made by the Mayor and Jurats thereon.

On October 29, 1575 (*folio* 171), the following persons claiming to be denizens appeared before the Mayor and Jurats, and produced their letters patent.

Peter Madenbleck	John Vander Poole, 26 Maïi,
Jacob Scheeris, 4 Maïi, a ^o	a ^o xv ^{to}
xvii ^{mo} , lately come from	Michaell Van Stralser, 4 Maïi,
Dover and forbydden to	a ^o xvij ^{mo}
keep open shopp	Gyles Dute, 6 Maïi, a ^o xv ^{to}

Peter Bullye, 24 Aprilis, a° xvii ^{mo}	Michael Stampe, 4 Junii, a° xvii ^{mo}
Martyne Tewline, 20 Decemb ^r , a° xiiij ^o	Charles van der Broucke, 3 Junii, a° xvii ^{mo}
Wallram Oliver, 3 Junii, a° xviij ^{mo}	Michael de Laughe, 3 Junii, a° xvii ^{mo}
John Bewgrand, 30 Marcii, a° xv ^{to}	Mathewe Vicondell, 12 Febru- arii, a° viii ^{vo}
Vincent Jacobe, 16 Maii, a° xvii ^{mo}	Jacob Loye
Jacobe de Coins, 16 Febru- arii, a° xv ^{to}	Mathewe Hoiénaghe

On December 8, 1575 (*folio* 178), it was agreed that as the inhabitants of the town do find themselves grieved with such denizens as are lately made, who reap the choice commodity from the hands of the said inhabitants to their great detriment, and likely in time to their utter overthrow, it was ordered that the said denizens for this their great 'occurrence' be cessed at Christmas next by the discretion of the Mayor and Jurats, and so from henceforth quarterly, 'Provided always that yf the said Mayor and Juratts shall not so fully and largely cesse them the said Denisons at Christmas next, or at any time after, as shall in reason and equitie seeme sufficient, that then the said Mayor and Juratts shall not refuse to joyne wth them for the better execucon herof, Stephen Rach, Willm. Crispe, John Thorne, Olyver Frend, John Tripp, and John Moiner, sixe of the comon counsell, with whoeme it shall be lawfull to cesse the said Denizons.' At the same time two persons were appointed for each ward to search the houses of the Dutch and ascertain whether they were exercising any trade besides those allowed by the Queen's letters patent, and upon complaint and proof by the searchers the offenders were to be liable to 40^s fine, one month's imprisonment, and banishment from the town.

On January 24, 1577 (*folio* 219), Lyven Symons, tailor, was ordered not to make any garment for any English person, on the petition of the Tailors' Company.

On February 8, 1577 (*folio* 220), Mr. Edward Wood, the Mayor, Mr. Lee, Jurat, and Mr. Robert Bonham, Recorder, were appointed to go to London to answer certain complaints made by the denizens to the Lord Treasurer and Lord Warden.

On March 5 following (*folio* 222), the Dutch and denizens who had refused to pay their cess, and had complained thereof to the Lord Treasurer and Lord Warden, were summoned before the Mayor and Jurats, and agreed to pay the same.

(*Folio* 266), Richard Porredge, Mayor, 1581-2. 'Whereas at the first cominge of the strangers into this towne, about the first yeare of the queene's ma^{ties} reigne that nowe is, it was by the Lordes of her Ma^{ties} most honorable privie Counsell ordered, and by us assented unto, that the said Estrangers should be receeved into this towne, theare to use suche trades as Englishe men did not at that time use, and not to use any trade or occupa^{cion} then used by any the then inhabitants of the said Towne, Whearunto the said Estrangers willingly assented, Since w^{ch} tyme divers of the said Estrangers not regardinge their then agreement, nor the prosperitie and good estate of the English dwellers in this towne, of a gredie desyre to enriche themselves, and to encroche all man^r of trades into their owne hands, have p^{er}cured themselves to be made Denisons and keepe open shopps as mercers, grocers, taylors, chaundelers, shoemakers, &c., and all other trades and occupa^{cions} used by the English inhabitants, to the greate impoverishm^t of all the said inhabitants within the same, and to the utter Rewyne of the said Towne, For remedye whearof, for the better mayntenaunce of the said Towne, and to avoyde that no stranger, Denizon or Englishe, not being a Freeman of the said Towne, shall kepe any open shopp wthout especial Lyeence in wrytinge by the Maior, Juratts, and Com^{ons}, for suche purpose assembled, or the moste p^{te} of them, and composi^{cion} first had wth the wardens of the severall fellowships of any of the said trades (if any suche be), it is thearfore by the Mayor, Jurats, and Com^{ons}, this p^{re}sent daye assembled, Enacted and Decreed, that no p^{er}son at any tyme hereafter, Denizen or stranger borne, shall, after the feast of S^t Bartholomewe next, use any trade wthin this towne, other than

making of Bayes, Sayes, tapestrye, Laces, and Fishinge and other trades limited to be used in their lres patents, and suche other trades as the Englishe Inhabitants before the said lres patents made used not, and that no pson, Denizen or stranger, not being a Freeman of this Towne, shall kepe any open or outward shopp, or inwardly or outwardly sell or utter by retayle any wares or merchandizes after the said feast of S^t Bartholmewe next, wthout the especiall lycence of the Maior of the Towne for the tyme beinge, and the more p^te of the Jurats and Comoñs for suche purpose assembled, and composicō first hadd in wrytinge wth the Wardens for the tyme beinge of suche of the severall fellowshippes w^{ch} they shall use or desiere to trade wthin the said Towne (yf any suche be), Upon payne of forfeiture of fortie shillings for every weke that he or they (after notice of this Decree hadd and made by the Maior or any of his officers or Warden of the said fellowship) shall kepe any such shopp, or utter any suche wares by retayle, To be levyed by distres to the use of the said Maior, Jurats, and Coeñs, and to their successors, and the distres to be soulede for the payment thereof, and yf any pson make Resistaunce or rescue to the levieng thereof, or obstinately impugne this Decree by kepinge open shopp, or sellinge by retayle contrary to the tenor thearof, Then he or they not only to incurre the penaltie aforesaid, but to suffer imprisonment untill he or they will enter into sufficient bonde not to kepe shopp, or utter by retayle any wares contrary to this Decree and ordynaunce.'

On May 18 a letter was read from the Lord Warden on the subject of these disputes; and on May 28, 1582 (*folio* 277), the Maior and Jurats being assembled in the Council Chamber for 'the reformacon of such things as are and have ben troublesom unto the coñon welth, it was thought good that these faculties, arts, misteries, and occupacons, shall reforme themselves according to our L. Warden's order, or ells depte, viz.:

'Shopkeps; Taylors; Coblers; Masons and Brickelayers; Carpenters; Blackesmithes; Bakers, of whom iii are appointed, viz., one S^t Marie's psh, being a widowe, an other dwelling in M^r P^rker's house, in S^t Peter's Psh, an other in the

high Street, dwelling in Jerom Pinock's howse, in S^t Clement's P'sh; Coop's; Shipwryghtes.

'Cowkēps nowē keping kine not to encrease their number that p'sently they kepe, and such as kepe six or upwards to reforme their number to five, and not above, Uppon paine to be utterly expelled from keping of any, and the time of reformation to be betweene this and Michallmas next.'

May 30, 1582. Meeting of Mayor and Jurats.

'*Allowed Tailors present.* Living Van de Pet, George Welles, Anthony Piller, Hermes Hines, John Lamsote, Mathew Hendrick, Peter Gillebert, John Walls, Peter Jones, Jaques Beven, John Maiten, Peter de Hooke. *Cowkep's:* Michael Stampe (Cowes, 2), Vincent Jacob (5), Imgle Sueke (5), Wallram Oliv^r (2), Martine Helle (3), Phiipe Ple (2), John Bember (3). *Bakers:* Anthony Winsberge, Peter de Roder, Francis Mallendry, Thomas Van Hill, John Franche. *Coop's:* Peter Blouke, Jacob Senior, Anthony Winsberge, John Monier, John Coitpening. *Coblers:* Cline (?) Heure, Jacob Marson, Gillme de Songer, Henrike Claike, Boys Croppe. *Masons and Brickelaers:* Charles Mamells, Joyce Lyeenson.

Absent: Carle Veller (ded); Pasquire Lowes, in Mr. Gilbert's house in Love Lane; Michael brighte, in Fishers streate.'

On March 27, 1583 (folio 7 of Book marked A and B), at a meeting of the Mayor and Jurats the following articles were directed to be observed by the lace-weavers and their servants, under penalty of 10s.

'First that no master shall take in or sett a work any mann servaunt or Boye of an other master before he had spoke with the master wth whom the servant or boy before dwelled, that he is deſtēd from his said master wth his good will and consent, and shall also give warninge to his said M^r by the space of one moneth before he shall retaine him into his service, that such a servant of his is willing to deſtē from him and to dwell wth him, And also that every servant or boy deſtinge from his said master shalbe bound to give his M^r warninge one moneth before his deſture, duringe w^{ch} tyme he shall employe himself diligently to his worke and not to Loyter, At th'end of w^{ch} said moneth the newe master shalbe

bound to talk with his old master, and to knowe of him whether his servant or boye have served fully his tyme and done his work accordingly, and yf any be found to abuse or procure any master's s'vants or boyes from their M^r, eyther by bribes or gifts or other unlawfull meanes, whosoever is found to offend in any of theise orders above mencyoned shall forfeyt Tenn shillings to the use above mencioned.

'That yf any parents, or overseers of any workmen or boyes, that will have their children or servants whom they have in chardge of to work wth any other master, the sayd parents or other overseers shalbe bound to give the said master a moneth's warninge, uppon paine above mencioned, and yf parents, or overseers of boyes, or workmen, or Fatherless boyes, or servants, havinge no other lawfull cause to deſt from their master but only difference of wages, the said masters with whom the said boyes, children, or servants, do work shalbe at the choyse and libtye to kepe the boyes or servants to work with them, payinge such wages as other masters will give, uppon payne to forfeyt x^s to th' use above declared.

'Item, yf any servants or boyes of the said occupaçon, beinge indebted to their said masters, will deſte from their said masters, yf any other master sett them awork, the said master shalbe bound to paye and satisfie their old master before they shalbe sett a work, uppon paine above declared.

'Item, yf any workmen or boyes having given their master lawfull warninge as aforesaid, and will not serve out their tyme, yf any other master shall sett them awork before they have fully served their tyme wth their old master, shall forfeyt as abovesayd.

'Item, yf any master of the said occupaçon of lace weavinge givinge any servant or boyes leave to deſt, notwthstandinge he that taketh them in or setteth them awork shalbe bound to speake wth their old masters, To knowe assuredly whether the sayd servants or boyes be deſted by leave and consent of their ould master, and that uppon payne aforesayd.

'Lastly, if any masters of th' occupaçon of lace weavinge aforesayd will not observe and pforme theise orders and con-

dicōns above specified, they shall for every tyme so offendinge forfeyt ten shillings, to be payd to the use above written.'

The names of the Masters of Laceweaving.

Guillam Basenty, Peter Anegres (?), Jacob Trenelde, Jane Loovast, Clais Van de Velde, Peter Coppenoll, Peter Buskin, Adryan Van Broucke, Joris Sarmer, Jane Van de Castell, Claud Waukie, Peter de May, Peter Rukbashe, Francis Lutyn.

(*Same date.*) John Soble, his wife and daughter, Solloke Brewars, and Peter Goras, were banished because they were not of the Dutch congregation, upon pain of whipping.

January 3, 1584 (*folio 20*). It was ordered that the Dutch blacksmiths should not make any 'Andierons, Racks, spitts, tryvetts, Doggs for buildinge, all manner of Nayles save hobb nayles, shoing of horse, waggons and cart wheles, Water works, Shippworks, Cartworks, Ploughworks, Brewers' and Bellworke.'

On September 9, 1584, further regulations were made respecting the cowkeepers, and the numbers they were each to keep specified, 43 in all among 12 cowkeepers.

On February 12, 1584, the Flemish tailors were on the application of the Tailors' company ordered not to do any English work, but to betake themselves to some other trade or depart the town.

On the same day the following strangers, for that they were not of the Dutch congregation, but were presented by them to be common drinkers and ill-livers, were banished: Frances de Vrost, Frances Lamon, Nicholas Brooke (Wallon), Vedeste Polonie, Jacob Matts, Henrich Mayhull, Pene de Rooshen, Jacob Lameus.

December 15, 1585 (*folio 49*). 'Whereas of late some controversie hath bene moved betweene the English Taylors of this towne of Sandwich, and the Dutch or Flemishe Taylors of the sayde Towne, The Englishe complaininge againste the Dutch for usinge that occupaçon wth in this Towne, and the Dutch taylors together wth th'elders of their congregaçon earnestly sainge and humbly requestinge to have a competent number of Dutch taylors of their sayde congregaçon tollarated

to make Dutch apparell only, as well for that the lyke tolleracōn is at Canterburye, Maydestone, London, Colchester, and such lyke places wheare strangers are licensed to dwell, as alsoe for the English Taylors of this Towne nether doe nor have accustomed to make or mend any flemishe appēll, and much lesse will be willinge to botch or patch the olde and bad appēll of the poore people of their congregacōn, whearof they have a greate nomber, yf God should visit them with the infectious siknes of the plage, wth complainte of the one, and requeste of the other, Wee, the Maior and Juratts of this sayde Towne of Sandw^{ch}, have deliberately weighed and considered, and findinge that the makynge of the Dutch or Flemish fashion of appēll is nothinge hurtfull or p^riudicall to the Englishe taylors of this towne, whoe nev^r used to make any such, And one th^other syde consideringe the great pov^rtie of the strangers, their affliction, and beinge m^t (?) owte of their own cuntry for the Gospell of Jesus Christ, and that they are not able any wayes to sett uppon use any tollarable trade for mainteynance of their livinge, And wh^o all seeinge their willinge mynds to contribut a porcion of their labores for the same, Yt is thearefore in tender consideraōn of the causes aforesayde this daye ordered, and wth consent of the Wardens and the moste p^rte of the wiseste and discreeteste p^rsons of the fellowship of the Englishe Taylors agreed unto and thought conveniente, by us the sayde maior and Juratts, that by waye of Tolleraōn theis p^rsones heare under written and no other shall and may, closly in their howses, exercise the crafte and occupaōn of Taylors wthin this Towne, only to make, mende, and botch Dutch or Flemishe appēll and noe other, payinge yearely theis somes of money followinge, that is to say, To the maior of this Towne for the tyme being to the use of the Co^mltie of this Towne, fortie shillings, and to the use of the Wardens and fellowship of the Englishe Taylors theare fower pounds, of lawfull money of Englande, at the feaste of the nativitie of S^t John Baptiste and the birth of our Lorde Christe by even porōns yearely to be payed, Provided alwayes, that yf at any tyme heareafter any of the afore licensed Dutch taylors by juste and due proof shalbe convicted

to have made, botched, or mended any man's Englishe appell, contrary to the treue meaninge of this p̄sent order, That then and from thence forth this p̄sente graunte and tolleracon to such p̄son and p̄sones soe offendinge shall fully cease and determine, and the offender and offenders from tyme to tyme to be utterly barred and secluded for ev̄r more to use and exerceyse that crafte and occupacon wthin this Towne, any thinge thearein before expressed to the contrary notwithstanding; for the better meting and fyndinge owte of such offenders yt is graunted unto the Wardens of the Englishe fellowshipp of Taylors, uppon requeste to be made unto the maior and his deputie of this Towne for the tyme being, to have one of the seriants at mace or some other sufficient officer from tyme to tyme to make search as app̄taineth.

'John de Watte, Peter de Hooke, John Martyn, Paskier Lamers, Peter Jooris, John Pille, Peter Mersomā, John Verroy, John de Younge, Jaques Vacoste noble, Catharen Riekevaents (?), Mary Van Cake.'

March 15, 1586 (*folio* 55). The Mayor and Jurats, by virtue of the letters of the right honorable the Lords of her Ma^{tie's} most honorable Privie Counsel, called before them 'all such strangers as weare dwellinge and remaininge wthin this Towne, and by testimony of the minister and elders of the Dutch church heare established weare found not to be of theire congregacon, and accordinge to theire honors' sayde l̄res weare comanded to dep̄te this Towne, viz., all the single p̄sons of them betweene this and the xxvth day of this instant moneth of March, and the other, w^h are maryed and have housholde and famyly, wthin xiiij dayes next after the feaste of Easter next, uppon payne to incur such ponishm^t as the Maior and Jurats of this Towne shall impose uppon them, Except such p̄sons as wthin the tymes afores^d shall happen to be sicke, and such woemen as shalbe greate wth chylde.'

May 5, 1588 (*folio* 115). Mahue Carpenter, stranger from Delft in Holland, Potmaker, was admitted to use and exercise his faculty of making pots, the rather because there is great need of one of that faculty in this town.

October 17, 1588 (*folio* 120). Some of the Dutch cow-

keepers were fined for keeping more than the authorised number of cows.

January 17, 1596 (*folio* 224). 100*l.* was borrowed by the town from the better and wealthier sort of the Dutch inhabitants, for a quarter of a year.

September 18, 1598 (*folio* 249). A decree made for the Dutch to pay 40*l.* a year for night watching was reduced to 36*l.* on their petition, upon the ground of their poverty, which sum was subsequently reduced again to 28*l.*

June 27, 1600 (*folio* 293). Regulations made as to the employment of female labour by the Dutch.

December 25, 1634 (*folio* 53 of New Black Book). The Dutch were assessed at 40*l.* for their share of the ship-money levied by the King's writ. The whole assessment on the town and its liberties, which then included Walmer, Deal, Ramsgate, Sarre, and Brightlingsea, was 260*l.* The writ is copied in full, and is one of those that were disputed by Hampden.

In June 1635 (*folio* 273) letters were received from the Lord Warden, inclosing others from the Privy Council, stating that the King had received information of the landing of great numbers of strangers in Dover, who desired to retire for a time into this kingdom. The King was pleased to give them passage, and directed the local authority to keep a register of the names, surnames, qualities, and professions of all such strangers, which was to be sent to the Privy Council; and not to permit the strangers to reside in any of the ports, but to repair to the more inland towns.

June 3, 1635. The Mayor and Jurats, according to the order of the King and Privy Council, 'did call before them all the strangers, who in respect of troubles abroad were lately arrived out of foreigne kingdomes at this town and port, wth an intent to reside and dwell here for a tyme for their better safety, whose names followe (vidett):

'Louis Pocksing, of Ouldkerke neere Callais, gentl., and Louisa Catherina, his wife, and Jaques Morelle, his servant.
Judeth Dewell, Callais, widowe, and Judith, her daughter.
Daniell de Bray, of Callais, Marchant.

- John Van Brugg, of Marke neere Callais, Marchant.
 Giles Bateman, of Callais, husbandman, and Jacoba, his wif,
 and three children, (viz.) Guillena, Anna, Susanna.
 Lieven de Scheiter, of Marke aforesaid, Mēhant, and Anna,
 his wief, Guillena, his daughter, and Anna, his grand-
 child, and Michellina Van Langdogan and Omghor (?)
 Francis Van Langdogan, maidens, his kinswomen.
 Guilline Resteman, of Hofekerke neere Callais, husband-mā.
 John Van de Breucke, of Marke aforesaid, shopkeep, and
 Jacob, his sonne.
 James Horeson, of Callais, Marchant.
 Cornelius Kruys, of Marke aforesaid, Distiller of strong waters,
 and Mary, his daughter.
 Charles Hoevenayhel, of Callais, oyle beater.
 Peter Daton, of Marke aforesaid, Marchant.
 Marius Shewes, of Shempe neere Callais, husbandman.
 Francis de Lecluse, of Marke aforesaid, husbandman.
 Eustace de Hoevaer, of Callais, husbandman.
 Giles Christian, of Stewarke in Flanders, w'th Mary his wief
 and five children, Catherine, Nicholas, Mary, Jaconin,
 Francis.
 Anthony Sues, of Callais, Linnen Weaver, and Mary, his
 Sister.
 Jacoba Sues, of Marke aforesaid, widd., and Nicholas, her
 sonne, being a merchant.
 Clara Audens, of Marke, Spinster.
 Jeronime Deroneman, of Coyne in France, Say weaver.
 Jacoba Danacker, of Marke aforesaid, Spinster.
 John Lambs, of Marke aforesaid, husbandman.
 John Cappon, of Cullen—a mile from Callais, husbandman.
 Joane, his mother, being a widdowe.
 Peter Porree, of Marke aforesaid, husbandman.
 John de Brouyer, of Coyne neere Callais, Shopkeep.
 Louisa Corunts, of Callais, widd.
 Frances Clenwercke, of Marke aforesaid, widd., and Jacoba,
 her daughter.
 Parnell Clarke, of Callais, widd., and Mary, her daughter.
 Nicholas de Cocke, of Marke aforesaid, husbandman.

'And after they had all appeared, and presently given their names, surnames, qualities, and professions, the Mayor and Jurats did give them to understand his Ma^{ty} pleasure to be, not to p'mitt them or any of them, so retyreng themselves as aforesaid, to dwell and reside in this Towne and port or in any other port, but to repaire to the more inland Townes and more remote from the sea, and strictly comanded to obey his highnes' pleasure therein.

June 26, 1635 (*folio* 276). A petition was ordered to be presented to the Lord Warden 'requesting his Lordpp's assistance for the contynuaçon of the Dutch congregaçon in that manner that now they are.'

February 22, 1635 (*folio* 295). A further list of strangers is as follows :

Lodwick Pockolfing, gentl., and his family.
 Olais de Springer, Shoemaker.
 Laurence Blanchard, Wever, and his family.
 Daniel De Bray, marchant, and his family.
 John De Grave, husbandman, and his wief.
 John Verbrugg, Linnendraß, and his wief.
 Giles de Seife, husbandman, and his wief.
 Thomas Vankowte, husbandman, and his wief.
 Lieven de Sheiten, husbandman, his wief and family.
 John De Brooker, Tylemaker, and his family.
 Francis de Cluse, husbandman.
 Jaques Florison, wine cooper, and his family.
 Charles Horenayell, husbandman, and his family.
 Goody Froy, Costenoble, husbandmā.
 John Manvelle, husbandman, and his family.
 Atheren Vanhout, husbandman, and his family.
 Judeth Duell, of Callais, widow, borne at Norw^{ch}.

September 15, 1684 (*folio* 253). It was ordered 'that all and every the antient decrees hereafter mentioned (that is to say), '*inter alia*,' one decree made in the majoralty of Stephen Ruck, Esq., the seaventeenth day of August, in the 25th yeare of the reigne of our late sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, &c., that the elders of the Dutch congregation should give notice

to the Mayor of all such strangers as are not of their gation,' shall from henceforth be revived and stand in f

And with this, the last extract I have found, I c
this paper, which I fear is much too long, but i
abridgment of the notes I have made, and it is dif
know what to leave out and what to retain.

Notes and Queries.

I.

ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF ADMIRAL
DE COLIGNY.

From the Archives of Simancas, *Legajos sueltos de Estado*, No. 1. Francia.

COMMUNICATED BY SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., PRESIDENT.

(Note.—The following account is printed *verbatim et literatim* from the official Simancas transcript with all errors.)

Le xxij^e du mois d'aoust 1572 Cortant¹ l'admiral de france hors du louure a Paris enuiron les x heurs du matin vers son logis en lisant vne l're luy faict² tire vn coup d'arquebouse hors de d'une fenestre de la maison d'un chanoine qui auoit este precepteur de mons^r de Guise vn peu plus bas que la maison qui de present est a Mons^r frere du Roy. L'harquebouse estoit charge de quatre balles mais l'une soulle adressa et dona premierement au doige premier apres le poulce de la main droicte le quel fut emporte puis passant a la main gauche endesoubes des doigez entroit en la paulme de la main passant per le bras soreoit³ deux doiges endesus du coude froissant a⁴ desrompant tous les os dudit bras. La maison auoit deux portes l'une sur la rue par ou passoit l'Admiral et cella estoit serree l'autre sur vne rue estroite et ceste cy estoit ouuerte ou vng lacquay tenoit vng cheval d'espaigne blancq sur le quel celluy qui fit le faict se saulua per la rue St. Anthoine et a la porte voyant quil nestoit suivy desert le loysir dy prendre vng cheual ture sur le quel yl monta et tira le chemin de brye comme pour lors ont presuma. Durant ce

¹ *Sic*, for *Sortant*.

² *Sic*, query *faist* in original for *fut*.

³ *Sic*, for *sortoit*.

⁴ *Sic*, no doubt *et* in the original.

faict le Roy estoit jouant a la paulme avec Mons^r de Guise et oyant le bruit qui se menoit par la rue voulut sortir entendant que l'admiral estoit mort ou blesse pour ce moins mais Mons^r de Guise ayant mis la teste a la porte qui respondoit sur le mesme rue s^e approcha du Roy de luy et luy dict quelques parolles en l'oreille puis se retirarent tous deux et les gentilhommes de leur suite au louure per la montee secrete qui tombe au dict jeu de paulme ou Mons^r d'Aumale se retrouua aussytost et bien cent gentilzhomes de sa suyte.

Quant a le admiral se sentant blesse dict aussy tost Le guisart ma dresse ceste embusche et quelques aultre avecque luy incontinent se retirarent en son logis le Prince de Biarn et le Prince de Conde Messires de la Rochefocault Marquis de Rende Montgomery et plusieurs aultres grans seigneurs et ne demorarent gueres que avec le Prince de Conde sortirent pour enquerir de ce faict pendant que d'aultre coste le Prince de Biarn alloit faire ses plainctes aux Roy et Royenne mere. Ayant doncq le dict Prince de Conde faict enuironner la maison lon trouua seulement a la porte de deriere le lacquay qui auoit tenu le cheual le quel son alloit vers et innocent et recherchant la maison ne trouuerent que vne vielle femme desquelz se saisissantes sur le camp. Ils les interrogarrent quy ce auoit este et fut respondu sans aultres menaces tant par le vng que par le aultre que ce estoit vng archer du Roy nomme [] le quel quelques jours auparauant selon le raport de la vielle auoit este la amene par Mons^r de Sailly premier m^r de hostel du Roy et recommande pour madame de nemour au chanoine. Et nonostant que ainsy fusse sy est ce que incontinent per la ville les huguenotes semarent bruit que cecy auoit este per vng espagnol a la suggestion du nonce du Pape et de l'Ambassadeur d'espaigne. L'Admiral estant acheue de penser enuiron les xij heures de midy depescha soudainement xx persones en tous les endroictz de la france a fin que le plustot que faire se pourroit ilz eussent les plus prochains se rendre a Paris et les aultres se joindre ensemble en quelques lieux du Royaulme aduertissant semblablement les ministres et ceulx de la Religion qui pour lors estoient a Paris de se renforcer de bonne quantite darmes et

ce le plus secretement que faire se pourroit. D'autre coste Mons^r de Guise et Mons^r d'Aumale faisoient le mesme. Quant au Roy la Royenne mere et son conseil ilz furent trois ou quatre heures empesches a joindre leurs juges criminez les President de la court et faire toutes les diligences por s'enquerir du faict rechercher Mons^r de Saylly et les chanoine les quelz me ¹ furent trouues et faire information de ce faict la quelle ayant per la disposition de ces deux prisonniers susdicts. Le Roy la Royenne mere Mons^r frere du Roy et les aultres Princes furent voir l'Admiral enuiron les iij heures apres disner saulf messires de Guise et d'Aumale et ayant faict assamblar les chirurgens principauls du Roy et de la court. Le premier fut d'aduis de couper le bras incontinent a l'Admiral mais les trois aultres furent de opinion contraire, toute fois le plus grand hombre ² emporta la voix que on attendroit jusques au lendemain pour apres auoir leue la premiere application se reigler comme ilz trouueroient conuenir tout ce soir lon mentendist ³ en aultre chose fors que au partir de chez l'Admiral la Royenne mere luy vouloit tousiours persuader de vouloir se faire transporter dans le louure craindant que ceuls qui luy auroient procure ce coup nentreprinsent de le partuer mais l'Admiral respondoit quil nestoit nul besoing et puis quil estoit aduertty d'auoir des ennemis en celle court. Il auoit bon moyen de leur faire amonder la blesure ayant comme il disoit sept cens gentilhomes pour lors en Paris qui tous perdroient volontairement la vie pour luy et quil auoit bien tant de credit au Royaulme qu'auant viij jours il pouuoit asamblar xx^m homes pour faire teste au plus hardy du Royaulme ces propos ne pleurent gueres au Roy ny a la Royenne et ainsy pour dautant plus rassourer de sa personne luy priarent pour le moins puis quil en vouloit venir au louure quil fut content de prendre deux compaignies de harquebousiers de la garde du Roy de paour des Parisiens qui lui vouloient beaucoup de mal ce quil accepta et furent enuoyes les deux compaignies qui ce matin estoient a la garde deuant le louure et en leur lieu y furent mises deux aultres et ainsy se passa cesté journee le lendemain lon sappe-

¹ Sic, for ne.² Sic, for nombre.³ Sic, for n'entendit.

rent que a la balle auoit du poison car inflammation fut si grande que enuiron les huict heures du matin toute l'espaule gauche le col et loeil gauche estoient en feu et descourant le premier appareil de luy trouuans ya toute la chair pourye et vne fort fiebre jugearent quil ne pouoit guieres durer plus que trois jours et que encoir que lon luy coupasse le bras il namendroit pourtant sur ce l'Admiral fit appeller son conseil et y furent l'espace de quatre heures la resolution fust pour aseurance de leur religion et conservacion deux tous executer promptement ce que ja ilz auoient auparauant aduise et arresté entre eulx escauoir leuer le Roy de Navarre pour Roy et tuer le Roy les Royennes meres et filles mesires danton et dalenchon messires le chevalier dangoulesme frere bastard du Roy et les principauls de la faicion de Guise pour a quoy paruenir faisoient estat de se saisir du louure par le quartier du Prince de Biarn du Palais par le moyen du President de la place et de St. Germant par ce que la maison du Roy de nauarre y logeoit pour ce faire ilz auoient six cens gentilzhommes et dans la ville enuiron iij^m homes de la religion les quelz estoient ja furnis darmes necessaires faisoient estat qu'estans saisis des dis trois places pouloient attendre les trois ou quatre mil homes quilz auoient de si apretez es enuiron de Paris pour le xxv^e au soir ou pour le plus tard le xxvj^e au matin en estant conclus ilz conuocarent le Prince de biarn Mons^r le Admiral luy declara la bonne volonte quil auoit porte a son seruice et que voyant quil estoit en termes de ne pouoir plus longuement viure il auoit pense ung bon moyen pour donner aseurance a ses estatx aux termes es quelz se retrouuoient les affaires de la religion et pour l'auentance de sa mort. Puis de mot a aultre luy declara quil conuenoit promptement executer ce que desus luy disant pour la fin et ce fait ie mouray content vous laisant en testament le Royaulme de france et ainsi fut ordonne que Mons^r de beauuois les deux pardillans et capitaine Pile Mons^r de hancourt² et six aultres capitaines coucheroient celle nuit au quartier dudict Prince et que enuiron les iij heures du matin y¹ la cuisine dudict

¹ *Sic*, but no doubt the usual record abbreviation for *par* in the original.

² *Sic*, query for *Francourt*?

Prince entreroit Mons^r de Bricquemor et son filz avec deux cens gentilz homes le Conte de la Rochefoucault monteroit cependant a cheual et avecq deux cens gentilz homes se feroit fort du palais et quelques aultres de la faction logez pres St. Jean de grève avec certains soldatz se saisiroient de la place. Le marquis de Rende du pont n're dame Le Conte de Montgomery et Vidame de Chartres et ¹ Germain des pretz. Le Prince de Biarn se retira enuiron les six heures au louure et ayant souppe ne faisoit que souspirer et sestant retire pres vne fenestre avec la Princesse sa femme luy declara ce qui se estoit passe ce jour luy adjoustant que la cruaulte du fait ne pouoit permettre quil laisast executer vne telle entreprise contre les personnes sy proches de son sang bien que ce fut avec si aseuree esperance de se faire si grand Roy et que pertant elle en aduertise la Roynne mere ce quelle fit enuiron les vij heures et demye. La Roynne mere assamble incontinent ses enfans au conseil et les Princes du sang et ainsi en pied fut prise conclusion d'executer a lamimirot ce que l'Admiral pensoit faire luy mesme contre eulx et ainsi le plus secrettement quil fut possible lon fit venir enuiron les dix heures toutes les gardes avec leurs Capitaines les gentilzhomes que lon dit de la garde du Roy et ceulx de la suyte de Mesires freres du Roy de mesires de Guise et d'Aumale fut ordonne que Mons^r de Guise avec cinquante gentilzhomes de la garde cinquante archiers et les gentilzhomes de sa suyte qui pouoient estre cent ou six vingtz accompaigne de Mons^r le cheualier d'Angoulesme yroit assaillir l'Admiral et Mons^r frere du Roy avec cent gentilzhomes de sa suyte vne compaignie d'harquebousiers de celles de la porte et cinquante archiers yroit au logis de la Rochefoucault le Chef du guet de la ville vers le palais avec ses gens le Preuost des marchans soub mons^r de neuers avec cent et cinquante archiers de l'estoille et de la nauire se tiendroient a la place de St. Johan en greue et maison de la ville de Paris. Ce il fut ordonne ainsi fut execute de sorte que a vne heure apres minuict qui fut le jour St. Bartholemy Mons^r danjou sortit par la porte du louure et Mons^r de Guise y ² les

¹ *Sic*, for *de*.

² *Sic*, most likely the record abbreviation for *par* in the original.

cuisine du Roy et executa premier que Mons^r se rendant par derriere a la fenestre de lauuant chambre de l'Admiral la quelle ayant este portee par terre par la Capitaine Cossin Liutenant de Ph[']le Etrossy se jetta dedens avec xx gentilhomes ayans tous deux pistolles ilz trouarent en ceste piece enuiron xx persones les quelz furent incontinent masacres et rompant chuis¹ de la chambre de l'Admiral tuarent cinq aultres persones trouuarent l'Admiral renuerse sur son liet faisant le mort et luy secouant le bras blesche le Capitaine li dit fut Reynat² venes veoir Mons^r de Guise qui vous attend la bas mais il ne faisoit semblant de rien tant que estant leue par trois ou quatre fut mis pour estre jecte par la fenestre alors estriuant du piede contre la fenestre et embrassant l'estanfique³ avec le bras droict dit au Capitaine pour Dieu tues moy sans me jetter la bas lors le Capitaine luy dict tu nes doncq pas mort et ce disant le jetta avecq vng coup de pied en bas disant a mons^r de Guise qui estoit en la court tenes Mons^r voyla le meschant qui a tut mons^r v're pere. L'Admiral tomba sur le visaige et se froissit tout toutesfois voyant mons^r de Guise luy dict tues moy. Mons^r de Guise le regardant vn petit luy respondit Ah meschant traistre a dieu et a ton Roy penses tu que je voueille mettre les mains en vn si malheureus cheualie que toy et y souiller mes mains tiens et en disant luy donna vng coup de pied contre la teste et passa oultre pour donner ordre que le surplus de ce qui restoit en la maison fut mis en pieces entretant vng gentilzhomme la present donna a l'Admiral vng coup de pistolle au trauers de la teste. Cependant mons^r frere du Roy auoit execute son entreprise et aynsi retournans vers le louure le Roy ordonna a Mons^r de Guise daller trouuer montgomery et le vidame de Chartres mais pensans faire entrer son cheual en la bareq pour passer la riuiera jamais il ny volut entrer qui fut cause que Mons^r de Guise retournant vers le pont au change print quatre trompettes du Roy et les heraulx et faisoit crier alarme

¹ Sic; no doubt l'huis = the door, in the original.

² *Le feu renard* = dead fox.

³ Query, for *estanson* = *élançon*, a stanchion; or for *estampereche* = a large upright beam.

pour le Roy par toute la ville contre les huguenotz qui auoient voulu tuer le Roy et mesires ses freres ordonnans aux quartiers qui¹ tous fissent croix de papier blanc sur leurs chapeaulx pour sentrecognoistre lors sortirent les catholiques et donnans lalarme per la ville se saisirent des carrefaus et estans maistres diceulx enuiron les iiij heures commencherent a saccager les huguenotz sans mercy et avec telle diligence quil y en eut auant les xj heures du midy mortz plus de trois mil six cens le Conte de montgomery le Vidame de Chartres et sa suyte estoient ya en pieces et oyant le bruit que lon faisoit de laultre coste vit venir mons^r de Guise a cheual accompagne de ij^e ou iij^e homes qui fut cause que montant aussi a cheual se saulua legierement par le faulx vourg de St. Germain ou venant mons^r de Guise trouua la porte de la ville serree et fut le malheur si grand quil passa vne grande demie heure auant quelle peult estre ouuerte. Le Conte de montgomery prenoit le chemin vers Chartres a main droicte et neust guieres chemine quil rencontra cent et xx cheuaulx de ceulx qui estoient mandez les jours precedens par Mons^r le Admiral avec ce secours il eut moyen de donner alleynes a son cheual et se detint vng peu se retirant par le mesme chemin seulement au tret mais il fut incontinent rataint par mons^r de Guise lors il reprint sa fuyte mais ce ne peult estre de sorte que mons^r de Guise ne luy en tuast bien soixante et quatre quoy uoyant se separa le surplus qui ca qui la jusques a se mettre en vng bois joignant la forest de Montfort ou il se tetta luy troisieme seulement et soutint Mons^r de Guise ses cheuaulx recrues et jettant ja le sang par les ongles apres auoir donne lordre quil conuenoit en ce quartier pour suiure les fuyars en donnant charge a vng a vng (*sic*) Capitaine des gardes du Roy et aux officiers de la venerie et forest se retira vers Paris ou il arriua le lendemain matin le xxv^e de ce mois le xxiiij^e apres disner continuoît encoir le massacre cependant lon prit les corps des gentilzhomes suyans et aultres cinquante deux dont il ne escay les noms et les passa a lon de laultre coste de Seyne en vne grande et largue fosse qui estoit joignant la riuiere ou lon estoit accoustume de jecter les charognes

¹ *Sic, for que.*

mortes et la leur jectant quelque peu de terre furent a demy ensepuelis cest assigneur

Le Conte de la Rochefoucault

Son filz aisne

Bricquemor Lieutenant general de mons^r l'Admiral son filz

Le marquis de Renel aultrement buissy St. Iorge

Les deux Pardiglians freres

Le Capitaine Pille

Monsr. de Beauuois gouuerneur de la jeunesse du prince de biarn.

Habanes ¹ chancellier de mons^r l'Admiral lors que restant sayssy de plusieurs pais de france disposet des affaires des dicts pais comme Lieutenant general pour le Roy prisonnier comme il disoit.

Francourt chancellier de la Royenne de nauarre

Le marquis de saluces

Le grand escuider du Prince de Biarn et plusieurs aultres

et soir le Roy manda le mareschal de montmorency par vnes letres lon mentend ² encoir ce quel a respondu car estant a roscouan partit a la mesme heure vers Chantilly ou le vindrent trouuer les huguenotz de Senlis les quelz il ne voient receuoir les aduertisant quil eusent a se retirer de la et quilz prouoyasent a leurs affaires. Le lendemain continua ce massacre tout le jour par la ville de Paris et saccageoient les maisons des huguenotz jusques a ce que enuiron le midy lon fit commandement a tous les habitans se retirer chacun en sa maison et en leur quartier sur paine de la vie le surplus du jour les gardes tant du Roy comme de la ville ne faisoient aultre chose que sacquer les huguenotz hors leurs maisons et les mener sur le petit pont et au pont change et la les precipiter en bas ou tuer tellement que en tout ce jour et le precedant lon tient que le nombre des tues et noyes pasoit entre hommes el femmes huict mille. Ce soir fut tire de sa maison le President Villemor et vng ytalien nome Capitaine mausin et furent menes comme les aultres sur le pont et tost apres on fit le mesme au President de la place et a sa femme et filles mais il y

¹ Sic, for cavagnes.

² Sic, for n'entend.

fut meme avec les archiers du Roy et sur ce terme ayant ceulx du conseil du Parlement requis au Roy que la sentence aultrefois donnee per eulx contre l'Admiral fust executé lon meit le corps sur vne claye et fut traisne per les rues mais il ne fut possible le pendre comme on pensoit au montfaulcon car vng gentihomme de Paris luy trancha la teste et layant fiche au bout de son espee la portoit a cheual avec vne grande suyte de homes et de femmes par toutes les rues de Paris criant a chaulte voix voicy le meschant qui at voulu tuer le Roy mesires ses freres et a faict tant de maulx a la couronne de france et a n're ville de Paris et le suiuyrent tant de gens que en peu d'heure tout le corps fut mis en tant de pieces quil neust este possible de en retrouver vne bastante pour estre pendue le lendemain au matin qui fut le xxvj^e lon eust nouuelles que a meaulx, Orleans et Rouan se estoit faict le mesme ou il nestoit demore home viuant de ceulx de la Religion car aussy tost que le Roy fut certain de la mort de l'Admiral et du Conte de la Rochefoucault il donna ordre que ce quil faisoit a Paris fut faict par icelles villes au moins comme s'est entendu de Mons^r de Ville Roy.

II.

ORIGIN OF THE WORD HUGUENOT.

COMMUNICATED BY SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., PRESIDENT.

In a very rare work, of which only two copies are known to exist, entitled 'Avertissement de Henri Estienne, pour son liure intitulé l'Introduction au traité de la conformité des merueilles anciennes avec les modernes, ou traite preparatif à l'Apologie pour Herodote,' printed at Geneva in 1567, and suppressed by the Genevan government, I find the following account of the derivation of the word Huguenot. There is every reason to believe that it is the correct one.

' Il y en a qui ne se plaignent d'aucuns des points mētiōnez ci-dessus, mais de cestuy-ci: c'est qu'en quelques histoires ie n'ay pas esté bien informé des circonstances par le menu. Ce que ie pense bien se pouoir trouver vray en aucunes, toutesfois en peu. Mais il-y-a difference d'ignorer vn faict, et

d'ignorer vne circonstance d'iceluy. Ce qui est d'autant plus pardonnable, que nous voyons auiourdhuy en France la certitude de plusieurs choses estre perdue et comme enseuelie du iour au lèdemain. Sur quoy i' allegueray pour vn exemple fort familier, ce mot *Huguenot*, qui trotte tant auiourdhuy par la bouche de plusieurs : & à grand' piene de cinq-cens qui en vsent, les cinq sçauroyent-ils dire dont il est venu. Je laisseray ceux qui pensent que ce soit quelque mot Allemand, ou pris de quelque autre pays estranger : & viendray à ceux qui pensent parler plus pertinemment, & en redre quelque bonne raison. Les vns croyent qu'il vient de Ioannes Hus, les autres tiennēt pour seur qu'il à son origine de Hugues Capet. Les autres disent qu'il est pris d'un nommé Hugues, en la maison duquel on commāça à prescher secrettemēt à Tours, mais les autres maintiennent que c'estoit le prescheur qui auoit ce nom. Aucuns disent que Hugues du nom duquel a esté forgé ce mot Huguenot, estoit vn fol courāt les rues en quelque ville de Frāce. Il-y-a encore un' opiniō qui est la moins diuulguee, et qui toutes-fois est la vraye : c'est que ce mot Huguenot est pris du roy Huguon, qui vaut autant à dire à Tours qu'à Paris le Moine bourré. Et celuy qui de Huguon deriuā Huguenot fut vn moine, qui en un presche qu'il faisoit là, reprochant aux Lutheriens (ainsi qu'on les appeloit lors) qu'ils ne faisoient l'exercice de leur religion que de nuict, dit qu'il les falloit doresenauant appeler Huguenots, comme parens du roy Huguon,¹ en ce qu'ils n'alloyent que de nuict non plus que luy. Que si il est tant malaisé de trouuer la verité d'une chose qui est nō seulement de nostre temps, mais de fraische memoire, nous deuōs-nous tant formalizer pour des cirōstances de quelques faicts dont la memoire est ia presque perdue, combiēqu'ils soyent auenus seulement vn peu deuant nostre temps, ou bien mesmes en iceluy ?

This passage does not appear to have been known either to Ménage or to M. Littré, at least it is neither quoted in the 'Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Française,' of the former, nor in Littré's Dictionary.

The name of 'Huguenot' appears in use in France as early

¹ A kind of ghost or spectre.

as the 14th century. M. Littré quotes from 'l'Histoire Littéraire de la France,' v. xxiv. p. 307, 'Le 7 Octobre 1387 Pascal Huguenot de Saint Junien en Limousin, docteur en décret.' I find in a work entitled 'Ducatiana, ou Remarques de feu M. le Duchat sur divers sujets d'histoire et de littérature' (Amsterdam, 1738) v. i. p. 80, 'Huguenot *Bony* fut reçu en 1410 Huissier de la Chambre des comptes de Dijon, sous serment par lui fait de ne savoir ni lire ni écrire.'

There does not, therefore, seem to be any good reason for deriving the word 'Huguenot' from two German words—'eid-genoss,' i.e. bound by oath.

I was indebted to the late Mr. Robert S. Turner for the reference to Henri Estienne's 'Avertissement,' of which he possessed one of the only two existing copies.

III.

MISCELLANEA.

In Trinity Term 1719 an action¹ was commenced on the equity side of the Court of Exchequer by the Rev. Charles Bean, executor of the will of Thomas Pennington, deceased, who had been agent to one of the regiments raised by William III., against the executors of the will of the Hon. Harry Mordaunt, deceased, late colonel of the same regiment.

The subject-matter of the suit is the alleged non-settlement of certain accounts, and is of no practical value. The pleadings and depositions, however, are of some interest, as they supply a list of the officers of the regiment, of whom about a third bore French names.

The regiment is said to have been raised in 1688, its first commander being Charles, Earl of Monmouth (afterwards Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth), to whom the above-named Hon. Harry Mordaunt succeeded. Originally it was of foot soldiers, but 'on or about' August 1, 1698, it 'was made marines,' and on May 20, 1699, it was disbanded.²

¹ The proceedings in this suit are at the Public Record Office, the references to them being Ex. B. & A., Geo. I., London & Midd., Nos. 621 and 2851; Ex. Depositions, 8 Geo. I., Mich., No. 26; 12 Geo. I., East., No. 26; and 12 & 13 Geo. I., Trin. No. 11.

² These two dates are taken from the bill of complaint. The depositions

The following is a complete list of the names of the officers as they appear in the depositions, the names of the English officers being given to show the proportion they bear to the total number:—

Lieutenant-Colonel.—[] Johnson.

Major.—Edward Norton.

Captains.—The Hon. Lewis Mordaunt, Richard Pye, Lewis Lignere, Edward Woodcock, [] de La Noe, Thomas Brent, Edward Harwood, [] Bowyer, William Harmer, Hugh Deane, John Brereton, Samuel Foster, Thomas Somner, and Francis Rufane.

Captain-Lieutenant.—Michael Benedict.

Lieutenants.—Robert Smith, Thomas Wiltshire, John Saite, George Ford, Royrand des Clouseaux, Charles Salisbury, [] Mumpmolent, James de La Boullaye, Joshua Churchill, John Woodcock, Francis Fowke, and [] Martin.

Ensigns.—Obadiah Moore, George Fowke, Lewis Rivill, Oliver Hetherington, John Pitt, Peter Taylor, Hugh White, [] de Blaire, the Hon. Henry Mordaunt, Paul d'Ancour, Charles Harwich, Theophilus du Chine, Samuel Foster, [] Sulgent, John Maynard, the Hon. Charles Mordaunt, [] Trenshard, Charles Mordaunt, Henry Nicholls, Thomas Pritchard, James de La Boullaye, George Patriarch, Hugh Smith, and John Jewett.

Chaplain.—[] Rivall.

Quartermaster.—Lewis du Plessy.

Francis Rufane, whose name occurs in this list, held the rank of captain from the raising of the regiment until its disbanding. He is described on September 6, 1721, as resident in the town of Southampton, and as being then 'aged sixty yeares or thereabouts.'

In addition to these names the following, amongst others, appear in a schedule of payments said to have been made by the regimental agent on behalf of Colonel Mordaunt at various

say that it 'was made marines in or about the month of July one thousand six hundred & ninety-eight, and continued soe for about the space of ten months & was then disbanded.'

dates between November 17, 1698, and September 9, 1713: Mr. Decluchy of Southampton, Mr. Bordinall, Mr. Barnevelt, Roger Millart, William Dormer, Mr. Bosquett, Mr. Platell, Mr. Le Febre, Mr. Villier, [Mr.] Renault, Mr. Dobre, Mr. Valais, Mr. Brisac, Mr. Ferrebre, Mr. Chirac.

The French Church of Wapping.—The two following documents, taken from the Treasury Papers at the Public Record Office, tell their own story. It will be noticed that, in spite of its name, the Wapping church was not founded for the benefit of French refugees, but as a place of worship for French-speaking people from the Channel Islands, and that in March 1706 nearly one-half of the congregation were seafaring men.

‘At the Court of Kensington the 25 March 1706.

Present: The Queen’s Most Excell^t Ma^{ty} in Council.

‘Upon Reading this day at the Board a Report from His Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop of York in the words following, viz.:

‘In Obedience to Her Ma^{ty}’s Order in Council of the 18th of December last, I have made the best Enquiry I can into the State of the French Church at Wapping, and do humbly Certify as followeth:—

‘That this church was Sett up four years ago by Mons^r de la Prade (a French Minister licensed by the Bishop of London) at the Desire and for the use and Benefitt of the Jersey and Guernsey People that inhabit at Wapping, who, being unacquainted with the English language, and living at a great Distance from any French Church, had no Convenience for the Resorting to the Publick Worship of God.

‘That the said M^r de la Prade hired the House where they assemble (for which the People were to pay the Rent of Ten Pounds p. Ann.), And at his own Charge he sett up a Pulpitt, and built Pews to fitt it for a Chappell or Meeting-Place.

‘That for these four years he hath performed the Office of a Minister among them, preaching twice every Lord’s-Day, And he hoped for a Subsistence at least from the Contributions of the People; But they being very poor, their Contributions are so small that they will hardly defray the House-Rent

and Other necessary Charges, so that the Minister has been so far from getting any thing for his constant Pains among them, that he is Fifty pounds out of Purse, for the Charges he has been at, about this Chappell. I am inform'd likewise that they are now two years in Arrear for the Rent of the House, and had it not been for the Intercession of M^r Russell, the English Minister at Wapping, the Landlord had, before this, shutt up the House, and seiz'd on the Pews and Pulpitt for his Rent, and 'tis feared he will not be prevail'd with to forbear longer than Lady-Day next.

'The Number of Families that make up this Congregation is about Fifty, (M^r de la Prade says 84, viz., 80 Families of Jersey and Guernsey People, and 4 Families of Other French,) the Number of the Persons that commonly attend their Worship may be about a Hundred, and, when the Seamen are at home, about One Hundred and Forty.

'At the First, their Worship was after the way of the French Protestants abroad; but for this last Twelve month they have used the English Liturgy translated into French.

'I am humbly of Opinion That this Church (which is of so great Benefitt and Comfort to these poor People) should be kept up, which yet must unavoydably sink and be dissolv'd unless Her Ma^{ty}, out of Her Royall Bountie, will be graciously pleased, for the Supporting of it, to grant them a present Summ for the Discharging the Arrears of the House-Rent (which comes to Twenty pounds) and likewise to make some Provision for the future Maintenance of the Minister by Settling a certain Summ to be yearly paid to him in such manner as Her Ma^{ty} in Her Wisdom shall think fitt.

'M^r de la Prade is extreemly poor, and hath a Wife and Two Children.

'Jo. EBOR.

'March the 15th, 1705.'

'Her Majesty, upon Reading of the said Report, is pleased to Order, as it is hereby Ordered, that the Consideration thereof be referred to the Right Hon^{ble} the Lord High Treasurer, who is to return his Opinion to Her Ma^{ty} what may be fitly done therein.

'(Signed) WILLIAM BLATHWAYT.

'[Endorsed] 25 March 1706.'

'Order of Councill upon the Report of the Archbishop of Yorke about the State of the French Church at Wapping.

'2 May 1706. To be laid before y^e Q.'¹

'M^r PEASANT.

'Windsor Castle, 10th June 1706, afternoon. Present :
The Queen, Lord Treasurer, Mr. Chancellour.

'French Church at Wapping.—A Report of his Grace the Lord Arch Bishop of Yorke relating to the French Church at Wapping, wherein his Grace proposes that 20^l be paid to discharge Arrears of Rent for the said Church, and that a yearly allowance be Setled on the Minister, M^r de la Prade, for his maintenance, who is extreamly Poor, and hath a Wife and two Children.

'Granted to be paid to the A.B. of [], who is to take care that the Duty be performed.'²

We are so accustomed to look upon the Huguenots who landed on our shores as *voluntarily* choosing this country for their place of refuge that the following instance of one being brought here as a prisoner is worth recording :—

'Abel de Bernoye, French Gentleman and right Protestant, being at Rotterdam, shipping himself before the declaration of the warr in order to go to Bayone in France to get his mother out of the persecution, a warr immediately breaking out the ship was taken by the Newport frigate, and he carryed him in the Dover's goale, prisoner, where he now remains, and prayeth to be released, he having no goods on board, nor other design than to get his said mother out of the Kingdom of France, if possible, to injoy peaceably the liberty of her conscience.

'We who are his Relation and friends subscribe to the truth of this Certificate.

'DAVID LACROIX, his uncle.

'JEAN DUPUY, his cousin.

'JEAN DUFAYRE, his friend.

'Nous, Ministres sousignés, Certifions que tous les tesmoins susdits sont membres de notre Eglyse, & que nous les recon'oissons pour Etre des personnes de probité ;

'En foy de quoy Avons signé a Cantorbery, le 31 Juillet 1702.

'LAVAURE, Ministre.

'CARTAULT, Ministre.

¹ *Treasury Papers*, vol. xcvi. No. 111.

² *Treasury Minute Books*, vol. xiii. p. 240.

'[Endorsed] ABEL DE BERNEYE. Recom^d by M^r SAYERS.

'[Enclosing] It was written before by Captain Gipson, maior of Douer, to Sir Charles Hedges, secretary of state, for the release of the said Abel de Bernoye, hauing answer not yet."

The following is a copy of a memorandum touching the Dutch Church of Maidstone, preserved at the Public Record Office in a volume of Domestic State Papers of the year 1643 relating to the trial of Archbishop Laud. These papers were apparently used in the preparation of Laud's defence, and they are arranged as nearly as possible in the order of the articles of his impeachment. The editor of the 'State Paper Calendar' has noted the particular document here printed as connected with the third article:—

'M^r John Miller, late Minister of God's worde to the Dutch Protestant Congregation at Maidstone in Kent, was silenced by the Archbishopp or his meanes, who afterwards (for livelyhood sake of him, his wife, and many children) was inforced to serve or turne a brewer's clarke in Whitecrosse Streete, neere the Church there, where hee now or very lately did remaine; In which here is an endeavour of suppression of the Dutch Protestant Church, if not other matters, which hee may reveale to you, if you thinke him a materiall witnes touching the Dutch Protestant Church.

'For Mr. John Miller, Brewer, at his house in Whitecross Streete neere the Church there.'

As the Society has just issued the register of the Walloon community of Norwich, and one of the papers read at the Meeting in May last was upon the foreign colony of Colchester, it may be worth noting that a pedigree of the refugee family of De Horne, which was connected with both of these places, is printed in vol. ii. of *Collectanea Topographica & Genealogica*, published in 1835.

It commences with Oliver Horne, *alias* De Horne, of Nova Kirk, near Ipres, Flanders, who fled to Norwich, some time after the year 1571, to escape the persecutions of the Duke of Alva.

¹ *State Papers (Domestic)*, Anne, bundle i. No. 71.

² *State Papers (Domestic)*, Charles I. vol. cccxcix. No. 15.

A manuscript in the possession of the family, which is quoted by the contributor of the pedigree, says, 'Not well liking a strang country and hearing of a sessation of the persecutions in Flanders, after his wife was delivered of a son, whom he named Abraham, the first in the register of that congregation there [the Dutch at Norwich], leaving his smal family to God Almighty's protection, he shipt hims lf for Flanders to seeke a settlement there again, but in his return was taken sick of the Plague and dyed on ship board.'

This son, Abraham, who was born at Norwich in 1597, removed to Colchester, and was the first of the Dutch settlement there to marry an Englishwoman, 'for which,' says his grandson—the writer of the earlier portion of the manuscript—'they could scerse be pascified from disowning or turning him out of their congregation, so zealous were they and strict in their marriages in those dayes.'

The Cevennes Protestants celebrated on August 7 the centenary of the first step to the restoration of toleration—namely, the recognition of Protestant marriages—by an open-air service at Plan de Font Morte, near Florac. This spot was the scene of an engagement in 1712 between Protestant peasants and the troops. A large cromlech is to be erected close by, on the watershed of the Garonne and the Rhône, with an inscription to the effect that the descendants of the Huguenots have erected on the scene of former combats this monument to religious peace and to the memory of martyrs.

At Dr. Williams' library, 14 Grafton Street, Gower Street, London, is an important collection of memoirs of ministers of the French Reformed Church, which appears to have been overlooked by the editors of *La France Protestante* and other writers. These memoirs, fifty in number, are of considerable length and have been copied from the original MSS. (which are much decayed) of the Rev. John Quick, nonconformist 'minister of the Gospel in London,' who died in 1706. In these memoirs reference is made to the same author's work, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata, or the Acts, Decisions &c. of the National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France*,

2 vols. fol., London, 1692. These collections are of the highest importance for the work of the various Societies interested in Huguenot history, especially the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français at Paris, as most of the memoirs are of the early pasteurs of the churches in France. Monsieur Henri Bordier will no doubt be particularly interested in attention being drawn to this valuable collection.

W. J. C. MOENS.

August 10, 1887.

Icones Sacre Gallicane. Rev. John Quick's MSS.

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1. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis.
2. Gerhard Roussell, Bishop of Oleron in Bearn.
3. Nicholas de Galars.
4. Peter Ramus, Royal Professor in University of Paris.
5. Odet de Nort, Minister of Rochell.
6. Mons. de Spina, Minister of Saumur.
7. Mons. Mercier, the King's Professor of Hebrew in University of Paris.
8. Louis Cappell, Pastor and Professor at Sedan.
9. Mons. Feaugrean, the Professor of Divinity at Leyden.
10. Mons. de St. Paul, Minister at Diep, (*sic*) Minister of Church there.
11. Mons. Pacard, Minister of Rochefoucaud.
12. Mons. Gigord, Senr., Minister of Montpellier.
13. Matthew Cartaut, Minister of Diep.
14. John Cameron, Professor at Saumur.
15. The Great Chamier, Pastor and Professor at Montauban.
16. Moses Cartaut, Minister of Diep.

17. James Cappell, Lord of Tilley, Pastor and Professor at Sedan.

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18. Esme Aubertin, Minister of Paris.
19. John Mestrezat, Minister of Paris.
20. Nicholas Viquier, Minister of Blois.
21. Joshua de la Place, Pastor and Professor at Saumur.
22. Philip Vincent, Minister of Rochell.
23. Andrew Rivet, Minister and Professor at Leyden.
24. Mons. Testart, Minister of Blois.
25. Mons. Gigord, junr., Minister of Montpellier.
26. Samuel Petit, Pastor and Professor at Nismes.
27. Hillary Faultrat, Minister of St. Peter's Port in y^e Isle of Guernsey.
28. Charles Drelincourt, Minister of Paris.
29. Michael le Faucheur, Minister of Paris.
30. Benjamin Basnage, Minister of Carentan.
31. Raymond Gaches, Minister of Paris.

32. Louis Cappel, Pastor and Professor at Saumur.
33. Mons. de Croy, Minister of Usez.
34. Peter du Moulin, Minister of Paris, Professor at Sedan.
35. Moses Amyraut, Pastor and Professor at Saumur.

VOL. II. PART I.

36. Mons. Bochart, Minister of Caen.
37. Stephen de Brais, Pastor and Professor at Saumur.
38. John Leger, Minister of y^e Vaudois in Piedmont.
39. John Daillé, Minister of Paris.
40. Mons. Morus, Minister of Paris.
41. Isaac d'Huisseau, Minister of Saumur.

42. Stephen Gaussens, Pastor and Professor at Saumur.
43. Matthew Larroque, Minister of Rouen.
44. Mons. Le Moine, Minister of Rouen.

VOL. II. PART II.

45. Mons. Homel, Minister of Soyon.
46. Mons. Claude, Minister of Paris.
47. Mons. du Bosc, Minister of Caen.
48. Mons. Turretin, Minister of Geneva.
49. Mons. Rey, Minister and Martyr.
50. Mons. Brousson, Minister and Martyr.

The January number of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* contains two narratives of French refugees, 1685-1688, printed by Dr. H. Babucke from a manuscript in the possession of the Baron de la Motte-Fouqué. Both are copies made about the middle of last century. The second, the shorter of the two, is the account given by Charles, Baron de la Motte-Fouqué, of his escape from Saintonge during the visitation of the *dragonnade* in 1685; the other bears no name, but is attributed by the editor to Susanne de Robillard, the lady who afterwards married the Baron. It is singular that Dr. Babucke, who is convinced that he is printing these papers for the first time, should not have ascertained that the narrative of Susanne de Robillard was printed with the writer's name in the original French by M. Gabriel Monod so long ago as 1868 (*Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, vol. xvii. pp. 487-495). The interest of the account for us lies in the fact that, before settling at Voorburg, near the Hague, Susanne spent some time in England. But those who go to Dr. Babucke's version will find the topography in a hopeless state of confusion. There the emigrant arranges to be landed at 'Tapsont,' a little harbour near 'Chichester,' and ultimately disembarks some twenty miles off at 'Falkombe.' We con-

fess we should not have expected a German editor to betray no consciousness that these names must refer to actual places on the map. The French original, it is satisfactory to know, is perfectly plain. Susanne's destination was *Exeter* ('Ex-cester,' as she calls it), and the seaport was 'to have been 'Tapson,' that is, *Topsham*, at the mouth of the Exe. The place where she actually landed must be miswritten or misprinted; probably the latter, for the long *s* usual in the handwriting of the time is very apt to be confounded with *f*. At least 'Falcombe,' as our Huguenot writes the name, can hardly be anything but *Salcombe*, on the coast towards Sidmouth.

We may also notice that the fellow-exile who befriended Susanne at Exeter, M. Sausai, minister of Thonnai-Boutonne in Saintonge, becomes in the German 'Mr. *Sansay*, ehemaliger Prediger zu Thonnaiboutonne und Saint-Onge.' Anyhow it is pleasant to know that the descendants of Susanne de Robillard were sufficiently interested in their ancestress's adventures to copy out her story half a century afterwards; whether they or she herself is responsible for the translation—which is bad German enough, in all conscience—we have no means of deciding. Dr. Babucke, being ignorant even that his document is a translation, is naturally positive that Susanne herself composed it.

One other point may be referred to. Dr. Babucke in a note (p. 24) comments on the mention made by our narrator to the regiments formed by William of Orange out of refugee soldiers. 'This notice,' he says, 'has a certain interest because Macaulay says nothing of a personal share taken by the refugees' in the expedition. He then quotes from Rapin and Ranke to show that they were actually engaged in William's service, and adds, 'Still it is by no means impossible that all the refugees [so employed] were formed into special regiments.' We cannot but think that Dr. Babucke, instead of thus speculating at random, might (if he could not have obtained access to Agnew's detailed examination of the facts or Smiles' more popular sketch) at least have referred to the *Mémoires de Dumont de Bostaquet*, edited by M. Francis Waddington in

1864, where a good deal will be found respecting the refugee soldiers. A summary of the facts is given in Mr. R. L. Poole's *History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion*, ch. ix. (1880).

The 36th volume of the *Bulletin* of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français contains, like its predecessors, a vast amount of interesting information; amongst the more important articles may be mentioned: 'Les assemblées du désert à Châtillon-sur-Loire, et le curé Aupetit,' by M. Jules Doinel; 'Episodes de la Réforme à Paris: une victime inconnue sous Henri II, Jean Thuret,' by M. N. Weiss; 'Les premiers réfugiés français en Suède,' by M. F. Pnaux; 'Le monde malade et mal pansé, ou la comédie protestante au XVI^e siècle,' by M. G. Bonet-Maury; 'L'émigration en 1752,' M. A. Picheral-Dardier; 'Le prédicant Chapel et le Jubilé de la Révocation en 1735,' by M. N. Weiss; 'La tolérance du cardinal Sadolet,' by M. Jules Bonnet.

The 2nd volume of the *Bulletin* of the Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes is also full of interest, and, in addition to many hitherto unpublished documents and a great variety of genealogical notices, contains: 'La révocation de l'édit de Nantes et ses conséquences pour les églises wallonnes des Pays-Bas,' by M. M. A. Perk; a very able biography of 'Jean Taffin' by M. Ch. Rahlenbeck; a history of the 'Eglise wallonne de Haarlem,' by M. F. H. Gagnebin, and of the 'Eglise wallonne de Brille,' by M. H. de Jager.

The Huguenot Society of America has recently issued its first volume of *Collections*, containing the Registers of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths of the 'Eglise Française à la Nouvelle York' from 1688 to 1804, together with Historical Documents relating to the French Protestants in New York during the same period. The volume has been very ably edited, with a most valuable *Introduction*, by the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, Rector of the French Church du Saint-Esprit and Secretary to the Society. The book is beautifully printed, and contains views of the church at different periods.

The Registers of St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Mary Wool-

church Haw, in the City of London, 1538-1760, edited by the Rev. J. M. S. Brooke, Rector, and the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, F.S.A. Scot., are now completed, and Mr. Hallen is making rapid progress with those of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. These volumes do not form part of the Society's own series of Registers, but owing to the large number of foreign names they contain, and to their being edited by a Fellow of the Society, they possess a special interest for its members, several of whom appear in the List of Subscribers. The number of copies printed is limited, but the editor is still receiving names of subscribers for those not yet allotted.

IV.

QUERIES.

Mr. Clement G. Lissant will be obliged by any information as to the family of *Lissant*, *Lessant*, or *Le Sant*.

The Hon. Secretary has been applied to for information respecting the families of *D'Espaigne*, *Le Par*, *Malan*, *Riquebourg*, *Vinon*, or *De Vynon*, and will be glad to receive particulars of them; also of the *De Dibon* family. As regards *D'Espaigne*, *Le Par*, and *Riquebourg*, the information specially asked for is the full names of the parents and grandparents of Mary D'Espaigne, who was *b.* 1704, and *m.* December 24, 1726, at St. Alphege, Canterbury, L. Thornton. Mary D'Espaigne's mother was Mary Le Par, and *her* mother is thought to have been Jane Riquebourg.

Mr. C. C. de Villiers wishes for any particulars of, or references to, the *Du Plessis* family, especially the baptismal register of Judith Du Plessis. She was the daughter of Jean Prieur Du Plessis and Madeleine Menanteau, and is stated in her will, dated August 20, 1718, to have been born in Ireland. The will gives her age as twenty-four, thus making the year of her birth 1694.

APPENDIX.

Huguenots in the Isle of Axholme.

By THE REV. H. G. B. LE MOINE.

I PROPOSE this evening to bring before you the result of some recent investigations in that part of Lincolnshire known as the Isle of Axholme, specially that portion of it comprised in the parish of Sandtoft. This district is doubtless more intimately connected with the history of the Dutch immigrants, who came over for the purpose of reclaiming the stretch of country called Hatfield Chase, under the celebrated engineer Cornelius Vermuyden, than with that of our own Huguenot ancestors; but a certain number of the latter were also attracted thither, and I hope such brief notes respecting them as I have been able to collect may not be wholly without interest for our Society.

By way of introduction I will follow the example of Stonehouse, who, in his 'History and Topography of the Isle of Axholme,' says, 'I shall commence this "History of the Drainage of the Commons in the Isle of Axholme" with the account which De la Pryme has given us of the last Royal Hunting in Hatfield Chase, because it led immediately to this celebrated undertaking of draining the whole Level. In the reign of James I. the accomplished Prince Henry, his eldest son, during his progress to York, hunted in this forest. He was entertained by Sir Robert Swyfte at Street-thorpe, on the west side of the Chase, near Doncaster; or, according to some authors, by Portington at Tudworth, near Thorne.'¹

De la Pryme, himself a Huguenot and a distinguished antiquary, proceeds to say: 'The first day's sport was a plain

¹ Hunter, however, in his *South Yorkshire*, i. 156, note 4, denies that Prince Henry was at Hatfield in 1609.

stag hunt. The next day the Chief Regarder of Thorne and Robert Portington, Esq., promised to let the Prince see such sport as he never saw in his life before. The Prince and his retinue went with them, and having come to Tudworth, where Mr. Portington lived, they all embarked themselves in almost a hundred boats that were provided there ready; and having frightened some five hundred deer out of the woods, grounds, and closes adjoining, which had been driven there the night before, they all, as they were commonly wont, took to the water, and this little royal navy, pursuing them, soon drove them into that lower part of the levels called Thorne Meer, and there, being up to their very necks in water, their horned heads raised themselves to represent a little wood. Here, being encompassed about with the little fleet, some ventured amongst them, and feeling such and such as were fattest, they either immediately cut their throats and threw them up into their boats, or else, tying a strong, long rope to their heads, drew them to land and killed them.'

'During this celebrated hunting,' observes Stonehouse, 'there rode in the train of that royal prince a phlegmatic Dutchman, who beheld the scene before him not so much with the eye of a sportsman as with a view of turning the country to his own profit: this person was Cornelius Vermuyden, who is said to have then first conceived the idea of draining the whole level. In the second year of King Charles I. (May 24, 1626) articles of agreement were signed between the Crown and Vermuyden, from which it appears that he was to have one entire third of the drained lands. The original grant was solely to Vermuyden. He sold shares to several of his countrymen, who thus became partners, or *Participants* with him, by which latter demonstration the holders of these lands have ever since been distinguished.'¹

Vermuyden fixed upon Sandtoft as the most central situa-

¹ Many of these *Participants* resided in Holland, but the following appear to have come over:—Matthew, Lucas, and Marcus Valkenburgh; Philibert and Abram Vernatti; John Corsellis; Andrew Bocard; Samuel, Isaac, and Pieter van Peenin; Philip Jacobson; Marcellus van Darin; Abram Dolens; Dionysius Vandace; Jacob Struys; John Vandimin.

tion to found a church for the French and Dutch Protestants who had come over to farm the lands which the Participants had drained, according to the privilege given him in the original grants from the Crown, which empowered him 'to found, erect, and build one or more chapels, and to put in and allow and maintain one or more ministers to read and celebrate divine things there, to the praise and honour of Almighty God, either in the English or Dutch language, according to the form of the established religion in this our kingdom of England.'

From Dugdale's *Monasticon* (vol. iii. pp. 616, 617, ed. 1821) we learn that Sandtoft had been a spot with ecclesiastical associations for many years previous to the Reformation. Roger de Mowbray, about the middle of the twelfth century, gave by deed to the Abbey of St. Mary's, York, the whole isle of Sandtoft. The island was formed by the river Idle dividing into two streams near its junction with the Don; and when the waters of these rivers meandered through the level and overflowed their banks without restraint, few places could be more inaccessible and secluded than the three situations of Wroot, Lindholme, and Sandtoft.

The church founded by Vermuyden was built by one Isaac Bedloe, a merchant, who many years afterwards never received the money stipulated to be paid for it. De la Pryme informs us that it was situated on the north side of the present highway which leads from Sandtoft to Bears Wood Green, 'near opposite to Mr. Reading's last new built house.' Sir Philip Vernatti, Henry Kinston, Luke and Matthew Valkenburgh, John and Michael Corsellis, went before a notary, and, in the name of the whole body of Participants, declared their consent that a salary of from seventy to eighty pounds should be raised annually for the support of a minister to officiate in the French and Dutch languages by assessments on the estates by six of the chief proprietors; and it was added, for the satisfaction of those who might settle on the lands, that 'no rent should be taken till an able minister was settled.'

The ministers were successively Messieurs Berchet (died 1655 and buried at Crowle), Deckerhuel (died 1659), Delaprix, Lamber (died 1664), De la Porte (died 1676), and Le Vanely.

Round the church there soon arose a little town, consisting of about two hundred houses inhabited by the French and Walloon Protestants who had fled out of their native country. Great numbers were married, baptised, and buried here, as appears from the registers, part of which were preserved by Mr. Stovin. The first entry is in the year 1643 (Hunter says 1641), the last in 1681. The women retained their maiden names after they were married (as is still the custom in the Netherlands and other foreign countries), and the names of the sponsors were registered at every baptism. The persons who lived at Sandtoft were the tenants of the Participants, and the following names have been collected from the registers:—

Acfair, Agar or Egar, Amory, Arcbault, Arneau, Beaumarm, Beharelle, Benitland, Benvel, Blancar, Blique, Brynye, Chavatte, Clais, Clebaux, Coquelar, De Burge, De Coup, De la Haye, Delanoy, Delapière, De Ratt, Derick, Des Biens, Descamps, Desquier, Dubliq, Dubois, Dumoulin, Duquenne, Duverly, Flahau, Fontaine, Frouchart, Geubau, Gougter, Gouy, Hancar, Hardicq, Harlay, Lebrand, Liennar, Leflour, Legrand, Le Haire, Leleu or Lelieu, Le Roux, Leroy, Lespirre, Letalle, Massingarbe, Matts, Merquelier, Morillion, Porree, Priam or Prime, Rammery, Ranoy, Rastog, Recharelle, Renard, Scanfaire, Smaque, Swart, Tafin Tafinder, Turgusin, Tyssen, Vanhoute, Vanplue, Venny or Vennin.

These persons cultivated the lands about Sandtoft and the neighbourhood to the extent of 245,000 acres, which they peaceably enjoyed till the breaking out of the Civil War. When, during the rebellion, the laws proved too weak to protect the settlers at Sandtoft from the outrages of the Irlonians and their confederates, many of them returned home. In 1681 there remained, however, Abraham Beharel, Matthew Bruynee, Abraham Egarr, Peter le Leu, David Morillion, Tafin Tafinder, and John Tyssen. These persons presented a memorial to the Court of Sewers, which sat at Turnbridge, complaining of the want of a minister, in consequence of which many of the Participants' lands were unoccupied. They further represented that their forefathers were induced to settle on the Levels on the faith of the engagement, before

mentioned, that a minister should be provided for them ; and that they had reason to believe that several French Protestants would come to reside at Sandtoft, on account of the persecution they were suffering in their own country, if a minister were provided. In consequence, however, of so much land being unoccupied and the poverty of the petitioners they were unable to offer more than thirty pounds per annum for his support. The prayer of this petition was granted and M. Vanely, the last minister, was appointed. He, however, did not officiate long, for in 1686 the church (which had been previously damaged by the rioters in 1650) was again in ruins, the fences of the churchyard thrown down, and the cattle of the Islonians grazed upon it as open common.

To the foregoing sketch of the origin of the foreign settlement in the Isle of Axholme I now proceed to add such information as I have been able to glean during a recent visit to the Isle and its vicinity.

In consequence of the registers of the Refugee Church at Sandtoft being lost, the only way of anything like filling up the void is by tracing out the settlers' names in the registers of the neighbouring English churches. I may say at the very outset that it would be impossible to trace out all the footprints of the settlers and their descendants without searching carefully not only the registers of all the different churches in the Isle itself, but also making similar investigations in the various parishes within a radius of at least twenty miles. I have found, for instance, in the parish of Mexborough (some fifteen miles from one of the extreme ends of the Isle) both direct and collateral descendants of the Dutch settlers. A venerable old lady, Mrs. Kilham, now in her hundredth year and living in Mexborough, can claim descent from Sir Cornelius Vermuyden. She was born at Fishlake on March 2, 1788, and in the register she is described as Jenny Thorpe, daughter of John Thorpe, farmer, and Ann his wife, daughter of John Morris of Doncaster. This John Thorpe was the great-grandson of another John Thorpe, who lived on or near Thorne Levels at the time when the draining operations were in progress, and who succeeded in winning the heart of the fair daughter of Sir Cornelius

Vermuyden. They were married somewhere in London, the young lady having run away from boarding-school to meet her lover. Mr. J. Cranidge of Denaby, in the parish of Mexborough, is another descendant of a Dutch family of that name which settled in the neighbourhood of Sandtoft; while at Doncaster there are members of the De la Noy family now engaged in commerce; and at Tickhill are living several of the Valkenburghs.

I have no doubt that if other parishes in an opposite direction from the Isle were visited other descendants of the settlers and refugees would be found. Such an investigation would, however, have taken up far more time than I had at my disposal; so I confined my researches to the Isle itself and to the two outer parishes of Fishlake and Hatfield. I owe much to the assistance of Mr. John Kilham of Mexborough, son of the venerable old lady before mentioned, who accompanied me on the journey.

Our starting-point in the Isle itself was at Crowle, where we found in the churchyard numerous inscriptions on stones and slabs, both ancient and modern, containing the names of Brunyee, Mau, and Cranidge, whilst inside the church I noticed that of Margrave on some modern slabs. I found a considerable number of French names in the registers, which is not surprising when it is remembered that there are still remaining at Crowle many descendants of the Huguenots who have formed a society amongst themselves. My friend Mr. Cranidge says that the members meet very often, and that they have a box of old documents, which none of them have yet been able to decipher, relating to their ancestors' property in the island. I extremely regret that, owing to Mr. Cranidge's illness, I was unable to examine these or even obtain sight of them. I hope, however, that some other Fellow of our Society may be more fortunate, and give us full information as to their contents.

The name of most frequent occurrence in Crowle appeared to be that of Brunyee, for we found it almost everywhere; not only on tombstones, but scattered throughout the town, over tradesmen's shops, and on brass plates on the doors of

private houses. In fact, the place seems almost entirely peopled by Brunyees. On the levels in the neighbourhood of Crowle some of the Margrave family still hold farms, though the name is seldom met with in other parts of the island. The Cranidges are not generally found save at Crowle, Epworth, and Althorpe. Mr. J. Cranidge informs me that the name was originally spelt *Cranage*, and that the family were entitled to bear arms. His own ancestors were amongst those of the refugees who were enabled to bring over some of their property with them. These had all united together and turned their possessions into silver coins before leaving their native land. The silver thus accumulated was then placed in five casks, and, for fear of the entire treasure being lost through any accident on the way, these casks were distributed among five different ships and brought safely to England. The silver communion flagon, kindly lent by Mr. Cranidge for exhibition this evening, is made out of some of this silver. The date upon it, 1752, is comparatively modern, but in other branches of Mr. Cranidge's family are preserved two other silver cups, dated 1694 and 1700 respectively. Part of these coins was presented by the early refugees as an offering to the parish church of Crowle, and was melted down and put into bells at that time being cast for it. It was found, however, that the weight of silver in proportion to the other metal was too heavy, so that the bells would not give a true sound. They had, accordingly, to be recast, and some of the silver to be extracted.

The spot in the island where the refugees first concealed their treasure is a white house, within two or three miles of Sandtoft, known as Crowtrees Farm, being so called from a number of very old trees still standing and containing many crows' nests. We visited this interesting old house, and one of the photographs I obtained to illustrate this Paper gives a correct view of the front of it. You will observe in the picture the quaint Dutch porch, and the interior of the building presents a similar antique appearance. Beneath are very extensive cellars with all kinds of mysterious nooks and corners. On the ground floor the rooms are all wainscoted,

and in the window-recesses and long passages are a number of curious cupboards. It was in a room opening into the back passage, as well as in the cellars, that the refugees, as Mr. Cranidge informed me, concealed the five casks of silver and their other treasures, piling the articles one upon another, and gradually backing outwards as their task was completed and they drew nearer to the entrance.

A drive of half an hour from Crowtrees Farm, or Hall, brought us to Sandtoft, where was once the church in which the Huguenot refugees worshipped.

Sandtoft is in the parish of Belton, the vicar of which, when telling me that the refugees had there a burial ground of their own, yet confessed his ignorance of where it was situated. I found, however, by inquiry on the spot that exactly opposite where Grove House¹ now stands, on the Althorpe road, there is a ploughed field in which were discovered human remains and fragments of lead and wooden coffins on digging the foundations for the two modern cottages shown in the photograph. Mr. John Kilham, moreover, who is now past seventy, identified this field with one which the driver of a stage-coach, on the top of which he was travelling some fifty years ago, pointed out to him as being then known as the site of Sandtoft Chapel. When Mr. Kilham first saw it it was grass-land with cattle grazing on it, but has since been ploughed up and some stones found a little below the surface. Mr. Cranidge also, and an attorney at Crowle, assured me that this field is the exact site of the burial ground. The former told me that members of his own family once had a small orchard on part of the field, and that he himself had dug down beneath the apple trees to the bones of the first settlers.

All the stones that helped to make up Sandtoft Chapel have now disappeared, one only excepted, having been used for repairing the roads and highways in Axholme. As my friend remarked, his own ancestors on his father's side, who were Dutch, assisted to build the chapel, whilst his great-grand-

¹ Probably the mansion called by De la Pryme 'Mr. Reading's house' may be identified with this.

father on his mother's side, who was English, only helped to cart away the stones to mend the roads.

I mentioned that the side wing of Grove House stands opposite the site of the old church, and a front view of the mansion is given in one of the photographs. Unfortunately, through a death in the family of the present occupier, we were unable to inspect the interior of the mansion, which is interesting from having been built by Vermuyden in order that he might be near the drainage works at Sandtoft.

The only stone now preserved of the old Huguenot Church we found after we had walked to Epworth, in which parish it has been used as the corner-stone of a modern mission chapel recently built by the rector, the Rev. Canon Overton. He very kindly entertained us at the rectory, and offered the free use of the registers, telling us that in his opinion there were not many direct descendants of the settlers left in the island, though the dark hair and eyes of a large proportion of the inhabitants seemed to indicate a foreign origin. The stone now built into Epworth mission chapel appears to have been formerly in the possession of a Mr. Butterick, who used to live in a house opposite the spot on which the chapel stands. The stone itself and the inscription upon it are clearly shown in the accompanying photograph.¹

Wroot was the next place visited, but, as the parish church here was originally only a chapel of ease to the mother church of Epworth, the registers previous to the year 1812 are to be found at the latter place. I noticed modern stones in the churchyard inscribed with the names of Crummuck, Mau, Threadgould, and Bellaney.

At Althorp, a parish bordering on the Trent, I observed the names of Glen, Mau, and Kettleworth on the gravestones, and copied from the registers others which are given in the Appendix to this Paper.

We then proceeded to Hatfield, where, by kind permission of the rector, we were enabled to photograph the monuments of the De la Pryme family in the north transept. In the south

¹ The inscription is, 'To the Glory of God. This stone from Sandtoft Church, 1686, was laid as a corner-stone of this church, October 7, 1885.'

transept I noticed a marble slab bearing the name of Leroux, which is one of those connected with the district. It is 'to the memory of Sarah, second wife of the Rev. William Drake, M.A., Pastor of this Church and Rector of Fell Sutton; born October 29, 1743; died February 3, 1837; widow of James Leroux of London, who was buried at St. Ann's, Soho, London.' A fire, which broke out in the vestry only a few Sundays before our visit, although it did great damage at no great distance from the De la Pryme tombs, fortunately did not injure them at all by smoke or otherwise. The rector, the Rev. W. P. Haydon, told me that the registers contain few or no marriages of refugees during the time of the Commonwealth, as it was often the custom for persons to be married before the civil magistrate only. I take it that there is now no record remaining of any such marriages. Mr. Haydon is inclined to think that the old registers of Sandtoft cannot be irretrievably lost, as Stovin speaks of having studied their contents at a comparatively recent date.

I much regret that we were unable to discover any trace of the old Bible belonging to the Huguenot Church at Sandtoft. It was formerly in the possession of the Le Leu family, from whom it passed to the Dunderdales, but all I could learn of the latter was that the present representatives have gone to New Zealand. Within this Bible were preserved two fragments, both in French, which I here subjoin: one is the conclusion of a sermon by the minister of Sandtoft, and the other part of a letter to Mr. Reading on behalf of the congregation. The former is as follows:—

'Voilà, mes compatriotes, ce que nous avons à avancer sur les deux points de ce texte: nous réservons l'explication du troisième point pour dimanche prochain, s'il plaît au Seigneur de nous accorder la vie et la santé. Cherchons à présent quelque fruit de ce que nous venons de proposer touchant cette matière si excellente. Jésus-Christ, quoiqu'il prometta son Esprit à ses disciples en particulier, désire pourtant que cette divine promesse s'étende à tous ses véritables membres. Tous les fidèles en général doivent être assurés de la vérité de sa promesse. Si nous nous comportons saintement, et si nous

menons une conversation innocente, une vie digne de ceux qui portent le titre de Chrétiens, le Saint-Esprit, l'Esprit de Grâce, l'Esprit d'Amour, l'Esprit de Vérité, descendra sur nous pour faire sa résidence dans nos cœurs, pour nous adopter, gouverner, et instruire dans les sentiers de vie et de justice, pour nous soulager dans toutes les afflictions que nous avons à souffrir dans cette vallée de misère. Quand même il nous faudroit passer par le feu des persécutions les plus sanglantes, comme nos pauvres frères de France, de Hongroie, il rendra nos cœurs aussi fermes que ceux de lions, en sorte que nous ne craindrions ni peine, ni tourmens, ni supplice, ni épée, ni feu, mais nous nous tiendrions fermes et inébranlables comme la montagne de Zion. Car toutes nos afflictions tournent au bien de ceux qui aiment, etc. Mais surtout il nous console contre les accusations du péché et de Satan, il nous persuade que nous sommes acceptés de Dieu, et que nous ne manquerons pas d'obtenir la rémission de nos péchés, pourvu que nous en soyons sensibles, pourvu que nous en repentions et que nous en demandions pardon à Dieu avec une vraie humilité et avec contrition d'esprit. Et surtout dans ce grand sacrement que nous allons célébrer il présidera dans nos sens, il logera dans nos cœurs, il nous montrera du doigt le sang du Fils de Dieu répandu en rémission de nos péchés, et son corps sacré rompu pour nous.

‘Christ parlant dans cette occasion, dis-je, offre le Saint-Esprit, sa main l'offre pleinement à nous, car il nous assure qu'aussi certainement que nous voyons le pain rompu par la main des ministres de l'Evangile, aussi certainement le corps du Fils de Dieu a été rompu et livré à la mort pour nos offenses ; aussi certainement que nous voyons le vin répandu, aussi certainement son précieux sang a été répandu pour nous. Il est bien vrai, mes frères, que sans cette assistance du Saint-Esprit nous ne pourrions jamais communiquer dignement à la table sacrée du Seigneur. Car il faut qu'il illumine les yeux de nos entendements, afin que nous puissions comprendre la signification des choses spirituelles et célestes qui nous sont proposées sous la figure des choses connues, élémentaires et corruptibles.

‘Il est donc bien nécessaire que nous implorions l'assis-

tance, l'illumination de ce divin Esprit, si nous avons envie de comparoître dignement à ce divin banquet. Car sans cela bien loin d'y trouver notre consolation et vie nous ne trouverions que l'object de notre jugement et condamnation. Supplions donc du fond de nos âmes le bon Dieu de nous envoyer son Esprit d'en haut, afin que par son moyen nous puissions paroître dignement à cette table. Eloignons de nos cœurs nos péchés passés, nos vieilles haines, nos rancunes, nos contentions et guerres; autrement le Saint-Esprit s'enfueroit de nous, et nous ne pourrions jamais nous présenter dignement à cette table sacrée.

‘ Que l'esprit de paix, de dilection, de charité, de concorde, s'assied au milieu de nous, et qu'il brise Satan sous nos pieds, afin que nous puissions faire tous les exercices de piété que Dieu nous commande, et surtout afin que nous puissions manger avec fruit les avant-goûts de cette communion céleste sans aucune distraction. Afin que par le moyen de cette viande divine nous puissions traverser heureusement le désert de ce monde, et arriver à la montagne de Dieu, pour être participians de sa gloire, et nous associer avec tous les enfans de Dieu pour vivre et vaquer avec lui aux privilèges des justes, et pour magnifier à toujours son honneur et sa gloire entoure des chérubims et des séraphims. Saint, saint, saint, soit l'Eternel des années. Ainsi soit-il.’

The second fragment begins in the middle of a sentence, thus:—

‘ . . . leur force à ensevelir le nom d'Eglise et de Ministres Français, et sous prétexte que nous sommes du nombre de ceux qui tiennent conventicle à part contre le loix du royaume: mais outre la liberté générale que sa majesté donne à tous les protestants de France, celle dont notre église en particulier a été appuyée depuis plus de cinquante ans leur en pouvoit bien persuader le contraire, s'ils pouvoient agir circonspectement et charitablement envers les pauvres étrangers, et non pour quelque peu d'intérêt comme ils font. Nous avons lieu d'espérer qu'il y aura quelque altération particulière depuis que les sept milles et quatre cents acres de terre sont regagnées. Mais comme il faudra du tems avant que messieurs

les participants se soient d'accorde, nous vous supplions en attendant de nous prêter la main, particulièrement puisque les forces de Monsieur notre Recteur ont été signifié activement sur la poursuite de nos gages. Et nous vous prions de vouloir prendre la peine d'écrire à Monsieur de Canterbury pour avoir les contributions.'

Supplementary Notes by W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A.

With regard to the Dutch and French strangers in the Isle of Axholme and Hatfield Chase, the chief sources of information are the State Papers (Domestic Series), Hunter's 'South Yorkshire'; Peck's 'Isle of Axholme,' 1815; 'The Diary of Abraham De la Pryme,' (Surtees Publication, 1870); 'Close Rolls,' 4 Charles I., Memb. 17, (grant of Hatfield Chase and divers waste lands to Cornelius Vermuyden); Wainwright's 'History of the Wapentake of Strafford and Tickhill,' 1829, p. xcii, 'A List of the first drainers and others that came over from France, Holland, etc.'; 'The History of Thorney Abbey,' by the Rev. R. H. Warner, M.A., 1879, (refers to Additional MSS., 5805; Records, etc. in the Cathedral Library, Peterborough; and a Paper by Mr. Lynam in the British Archaeological Society's publications); the Lansdowne MSS., 897; and the Records of the House of Lords,—L.J., xi. 75, gives a petition of the Participants dated June 26, 1660, to the original of which are annexed six affidavits, dated June 21-9, 1660, concerning damage done by rioters.

A commission was named in 1622 to examine the state of Hatfield Chase. On the report being sent in, Charles I. sent for Cornelius Vermuyden, a famous Dutch merchant in London, and encouraged him to send to Holland for engineers, whose pay was about 50*l.* a year when employed in this country. Vermuyden entered into articles with the King, May 24, 1626, who, November 9, 1628, granted to him, his heirs, and assigns, the lordship or manor of Hatfield, the Chase of Hatfield, and divers waste grounds and commons 'to the said lordship near lying' in the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham. On the said lands being made fit for tillage or pasture one-third of the same were to be assigned to the grantee. The King

had previously granted, July 16, 1628, to Vermuyden, his heirs, and assigns, the manors of Brampton, Fishlake, Thorne, Stamford, and Dowcethorpe; and by an indenture of June 14 of the same year were granted for the lives of Cornelius, Sarah, and Katherine Vermuyden, children of the above Cornelius Vermuyden, at a yearly rent of 180*l.*, the moiety of 1600 acres called Meissen Waste, in the county of Nottingham. By another indenture dated July 16, 1628, the King agreed to provide 10,000*l.*, with interest on the same if not duly paid, for money disbursed by Vermuyden in drainage works.

During the construction of the works, which apparently had been commenced before the grant, a commission of survey and division met at Hatfield in 1627. Lord Aire and others heard the complaints of the commoners, who had destroyed the banks and wounded the workmen. The banks at Fishlake, Stainforth, and other parts not being completed in consequence of the riots, a small flood did some damage to the commoners' property of which they complained. In 1630 the commoners were ordered to pay 200*l.* damages and the Participants made bridges over the New River and river Don. Continuing to break the banks, the commoners were ordered in 1635 to make good the damage. A plan of the closes in the level of Hatfield Chase was made in 1639 after survey by Josias Aerlebout. (It is given on fol. 10 of Lansdowne MSS. 897, and is engraved in Stonehouse's 'History of the Isle of Axholme'.) On this plan are the six syndicates, being—A, Sir Philibert Vernatti; B, Cumsius; C, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden; D, Dordrecht; E, Mr. Valckenburg; F, Mr. Corselis and M. Boccard.

In the year 1630 the Participants paid 16,800*l.* into the Exchequer, and also paid a fee farm rent of 1228*l.* 17*s.* annually. They expended the sum of 175,000*l.* upon the drainage works, whereby they became entitled to 24,000 acres of land, 7400 of which were within the manor of Epworth, quiet possession of which was 'by letters patent and by decrees in the Exchequer vested in' them 'and enjoyed until the year 1642,' when the riots took place, which will be described by Mr. Overend.

By a clause in the grant of 1628 'it was further agreed

that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Cornelius Vermuyden his heires and assignes or such other persone or persons as he the said C. V. shall nominate and appoynte and their heires at any time hereafter in any such convenient place as he or they or any of them shall choose by the approbation of the ordinary of that place to erecte or build one or more chappell or chappelles for the excercise of religion or devine service to be vsed or reade in the English or Dutch language.'

In 1684 a church for the use of the strangers was built at Sandtoft, in Belton parish, in the county of Lincoln, the Participants having agreed, January 8, 1688,¹ to provide funds to maintain a minister: this was done on receipt of a petition from the strangers in the Level. This congregation was composed of both French, or Walloons, and Dutch, the French service being in the afternoon, and the Dutch one in the forenoon.

Dr. Mathew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, by a letter dated March 7, 1687, wrote to Dr. Peter de Laune, Pastor of the French Church of Norwich, to lay before him 'y^e example of y^e French congregation in y^e Isle of Axholme, who though but lately settled in the land yet have already intertained y^e Liturgie of y^e Church of England (as it is sett forth in French) and with great alacrity do conforme themselves to y^e Rites of that Church, in the protection of which they live.' This was evidently on account of the injunctions of Archbishop Laud, whose aim it was to make the foreign Churches conform to the Established Church of England. The conformity was not of long duration, for the Sandtoft Church was formally united to and incorporated with the other French Churches at the twenty-eighth colloquy held in London, September 9, 1647, where Pierre Berchet, Pastor, and David le Conte, Elder, represented 'the brethren of the Church of Sandtoft and Isle of Axholme,' and exhibited the proofs of their establishment by public authority; they then agreed to submit to the discipline and order of the French Churches. On this, copies of the Acts of the Colloquies and

¹ ? Old Style.

the discipline were ordered to be given to them. A parliamentary document of 1640 was relied on for the foundation of the church and as the authority for their privileges. This the members of the Colloquy did not think sufficient, and they promised aid to obtain powers of more authority and weight.

At this Colloquy it was also decided to call on the Participants for their due payment to support the Sandtoft minister.

The same deputies represented this church at the Synod of the Dutch and French Churches assembled in London, September 20, 1647, to February 7, 1648, to settle the differences in the French Churches of Norwich and Canterbury.

The foreign Church at Thorney Abbey was established in 1652, and at the twenty-ninth Colloquy of the French Churches in England, held in London, September 7, 1654, Ezechiel Daunois, Pastor, and David le Conte represented it as deputies. They then exhibited the letters of the creation and foundation of their Church and were 'received and united to the Colloquy of our Churches.'

The extracts of the Sandtoft Church made by Mr. Stovin, and given in the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical publications, consist of nine marriages (1666-1671) and 147 baptisms (1642-1685): these registers were in existence in 1828, when Mr. Hunter wrote his 'South Yorkshire,' but are now lost. The original register of baptisms (1654-1727) of the Thorney Abbey congregation, which is now preserved in the parish church, comprises 1738 entries (excepting twenty-five on the first page, which is missing. The marriage register is lost.

The following were ministers of Sandtoft Church:

Pierre Berchet, 1647, died April 18, 1655; buried at Crowle.

Philip Castell, 'Nautices, Franc. in Gallia'; buried at Hatfield, September 5, 1655, (M.I.)

Jean de Rerkuet,¹ 1659.

[] de la Prix.

Samuel Lamber, 1664.

Jaques de la Porte, 1676.

John Conrad de Werneley, or Werndley, 1681.

¹ ? De Riquet.

It is interesting to remark that the family of Giraud was closely connected with the Thorney refugee families. Pierre Giraud of Eye, near Peterborough, a Huguenot refugee before the Revocation, married Elizabeth Bouchereau, of a family settled at Crowland. Their children are given in the Thorney register. De Bailleul, now Bayley, is frequently found in the same register:—

The following names of foreign descent are found in the return of landowners in Lincolnshire, 1875.

Aubin, Barchard, Bateman, Blanchard, Boucherett, Boyse, Brunyee, Campion, Cranidge, Cravin, Curtois, Darrand, Decamps, De la Corn, Delap, Dennis, Desforges, Dion, Espin, Faber, Favel, Favil, Forentain, Freemantle, Hackett, Holah, Houblon, Isle, Johnson, Moyer, Nassau, Neve, Noel, Onyon, Poucher, Savage, Senescal, Taffinder, Wing.

The returns for Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire would doubtless give many more.

The First Thirty Years of the Foreign Settlement in Axholme, 1626-1656. By G. H. Overend, F.S.A.

It is needless to say that no attempt has been made in the following pages to write a complete history of the strangers in the Isle of Axholme. I have simply endeavoured to put together a few notes derived from sources which I understood would not be dealt with by Mr. Le Moine or Mr. Moens, with the view of showing that the life of the foreign settlers at Sandtoft and the neighbourhood was one long conflict with the natives, varied occasionally by private feuds of their own.

It has been said that 'happy are the nations which have no history,' and, if the converse of this be true, then the existence of the foreign colony of Axholme must have indeed been unhappy. With the exception of the three large alien communities at London, Canterbury, and Norwich, there is, I believe, none of the 'refuges' in England which can compete with that of Axholme in the number of documents available for the history of the settlement when it comes to be written as a whole, and, as will be seen, a large proportion of these papers relate to rioting and lawsuits.

In the notes which I have here brought together my aim has been to show that the whole career of the colonists was influenced by a dispute with the natives as to rights of common which cropped up in the very beginning. It is true that there were many side-issues of great importance arising at times; but still, though I have not completed my notes for the later years of the history of the colony, I feel assured from those which I have taken that it was this question which finally caused the complete dispersal of the foreign settlers. Indeed, it is marvellous that they remained so long, considering what they had to contend with.

Burn speaks of the 'vulgar and brutal character of their assailants,' and another writer ascribes the lawlessness of the natives to the habits engendered through the constant poaching practised in the Chase. Certainly the islanders were fearless and determined men, otherwise they could not have carried on the conflict to a successful issue in spite of all that Parliament and the law courts could do for their opponents.

So daring were they that, when the officers of the Star Chamber—then in the height of its power—came to serve them with legal process for rioting, they were beaten with staves, and one of them was put in the stocks—rather a bold course to take, as the rioters found to their cost.

Strange to say, there was very little actual bloodshed in the long series of tumults which I am about to describe, though an immense amount of property was destroyed.*

In 1626 an agreement was made between Charles I. and Cornelius Vermuyden¹ for the draining of the marsh-lands at the south-east corner of the estuary of the Humber. Letters patent, dated May 24, embodying the 'Articles of the Agreement,' recite how the King is seized in right of his crown of Hatfield Chase and Ditch Marsh, and of the manors of Wrotham and Finninglie in the county of York, and the Isle of Axholme in the county of Lincoln; that 'divers other persons' are seized of lands lying in the same counties of York and Lincoln, and in the county of Nottingham, adjoining these lands of the King; and that about 60,000 acres of these lands lying on

¹ Son of John Vermuyden of St. Martin's Dyke, Zealand.

the rivers Idle, Don, Aire, and Trent are 'subject to be surrounded and drowned with water,' for which the King is desirous of providing a remedy.

The letters then go on to state how, in consideration of his receiving a grant of one-third of such lands, Vermuyden agrees to 'doe his best endeavour to drayne and laie drie the said drowned and surrounded ground in such manner as to make the same fitt for tillage or pasture.' He also covenants to 'sett on workemen and begynne the said worke within three monthes next after' the King shall have 'agreed and concluded' with those persons who claim any estate or common in the same lands, and promises to finish the task as expeditiously as possible.

Apparently preparations had been made with the view of commencing operations some time before these articles were drawn up, for amongst the warrants in the State Papers there is one dated December 30, 1624, for the payment of 100*l.* to John Scandaver for taking forty red deer alive from Hatfield Chase in Yorkshire to Burghley-on-the-Hill, in Rutlandshire.

There is also amongst the same records a paper relating to the steps taken for disafforesting the Chase preparatory to its being drained, which, though undated, is assigned by the editor of the 'Calendar' to the same year, 1624. In this document it is stated that the commoners are willing to give their consent to the disafforesting, provided that a fair proportion of land be allotted to them, provision made for the poorer inhabitants, and the draining done at the King's expense.

The question of right of common, which thus arose at the very commencement of the works, proved a most serious one to the foreign settlers, and, as will be seen, involved them in several costly lawsuits, and was still in abeyance in the reign of Charles II., nearly forty years after the date of Vermuyden's agreement with the King.

On February 23, 1628, a proclamation was issued calling upon those who claimed common in the fens to come in and prove their title before certain commissioners, who were empowered to compensate them for any loss which they might sustain by the enclosures. But, instead of registering their

claims,¹ the inhabitants of the Isle of Axholme, who seem to have been the chief offenders in this way, cut down the newly erected banks which impeded them in driving their cattle to pasture, and, assembling 'by hundreds and 500^{ds}' at the sound of a bell or a horn, drove away the workmen who were engaged in the draining operations.

No less than fourteen of such disturbances took place between 1628 and 1631, when the matter was brought before the Court of Star Chamber. There the witnesses, who were examined on behalf of the Crown, deposed that in 1628 a band of rioters, numbering some 300 persons, came to the labourers, and, saluting them with cries of 'rogues,' 'dogges,' 'breake theer legges,' threatened to kill them unless they left their work. To show that they were in earnest they set up a gallows, on which they vowed they would hang those who ventured to return.

In the tumult which ensued seventeen of the labourers were hurt, while their wheelbarrows, spades, shovels, pickaxes, planks, and other working plant were burnt. The rioters then seized Mr. Hawthorne, and, 'hood-winking' his face with a coat, threw him into the river, where they kept him down with poles. Some were in favour of drowning him; others, averse to committing murder, endeavoured 'rather to breake his armes or his legges,² and soe lett him goe.' Others, meanwhile, amused themselves by pouring water down the necks of the workmen, and making them swear never to come there again.

These depositions were taken at a time when the rioters had altogether gained the upper hand; but from the evidence of witnesses, who were examined by the justices of the peace in August 1628 immediately after the disturbances, it appears that on the third day of the riots the workmen, having been meanwhile provided with firearms, which they did not scruple

¹ 'They never claymed any interest at the Commission. Upon admeasure-ment of 18,000 acres, 12 or 13,000 were under water. His Majestie thought that 5 or 6,000 acres would do them more good to be layd out to them in severall. . . . But they are better in love with catching of ducks than keeping of people.'—*Speech of the Attorney-General in Star Chamber trial.*

² This would almost betoken a familiarity with the punishment of breaking on the wheel, although it was, I believe, unknown in England.

to use, succeeded in making a stand against their assailants, and that one of the rioters was shot by a 'Dutchman.'

From this time onwards there was nothing but trouble for all concerned with the reclaimed lands. No sooner was one matter settled than another commenced.

The Duke of Buckingham, the King's favourite, had seemingly been on the watch for an opportunity to secure some profit to himself out of the drainage works. Immediately after the disturbances one of his adherents residing in Yorkshire wrote informing him of what had taken place, and that a man had been slain, 'the killing of whom is conceived to be murder in all who gave directions for them to go armed that day.' The riots would, he thought, 'enforce Vermuyden to sue for favour at the Duke's hands, if not for himself at least for divers of his friends, especially for Mr. Saines,¹ a Dutchman, who has an adventure of 13,000*l.* in this work.' He therefore advises the Duke to be reserved for the present in 'affording anie favour,' and, enclosing the depositions taken before the justices of the peace, asks him to contrive that the justices shall be instructed to inquire further into the business.

There is nothing in the letter to indicate the exact nature of Buckingham's interest in Vermuyden's doings, but, whatever it was, the writer of this letter was so anxious about it that he wrote the same day to the Earl of Dorset, telling him about the riots and of his letter to Buckingham, which he begged him to open in case of the Duke being away from home, lest his absence 'should afford advantage to Vermuyden.' But before Buckingham had time to take any action upon the letter he was assassinated at Portsmouth on August 23, while superintending the preparations then being made for the relief of Rochelle.

In September there were further disturbances at the Chase, and a letter was sent to Vermuyden, saying that no further progress could be made with the draining 'until a more strict course were taken.' Apparently Vermuyden brought some influence to bear upon the Court, for the Privy Council now

¹ ? Laines.

issued a proclamation forbidding the inhabitants of the Isle of Axholme to molest the works in any way. Little attention, however, seems to have been paid to this order, as the report of the proceedings in the Star Chamber says that in the next year, 1629, even 'the women assembled themselves to the number of 200, divers dayes and tymes, and threw downe the bancks and workes, and burned the instruments and tooles.'

On April 17, 1629, the works were so far advanced, in spite of interruptions, that the King had to direct that the remainder of the deer should be removed before November 1 following. If any were still left behind at that date Vermuyden was empowered to dispose of them at his pleasure.

Meanwhile the energetic Dutchman had been endeavouring to raise money to carry on his gigantic enterprise, and several of his agreements with those who assisted him¹ are to be found enrolled in the Court of Chancery. The original contract with the King was also supplemented and modified by various indentures made between him and Vermuyden, which are enrolled in the same court.

Certain rents which had been reserved to the Crown by one of these last-mentioned documents were now assigned to the family of the late Duke of Buckingham, and it would appear from the terms of the King's letter directing the preparation of the grant that the great Duke's interest in Vermuyden's operations was mainly pecuniary. The following is the official abstract of the letter, which is dated July 21, the document of the grant itself being dated September 8:—

'The King, knowing that it was the intention of his father that *all* the benefit of the improvement of that Chase should be to the use of the late Duke of Buckingham, is pleased to make good his father's intention, and directs that the improved rents before mentioned shall be granted to the Duchess of Buckingham and Sir George Manvers, either for the use of the now Duke of Buckingham, for the payment of

¹ Dr. Smiles says they were 'chiefly Flemish merchants settled in London'; but phrases occurring in these documents, such as 'the partners of Amsterdam,' 'the partners of Dort,' show some of the money was raised in Holland, and in fact I believe most of it was obtained there.

the late Duke's debts, or for the preferment of his other children unprovided for.'

The name of Buckingham's successor in the King's favour, Viscount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, next appears in connection with the drainage works. It seems that the question of the riots had been referred to him in his official capacity as President of the Council of the North, and in an angry letter, dated August 12, he writes to the Privy Council in London denying that any disturbances have taken place in *Yorkshire*. 'If Sir Cornelius has informed any such thing, he has abused the Council with an untruth, and deserves reprehension,' and he suggests that inquiries should be made in Lincolnshire, where, as a matter of fact, the disturbances had taken place.

Considerable progress having now been made with the draining, it became necessary to take steps for distributing the reclaimed lands amongst the partners in the enterprise. It was found, however, that by the English law no alien could hold land in this country. Accordingly Vermuyden, relying on a clause in the Articles of Agreement of 1626, to the effect that all persons to whom he should assign any of the lands forming his own one-third share should be enabled to hold and enjoy the same without interruption, petitioned the King for a grant of denization to the following persons, 'all strangers borne':—

Lucas van Valckenburgh
 Marcus van Valckenburgh
 Matheo van Valckenburgh
 William van Weely
 Fabian de Vliett¹
 Leonard Catts²
 Tymon Jacobs Hinloopen
 Peter [] upenninck³
 Johan van Baerle

John Lyens⁴
 Sir Filibert Vernatty
 John Kugsten⁵
 Marcellus van Dueren
 Abraham van Beueren⁶
 Jacob de Witte⁷
 Dingman de Vries⁸
 Andru Boccaert⁹
 Abraham Vernatt

¹ Uliet in the Patent Roll.

² There is a grant of denization to Sir James Cuttes on the Patent Rolls.

³ Crupennincke in Patent.

⁴ Denization apparently not on Patent Roll.

⁵ Knysten in Patent.

⁶ Van Beveren in Patent.

⁷ Denization apparently not on Patent Roll.

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Id.*

By warrant dated June 1, 1630, the King acceded to his request provided that such a clause was found, as stated, in the contract, and 'caution being had that vnder colour of denization they shall make noe benefit thereof to the prejudice of his Majestie in his Customes or in any course of merchandize.'

In addition to the security of tenure afforded by this grant, the Participants, as Vermuyden's partners were called, were further confirmed in the peaceable holding of their new possessions by the result of the prosecution of the ringleaders in the late tumults. As just stated, the trial took place in 1631 in the Court of Star Chamber, and their conviction followed as a matter of course. The heavy penalties imposed by the Court—varying in amount from 500 marks to 1000*l.*—had the effect of putting an end to the riots for some time, and, although the native inhabitants still maintained that they had been robbed of their pastures, they did not attempt to enforce their rights again by the strong hand until the outbreak of the civil wars in 1642, though the question was re-opened about 1635.

The riots appeased, sickness next seems to have attacked the unfortunate settlement. On July 12, 1632, the justices of the peace for Lincolnshire report that they have been unable to meet to deal with certain matters arising in the Isle of Axholme, as the country has been 'grievously troubled with the plague.'

In the spring of the next year, 1633, a dispute arose between Vermuyden and Sir Philibert Vernatti, one of the chief Participants, as to the sharing of the reclaimed lands; and eventually the matter was brought before the Court of Star Chamber.

But though the distribution of the lands had commenced, the draining was by no means completed, nor indeed had all the money promised been advanced; and the Participants being unable to agree as to the several amounts they respectively owed, the question came before the Court of Chancery for decision.

Vermuyden, who must by this time have been well tired

of the undertaking, on May 22 sold his share of the 'improved lands' to one John Gibbon,¹ a Frenchman, who later on took a leading part in the conduct of the settlement, and was fated to meet with as many obstacles as Vermuyden himself had done. But though Vermuyden had thus parted with his interest in the reclaimed grounds, his liability as an original 'Participant' and manager of the drainage works did not cease.

A petition presented to the Privy Council by the inhabitants of certain towns and villages in Nottinghamshire,² complaining of the great damage done to them for the past five years through the drainage operations, brought matters to a crisis. In order that the want of money should not be a hindrance to completing the work, the Council directed that the Participants resident in England should at once pay their 'scots,' or in default be committed to the Fleet and have their profits sequestered. A second order, dealing with the case of Cornelius van Beveren, Peter van Beveren, and other Participants living beyond the seas, directed that they should pay within thirty days, or be charged with 'double scots.'

From a return dated November 1, 1633, it appears that 20,738 acres had been reclaimed up to that date, and that there were still 3767 acres to be drained.³

Involved with a dispute about the payment of the labourers' wages, originally commenced before the justices of the peace, these matters came the next year before the Council of the North, to which the Privy Council had meanwhile recommended the inhabitants of a Yorkshire village complaining about the works to apply for a remedy.

Vermuyden seems to have been rather unfortunate in some of those actions; for in a paper assigned to the year 1634 he is said to have been 'several times committed to the Fleet.' Another document, dated August 1633, says that he

¹ Usually spelled so, but once or twice *Gibbons* and *Guibon*.

² This must be the second occasion of their complaining, as there is an order of the Council relating to the subject dated as far back as June 25, 1630. One of their chief grievances was the stopping up of the 'ancient navigable river, the Idle.'

³ 60,000 acres is the estimate of the 'drowned lands' in the Articles of Agreement of 1626.

'had paid 8750*l.* as scots, being 3345*l.* more than his proportion came to, and 1045*l.* more than his opponents charge him with.'

His opponents appear to have neglected no opportunity of strengthening their case. In 1634 they even went so far as to write to Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, with regard to the suit in Chancery, praying that they might be 'countenanced' by her Highness, otherwise they feared 'they should be forced to expend much travail without hope to enjoy their desires,' and they also begged her to write a letter to her brother, King Charles, requesting him to 'direct such course that their differences may be with all expedition heard and determined,' apparently as broad a hint as they dared give.

On the other hand, the workmen—of whom there were over 1000—scored an easy victory, and even succeeded in obtaining a commission of rebellion, empowering them to arrest any of the Participants, however privileged they might be, who did not obey the order of the Court to pay the arrears of wages due to them, and enabling them to sequester the lands of those who had 'fled.'

A Commission of Sewers for regulating matters concerning the reclaimed lands and making further improvements was now issued,¹ in spite of the opposition of some of the Participants, who found themselves thereby rendered liable to further heavy assessments for drainage works.

But though the Government thus took over the control of the draining of the Level, the outcry as to the damage done to the more inland villages by Vermuyden's operations still continued. In October 1635 the inhabitants of eleven Yorkshire townships complained to the justices of the peace at Doncaster Sessions of the inundations they had suffered from during the past four years in consequence of the draining executed by the Dutch. The complaint was referred to the consideration of the Council of the North, by whom it was forwarded to the Privy Council in London.

¹ A list of the names of seventy-one gentlemen residing in the neighbourhood of Hatfield Chase, who were nominated as commissioners by the Council of the North, is annexed to a letter of the Council dated August 24, 1635.

Similar petitions were addressed in the same year to the Privy Council by the inhabitants of other places. The people of two Yorkshire townships say that their lands have been inundated thirty times and that they have sustained at least 10,000*l.* in damages, while the inhabitants of another township in Nottinghamshire pray for leave to sue in Chancery or the Queen's Bench to obtain compensation for the losses they had incurred, estimated at 3000*l.*, through 'the waters' which the Participants 'had cast' upon their lands.

In April 1636 Lucas and Marcus van Valkenburgh had a dispute with a merchant named Philip Jackson as to the possession of certain of the reclaimed grounds which had belonged to their brother-in-law, William van Wheley of Amsterdam. Similar disputes arose from time to time, but as the chronicling of these private quarrels was not my purpose, I will not notice them from this date, but will confine myself entirely to the history of the community itself.

Having thus endeavoured to describe the nature of the difficulties Vermuyden and his associates had to contend with in carrying out the drainage works, and how, when they were not engaged in disputes with the native inhabitants of the island or the neighbouring villages, they were constantly quarrelling amongst themselves, I will leave the reclaimed lands for the present. Enough has been said to show that the affairs of the new community were, as their first pastor remarked, truly '*turbulentæ ac inordinatæ*' from the very first, and so they continued as long as the settlement existed.

I will now attempt to give some account of the establishment of the foreign Church at Sandtoft, which was destined to be the subject of as many disputes as the reclaimed lands themselves.

For works of such magnitude as those conducted by Vermuyden a large body of labourers must necessarily have been employed, and it will be remembered that they are said to have numbered over 1000 in 1634. There is very little evidence as to their nationality in the papers which I have examined, but Burn says that 'a great number' of them were brought from Holland, and they were probably men selected

for their knowledge of embanking and draining, in which the Netherlanders naturally excelled.

They brought with them the tools and appliances required for the works,¹ and the vessels in which they sailed up the Trent were facetiously hailed as 'the navy of Tharshish.'

These men would require a place for divine worship, and accordingly, on December 27, 1628, Vermuyden obtained the insertion of a clause granting licence for the erection of a chapel or chapels for the strangers in a 'contracte indented' which he was then entering into with the King.

As Mr. Moens has also found this licence, and has already called attention to it, it need not be quoted here again. It should, however, be remarked that neither the number of chapels to be erected nor their exact sites was then determined upon; that the services were to be in English or *Dutch*, proving that few or no worshippers of other nationalities were expected to attend them; and that conformity with the rites of the Church of England was not demanded nor even mentioned.

There is nothing to show that any advantage was taken at the time of this permission to hold separate services for the strangers. Certainly no building appears to have been erected for the purpose; if such services were held it may have been in one of the parish churches of the district, as was the case at Dover and other towns in the south of England, or possibly in the 'place or barne' referred to in a letter which will be quoted presently.

I think, however, that nothing was done until¹ January 26, 1634, when Burn says: 'Sir Philibert Vernatti, Henry Kinston,² Luke Valkenburgh, Matthew Valkenburgh, John Corsellis, and Michael Corsellis, Esqrs., went before a notary, and in the name of the whole body of Participants declared their consent that the sum of 70*l.* or 80*l.* should be raised annually for the support of a minister to officiate in the *French* and *Dutch*

¹ The Articles of Agreement of 1626 gave licence for the importation, free of duty, of 'all materialles needfull and necessarie to be broughte out of the Lowe Countries or from anie the partes beyond the seas for the furtherance of the said worke.'

² ? Kniston.

languages by assessment on their estates, to be made by six of the chief proprietors; and it was added that "for the satisfaction of *those who might then intend to settle upon the land*" no rent should be taken till an able minister was settled.'

Burn then goes on to say that 'a chapel was *immediately* erected by one Isaac Bedloe,' but this is incorrect, as will be seen later on.

The earliest date at which there seems to have been a pastor officiating specially for the foreigners was in the latter half of this year, 1684,¹ and in 1686 we find him complaining bitterly that he was still without a church.

On March 24, 1686, the King, in fulfilment of the agreement of December 27, 1628, made between himself and Vermuyden, at the request of Vermuyden, and in consideration of a fixed annual rent, granted certain lands in Hatfield Chase and the neighbourhood to Sir William Curteine, Knight; Robert Cambell, Alderman of the City of London; Charles Harbord, the King's Surveyor-General; Thomas Brinley, one of the Auditors of the King's Reversions; John Lamote, merchant; and Timothy Vanvleteren, clerk.²

Some difficulty must have arisen with regard to the licence of 1628 to hold services for the strangers, for this grant of 1686 contains the following clause:—³

And whereas the aforesaid Sir William Curteine, Knight, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanvleteren, of their singular devotion and piety, have proposed and intended, to the glory of Almighty God, to erect and build one or more chapel or chapels, within the limits of the aforesaid lands and other the premises, in the places most convenient, and, at their own expense, to maintain in the same ministers sufficient to celebrate divine service there, and have humbly besought our royal licence and assent to accomplish this their work: We being favourably inclined to the said pious and laudable intention of them, the said Sir William Curteine, Knight, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanvleteren, and willing that it may come to a happy issue, of our

¹ '*Pene duos annos*' before June 18, 1686.

² Described in 5 Charles I. as 'Preacher of the Dutch Church in London.'

³ Translated. The original is in Latin.

special grace, and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, Have given and granted, and, by the presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant to the aforesaid Sir William Curteine, Knight, Robert Cambell, Charles Harbord, Thomas Brinley, John Lamote, and Timothy Vanvleteren, their heirs and assigns, full faculty, licence, power, and authority, that they, or any one or more of them, shall and may be able, at any time hereafter, and in any convenient place or any convenient places within the limits of the aforesaid lands and other the premises before granted, or any one or more of them where it shall seem best to them to be done, with the consent and approbation of the Ordinary of that place, to found, erect, and build one or more chapel or chapels, and from time to time for ever to sustain and maintain in the said chapel or chapels one or more minister or ministers, to read and celebrate divine service and the sacraments there, to the praise and honour of Almighty God, either in the English or Dutch (*Belgica*) tongue, according to the form of worship in this our kingdom of England established: and this without procuring or obtaining any other warrant or commission from us, our heirs, or successors in this behalf, any thing, cause, or matter whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

It will be observed that a chapel had not yet been built for the strangers although licence to erect one had been granted more than seven years before; that the services are, as before, to be held in English or *Dutch*; and that they are to be conducted according to the rites of the Established Church of England. No doubt the latter clause was inserted in consequence of the action taken by Laud in 1634 to enforce conformity on the part of the strangers' congregations throughout the kingdom.

Meanwhile the Participants had been looking for tenants and labourers to cultivate the reclaimed lands which were now ready for occupation. Some of the Dutch workmen appear to have remained for the purpose, and perhaps others were brought over from Holland, but the greater part of the new settlers who now appear on the scene came from Normandy and other parts of France.¹

The documents concerning their coming and the early

¹ I do not know the exact date of the first arrival of these new comers, but they are said in an undated document, which I assign to the summer of the year 1638, to have then been in Lincolnshire 'for 3 yeares past.' Settlers were daily arriving in June 1636.

history of the Church are so interesting that I venture to quote those passages which relate to the strangers *in extenso*.

The first I have found is in a letter dated June 23, 1636, written by the Archbishop of York to Laud, from which it appears that the strangers *were making preparations* to build a chapel.

I make bould to acquaint your Grace with a business of importance (as I thinke) much concerning both the State and the Church, which I knew not of till this my coming into the country, which is this. I finde that the drayners of the Levell of Hatfield Chase doe not imploy any Englishmen (that I can heare of) in the husbanding of those groundes, but altogether imploy Frenchmen, and a few Dutchmen, who come into the kingdome daily in great numbers, and are already become a plantation of some two hundred families (as I am informed), and more are daily expected to come by ships fulls. I heare here is at this present a shipp full at Hull yet vnlanded, and another shipp full is saied to be at Harwich of the same kinde. This new plantation hath been on foote for some yeares past, and they haue sett up among them selues the forme and discipline of the French Church. A barn of Sir Phillibert Vernatty is the place which they vse for their church, whether the whole company haue resort on Sondaies, where they baptize in a dishe after their owne manner, and administer the sacrament after their homely fashion of sitting.

For their government they haue their Consistorie of the minister, three lay elders, and three deacons. The place or barne wherein they performe their divine service is on the very edge of Lincolnshire, adioyning vpon Yorkshire, by advantage wherof they pretend license giuen them by the Bishop of Lincoln, *non in scriptis sed verbo tenus*, to haue their exercises of religion according to the forme of the French Church, as it is permitted to French and Dutch in other partes of the realme. Their minister, who hath been with them these two yeares, is one Peter Bontemps, admitted into the ministry (as he saith) by the French ministers at Leyden. I haue spoken with him, and from his mouth I haue the effect of that I haue here beforewritten. I make bould to send your Grace a letter of his which he wrote to the sharers in that Levell, whereby your Grace will see how it is indeuored to bring the forme of a French Church into England, which I shall euer to the vttermost of my power oppose, and I trust his sacred Majestie will vphold me therein, and inhable me to bring them to the practise of our Booke

of Common Prayer, and none other, they being permitted to have the use thereof in the French tongue, wherof they may have as many bookes already printed as they can desire.

I thinke your Grace can remember, how that one day I made knowne to the Lordes of the Counsell, that Sir Phillibert Vernatty had mooued me for my fauour, that the strangers that dwelt vpon this Levell might build a chappel for the exercise of diuine service, wherto I answered, I would affourd them all lawfull fauour so as they would conforme them selues to the Church of England, otherwise not. At which time I alsoe mooued their Lordships for their fauour, that if Sir Phillibert Vernatty should at any time mooue their Lordships to any other purpose, their Lordships would second me in my resolution and answere given to him in this business, of which, my motion, their Lordships well allowed, and I beseech your Grace to mooue his Majestie to vphold me herein, that neither Sir Phillibert Vernatty, nor any other, may obtaine any thing of his Majestie to the contrary.

It seemeth that vpon the answere that I gaue to Sir Phillibert Vernatty, he, finding how nere Lincoln diocesse bordered vpon Yorkshire, made his recourse to my Lord of Lincoln, hoping to finde that fauour of him which I had denied, and perhaps obtained as much as is aforesaid. I heare *they haue burned bricke and are preparing materialls to build a chapple* there in Lincoln diocess, to which all the inhabitantes of the Levell, though dwelling in my diocesse, might repaire, but I shall (by the grace of God) prohibit those that lue in my diocesse to goe thither. I am verie confident that your Grace doth fauour me in this my resolution, and will assist me in my constrayning them to conforme themselves to the Church of England. And I leaue the politick part of this business to his Majestie's great wisdom and consideration, with what conueniency and safety to this state such a plantation should be permitted to be of strangers, men of very mean condition, that vpon advantage may become as vipers nourished in our bosomes, that take the bread out of the mouthes of English subiectes by overbidding them in the rentes of the land that they houlde, and doeing more worke for a groat than an Englishman can do for sixpence; and if your Grace did know in what cottages thes people lue, and how they fare for foode, yow would wonder at it.

I shall be glad . . . to receiue such answere as you shall thinke good to returne me, concerning that that I haue written of the French plantation in the Levell of Hatfield Chase.

The letter of Peter Bontemps, the first pastor of the com-

munity, which the Archbishop sends enclosed in his letter, is as follows :—¹

To the Lords, the Lords of those lands which are situated in the place which is commonly called "the Levill."

There is no one who does not know how much it is to the interest of the lords participants that the lands of the place called *the Levill* should be inhabited and cultivated by the strangers, French and Dutch, since both by their sobriety and laborious industry they are well suited to the same lands, and they rent them at a great price.

Inasmuch, however, as the greater part of these men are wholly ignorant of the English tongue, it is necessary that there should be a French church here, as the lords participants have promised to them from the beginning; indeed it was relying on this promise that they repaired hither; for truly it would be unjust that they who fled their country for the sake of the truth should here pass their life without the exercise of religion. Nor is this unknown to the lords participants, who, for this reason, invited me from Holland; and I have now dwelt here nearly two years, during which time the number of strangers (*incolæ*) in this place has increased by more than half, and is still daily increasing.

But since hitherto the affairs of our church have been, for the most part, turbulent and disorderly, and because I perceive that many of the first participants have given up their lands, and new ones, whose inclination (*voluntas*) is not known to me, succeed to them, it has seemed fitting to me to propound these few points to the lords participants in general.

That is to say, If it is their intention to support a French church amongst them, then it will be necessary :

- I. That a church (*templum*) or some other suitable place be provided in which we can meet to celebrate divine worship;
- II. That, according to the royal licence, permission be procured, from those to whom it pertains, that it shall be lawful for us to conduct the services in our own language, without interruption, impediment, or damage.
- III. It is only fair that I be accepted, not by one or the other, but by the lords participants in general;

¹ Translated from the Latin.

That such a stipend be assigned to me as I can live upon decently;¹ and that I may know when and where I am to receive it;

Also that I may have a house to dwell in.

But if, however, for some reason these things cannot be obtained, and it is not the pleasure of the lords participants to maintain a French church here, then I ask and entreat those lords participants who summoned me hither to deign to dismiss me as soon as possible, and to grant me the favour of letting me seek preferment elsewhere, where, perchance, I may be able to serve the church of God with greater ardour and with more profit than at this time has been permitted to me here.

Done the 13th day of June in the year 1636.

'Vestrarum Dominationum observantissimus,
PETRUS BONTEMPS,
Pastor ecclesiæ Gallo-Belgiæ.'

On September 18, in the same year, the Archbishop of York wrote again to Laud, still attempting to exculpate himself at the expense of the Bishop of Lincoln.

It may be your Grace expected to have received before this tyme from me some more advertisement touching the certificates which my Lord of Lincoln sent to his Majestie concerning the Dutch and French inhabiting in the Leuell of Hatfield, and his licensing of them (or rather not licensing of them) to put in practise the forme and discipline of the French Church. The truth is that the parties out of whom the whole business was to be had are gone aside, so as I could not have any conference with them since I received those certificates. The minister (Bontemps) went away to London, another (one Corsellys) is gone over to Amsterdame, and thes are the principall men that had their recourse to my Lord of Lincoln. But for your Grace's full satisfaction, this is a truth, that in the certificate sent to his Majestie they have informed only what was done since Christmas last in Lincoln diocesse, or in York diocesse, but speake not one word of the space of a whole yeare before in Lincoln diocesse, where they had continually their assemblies, and altogether performed divine service and exercised ecclesiasticall iurisdiction according to the forme of the French Church. And it is very certaine that vpon Bontemps, his first coming to them from Leiden, they went to my Lord of Lincoln, pretending that his Majestie had giuen them license to have a French or Dutch Church.

¹ Bontemps speaks as if no agreement had been made with him as to the amount of the stipend.

Since which tyme he hath permitted them to put in execution the forme of the French Church in prayers, in administration of the sacraments, and ecclesiasticall discipline, for excommunication, and sentence of divorce, and administration of goodes, as I am informed and I thinke can prooue. If D^r Primrose were asked the question, he can say when they were with my Lord of Lincoln, what they mooued vnto him, and what license or leaue he gaue them. But that vpon their being with him they haue ever since put in praetize the forme of the French Church, is most certaine. And of their doings in that time their certificate is but since Christmas last, the rest concealed. The wordes of his Majestie's grant are to this effect (that it shalbe lawfull for Sir Phillibert Vernatt or his assignes to erect and build, by the approbation of the Ordinary or the place, one or more chapple or chapples for the exercise of religion and divine service, to be vsed or read in the English or Dutch language).

In the certificate it is said that many of theses straungers, Dutch and French, haue resorted to *three* parish churches in the Isle of Axholme, and there haue communicated, christened, married, and buried. Vpon search made in the church bookes, I finde that some few of the better sort of them that vnderstand English haue done soe, but not many, and I finde that vpon the interdiction that is now vpon them in both diocesses, and their minister Bontemps being gone from them, very manie of them resort to the churches of the parishes in which they dwell, and there demeane themselves very devoutly, even those that vnderstand not the English tongue. I make no doubt but they will be easily brought to conformity when they shall haue our Booke of Common Prayer in French and Dutch, for the obtayning of which bookes I am an humble suiter to your Grace, that if there be not store of them already to be had in Pawle's Church Yard, the King's printer may be commanded to imprint them in both languages.

I have not met with the licence to Sir Philibert Vernatti to erect a chapel referred to in this letter, nor with that granted to Vermuyden, which is quoted in vol. viii. of the 'Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.' The wording of both, however, is much the same as that of the licence granted to Curteine and his associates just cited.¹

In January 1637 the Archbishop of York sent to Sir

¹ It is strange if there were really *four* licences. Perhaps the Archbishop is mistaken as to the name of the Participant to whom the licence he quotes

Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, a copy, for the King, of certificates received from the Bishops of his province of York 'of the due observation' of the King's 'pious directions and instructions,' and amongst these certificates is a report from the Archbishop upon his visitation of his own diocese in 1636, in which the following passage occurs:—

It may be your gracious Majestie will expect of me some information what the strangers (Dutch and French) in the Levell of Hatfield have done for their frequenting of divine service since your Majestie's late being in these northern parts, whereof I can only informe your Majestie, that upon enquire made thereof I find that since their minister Bonetemps, that came from Leiden, went from them in August last, they have not had any publick assemblies, but have repayred to the parish churches adjoyning to their dwellings, and that *they now sell away the materialls that they had provided for a chappell*, which they intended to have built in Lincolne diocess.

The strangers must have been completely subdued when even those who did not understand English attended the services at the parish churches, and the materials which they had brought together to erect their chapel were sold.

The following documents, though not immediately concerning Axholme, show that some of the strangers left the island in this year, 1637, and settled in the disafforested Forest of Galtres, which John Gibbon, the Frenchman, who had purchased Vermuyden's lands in Axholme, was, with a partner, then endeavouring to bring under cultivation:—

To the King's Most Excellent Majestie.

The humble petition of Robert Long and John Gibbon, shewing that after the draining of the Leuell of Hatfield Chace, in the countie of Yorke, most of the Participantes, being Dutch, brought over diuers French families out of Normandy and other partes of France, being all Protestants, and planted them as vnderテナants in the greatest part of the said Leuell, where they haue since continued, and are very honest and industrious people, and very good tenants.

The petitioners shew further, that they are by purchase become was granted, and the licence to Vermuyden referred to in the *Bulletin* may simply be that already spoken of as granted in 1628, but set out in more formal words than those used in the brief clause contained in the 'contracts indented.' This would reduce the number to two.

your Majestie's feefarmors of the lands of the late disaforrested forrest of Gawltres in the said county of Yorke, and that the same being wild, barren, and vnmanured, they can make no considerable benefit thereof, but by leasing it to vndertenaunts that will bestow charges, and vse industry to reduce those lands to tillage, and that the people of the country adiacent, either out of combination or willfullness, will not take the same to pay any considerable rent for that which they say haue beene their commons, though your Majestie hath allowed them great proportions in lieu of their commons.

Wherefore your petitioners are constrained to bring some of the French tenants out of the said Leuell of Hatfield Chace, who being industrious men, and skilfull in the manuring of grounds, doe offer such rates to the petitioners for the lands as are reasonable. And because the lands of the said late forrest ly remote from all townes, the petitioners intend, at their owne charge, to erect convenient houses for the tenaunts, and to build a church for them if they may obtaine such authority from your Majesty as shall be necessary in that behalfe. And because none of the said French doe yet vnderstand English perfectly, the petitioners haue found out a minister who is beneficed in that countrey, who speaketh good French, and is willing to doe all diuine offices in that language to the said tenaunts, and shall therein conforme himselfe to the laudable discipline, cerimonies, and gouernment of the Church of England, and vse no other forme of praier there, but the Common Prayer of the Church of England, but in the French tounge, and the petitioners will endow the said church with the annuall reuenue of 100^{li} for euer.

The petitioners, therefore, humbly beseech your Majesty to grant vnto them licence to found a church there, which may bee presentatiue for euer, in which diuine service and sermons may be exercised in the French tounge, and to settle lands or tythes in mortmaine to the parson and his successours there to be presented, and to signifie your royall pleasure to the Lord Archbishopp of Yorke, his Grace, that such a minister may be admitted for the present to vse the French tounge in the exercize of his said function, according to the institutions of the Church of England, vntill those French, which shall inhabite there, shall, by their conuersation, attayne to the perfect vnderstanding of the English. And, &c.

At the Court at Whitehall, June 6, 1687.

His Majesty, approuing the good intentions of the petitioners in the building of the church in the place proposed, is pleased that

Mr. Attorney-Generall prepare such licenses for the erecting thereof and settling a prouision of maintenance in mortmaine of 100^{li}. *per annum* to the parson and his successours, to be there presented by his Majesty and his successours for euer, as may be fit for his royall signature. And his Majesty, holding it fit to allow the inhabitants the celebration of diuine service in a language they vnderstand, is likewise pleased to grant license, that it shall be read in the French toungue, but in the forme of the liturgie of the Church of England, and likewise that they may haue sermons in the French language according to the articles and canons of the Church of England till the inhabitants shall attaine to the vnderstanding of English, and then the said service and sermons to be in the English toungue, according to the forme, articles, and canons aforesaid. And the Lord Archbischopp of Yorke his Grace is to giue allowance and institution to such a minister, he finding him conformable to the religion and discipline here established.

It is to be noted that the refugees themselves now propose conformity to the rites of the Established Church in the services which they wish to institute.

Somewhere about this time, or it may have been a year or two earlier—for I do not know the exact date, as the accounts I have found differ—the Participants contracted with Isaac Bedloe (or Bedloo), a merchant, to build a church and a minister's house for the strangers in the Level. The site selected was at Sandtoft, in Lincolnshire,¹ a place which could have had few or no inhabitants until the strangers came to Axholme. The first time it is mentioned in the papers I have examined is in the grant of March 24, 1636, where it is referred to as a 'place or close called Santofte,'² from which it would appear to have been then rather a field than an inhabited hamlet or village.

The money for the erection of the two buildings was advanced by Bedloe himself, the total sum he expended being 1159*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* A small portion of this amount was repaid to him by the Participants, but they refused to refund the re-

¹ There are said to have been two other foreign settlements in Lincolnshire, one at Stamford, founded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the other is Sutton Marsh, near the Wash, in existence in 1645.

² *Locum siue clausum vocat* Santofte.

mainder. He thereupon brought an action against them at the Lincoln assizes in 1640, and judgment was given in his favour. But still the Participants endeavoured to evade payment, and they induced Bedloe to assent to a compromise and to forego his claim on condition of receiving 6*d.* an acre charged on the Participants' lands throughout the Level. The Civil War, however, broke out soon afterwards, and threw everything into confusion. Bedloe's claim remained unheeded, and he died, a ruined man, some time before the Restoration. His interest in the debt was inherited by his son Erasmus, after whose decease it passed to the son's widow, Letitia Kemeys (or Bedloo), and their two children.

On November 27, 1660, the widow, as executrix of her late husband, petitioned the House of Lords that the Participants might be ordered to repay the money expended upon the buildings, with interest and all charges incurred in the attempts to recover the debt.

The petition was referred to the 'Committee for Triers,' by whom an order was made on December 3, sending it on to the Committee then considering a Bill introduced for settling certain disputes which had broken out during the time of the Commonwealth between the Participants and the tenants of the manor of Epworth.

In the next sessions of the House, on June 15, 1661, the widow again petitioned the Lords. She now says that 'some of the most eminent Participants' had desired her 'to desist, promising they would forthwith pay her, and giving her a writing under their hands accordingly; but she has several times since attended them for payment, but has not yet got one penny. She therefore prays their Lordships once more to interpose in order that she may receive the money so long due, and so often promised, before they proceed to confirm the Level to the Participants.'

Having thus shown that for twenty-five years the strangers' church remained unpaid for, I will leave the question of the debt here and will return to the church itself and its ministers.

I do not know when Bedloe commenced to build, or the date at which the church was completed. The following

'answer ¹ by Dr. Farmery, Chancellor of Lincoln, to a letter from the Archbishop of York, shows that the strangers remained two years without a pastor after the departure of Peter Bontemps, their first minister, in August 1636. It is not likely, therefore, that the strangers made use of Bedloe's church, even if it were finished, before the appointment of Bontemps' successor in 1638.

Your Grace's Commissarie for the Countie of Lincoln most humbly tendreth his answeare to so much of the letter, shewen him by your Grace, as concerneth the Company of the French inhabiting in the Isle of Axholme, com. Lincoln., viz^t:

The Company of Strangers inhabiting that Levell are (French and Dutch) about 200 families, most of them French, the greater part of this Company have for 3 yeares past lived in Lincoln dioces, as now the[y] doe, in the parishe of Belton ther.

Some 2² yeares sythence, the participantes, by the approbation of the Bishopp of that dioces (as they averred very probably) sent a Dutch minister amongst them (one Bontemps), who immediatly vpon his cominge thither practised the Geneva discipline in all thinges, by Deacons and Elders, till (as I heard) the Lord Archbishopp of York complayned therof to your Grace, which complaynt the Lord Bishop of Lincoln shortly after answeard vnto (as I heard) by a certificate vnduely fabricated by one Mr. Dalby, his Lordship's chaplayne dwelling in those partes, and his Secretary, Walker.

Therevpon Bontemps went away beyond the seas, and since that the people, not vnderstanding our English, have bene without the comfort of any minister for 2 yeares space, and thervpon I perceiueing their great inclination to conforme, I sent downe amongst them the man called Dr. Cursol, after good assurance of his conformitie to the Church of England by his taking the oathes of Supremacie, Alleigiance, and Canonically Obeidiance to your Grace &c., and after subscription to the Articles of Religion of our Church, who, having our Booke of Comon Prayer in French, doth officiate amongst them very conformably in all thinges (as I am credibly certified), and administer the sacramentes to them in some one of our consecrated churches, Belton or Epworth, and not in the new built wooden house where Bontemps officiated in his time.

¹ This document is undated, but I think it belongs to the summer of 1638.

² ? An error for 4.

This Dr. Cursol, by your Grace's favour and in your Grace's name (all orders of Lincoln Consistorie issueing forth in your Grace's stile), I have admitted, but not to endure longer then your Grace's pleasure be further declared, but the French people ther doe conforme very chearfully, and the Dutch people by their example are very willing to doe the like.

JO. FARMERIE,
your Grace's Comissarie in Lincolnshir.

[*Endorsed.*] Dr. Farmerye's answer to my Lord of York's letter concerning the French and Dutch in Axholme.

Unless Dr. Farmery has made a mistake the 'new built wooden house where Bontemps officiated' cannot be the church built by Bedloe, as Bontemps' letter of June 13, 1636, shows that there was no church, properly speaking, in his time, and the 'house' here mentioned must be the 'place or barne' referred to in the Archbishop of York's letter of June 23, 1636. If this be so, Bedloe's church was not finished until 1638 or later.¹

It is possible, however, that Dr. Farmery's phrase is not to be taken literally. In this case the description of the church as a 'house' is owing to the Doctor's desire to claim credit that his nominee officiates in a *consecrated* church, and not in a mere *unconsecrated* house.

Land's reign of persecution was now showing signs of coming to an end, and on May 5, 1640, the Archbishop was attacked in his palace at Lambeth.

The spirits of the strangers would no doubt revive throughout the kingdom, and Sandtoft formed no exception. On December 10, 1640, James de Con,² John le Houg,³ and Gilley Rey petitioned the House of Lords on 'behalf of the poor French or Dutch church or congregation assembled in the Isle of Axholme,' for redress against the Dr. Farmery whose letter appears above. They complain that though they 'did there enjoy the exercise of their religion for a season,' the Doctor, 'contrary to his Majesty's letters patent, granting

¹ The register is said to have commenced in 1641.

² *Sic*, ? de Cou.

³ Also written *Le Houcq*, and *Dehoucq*.

them the free exercise of their religion *as it was in those parts reformed from whence they came*, thrust upon them as their pastor one Cursoll, a Franciscan friar.'

He also assured them that it was necessary to have their church consecrated, or else their congregation would be dissolved. This he arranged to have done for them, and also promised that they should be made free from 'all assessments for the poor, church duties, and reparations of churches within the several parishes in which their respective habitations were pretended to be, whereby they were much burthened,' and that he would procure them certain other privileges and immunities.

In return for this, and intimidated by the 'threats and menaces' of their minister, who acted in concert with Farmery, they gave the latter a 'bribe' of 200*l.*, from which they reaped no benefit. They had to get their church consecrated at their own expense, the privileges assured to them were not granted, and they expended about 50*l.* in a vain attempt to obtain the promised exemption from taxation. Meanwhile Farmery 'harrowed them in his ecclesiastical court for not being present every Lord's day in the churches of Crowle, Belton, &c. pretended to be their parishes, where they understand nothing preached or officiated.'

Annexed to the petition is a 'copy of Dr. Farmery's direction to the French and Dutch refugees to raise 300*l.* (*sic*) for the consecration of their chapel, and the procurement of immunities.'

Witnesses were sworn in the matter on January 14, 1641. On the 18th Dr. Farmery, who was then in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, was, upon his own petition, released upon bail. At the same time it was ordered that the depositions of the witnesses to be examined against him should be taken 'in writing, upon oath, both in English and French,'¹ and Farmery was to be at liberty to put in cross-interrogatories.

¹ These depositions, if still in existence, would, no doubt, be very valuable for the early history of the Church, and there ought to be other documents upon the subject to be found at Lincoln.

From the evidence taken in the matter it appeared that the petitioners had found the 200*l.*, given to Farmery, on the understanding that they were to be recouped by means of a tax of tenpence an acre to be levied 'on the residue of the inhabitants of the places aforesaid,' i.e. the parishes in which their respective habitations were 'pretended to be.'

As was only to be expected, they found they were unable to collect this tax, and when they commenced actions at Lincoln to enforce payment their suits were all dismissed with costs.

It also came out in the evidence taken before the Lords that Cursoll had received for his own use 80*l.* of the 'bribe' of 200*l.*, and Dr. Farmery the remaining 170*l.* The latter pleaded that 'one hundred pounds of the said money thus wrung from the strangers' had been paid by him to Mr. Bateman, 'towards the repairing of St. Paul's Church in London,' a matter in which Archbishop Laud, the persecutor of the refugees, took the greatest interest.¹

On February 17 the Lords ordered that Cursoll and Farmery should repay the petitioners the sums they had respectively received. With regard to the 100*l.* said to have been paid 'towards the repair of St. Paul's, their Lordships (not holding it fit that money gotten thus from poor strangers should be bestowed in so pious a work)' decreed that if it were found that Mr. Bateman had 'really' so received it, he should repay it at once to Dr. Farmery. Direction was also given that the suits against the strangers in the ecclesiastical court of Lincoln should be dismissed without costs; that the petitioners should be discharged from their costs in attempting to recover the

¹ By an undated petition, assigned to the year 1634, certain persons (unnamed) had applied to Laud to assist them in obtaining a grant of tithes in the Level. If they secured the grant they would promise to pay 1000*l.* *per annum* towards repairing St. Paul's. These were not the only occasions in which St. Paul's was named in connection with the French Protestants. On March 4, 1635, the Commissioners for Pious Uses 'were informed that of the collection heretofore made by briefs for the inhabitants of the isle of Rhé of the Protestant religion there remains 80*l.* in the hands of Sir William Becher, and 40*l.* in the hands of Mr. Hunt, Registrar of the Bishopric of London, and that there may be other sums in the hands of officers of several dioceses.' It was thereupon 'ordered that these sums should be applied towards the repair of St. Paul's.'

assessment of 10*d.* an acre; and that the Ordinary of the diocese of Lincoln should grant to the strangers, 'from time to time, such favours, privileges, and immunities for the church and congregation as the King's Majesty's laws, civil and ecclesiastical, do in any sort allow and permit.'¹

On March 11 the petitioners complained to the House that Dr. Farmery refused to repay the 170*l.*; whereupon the order of the preceding month was confirmed, and Farmery was directed to disburse the money forthwith.

But the matter did not end here. On July 22, 1642, John Despaigne, Minister of Sandtoft, and James Des Camps presented another petition to the Lords, asserting that Cursoll had not yet repaid the 30*l.* due from him as directed by their Lordships' order, and that he 'vexes the poor strangers with suits of law, having now two depending in the King's Bench, and one in the Marshalsea,' which they pray may be stayed.

The petition was referred the same day to Mr. Justice Crawley, who was directed to certify to the House, if in his opinion the suits might be stayed.

The judge did not inquire very minutely into the circumstances of the case, Despaigne himself being the only witness he examined. In his certificate, which is dated August 2, he says: 'The monies are not restored, and Cursoll detains thirty pounds thereof, and, as is said, stands in contempt for not restoring it, and hath brought two actions against John Despaigne, one in the Marshalsea, supposing that he should speak of John Cursoll these scandalous words, *he was a voluere*

¹ This is the order referred to in a petition preserved amongst the papers of the House of Lords, of which the following abstract is given in the Fourth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission. 'Petition of Jacob Meyer and Christian Vandevarte on behalf of themselves and the other poor French and Dutch men living in the part of the late drained Level of Hatfield Chase that is within the county of York, that the privileges granted by their Lordships' order of the 17th of February, 1640-1, to the refugees inhabiting the part of the Level in the county of Lincoln, with regard to certain immunities to their church, may be extended to petitioners.' The petition is undated, but has been assigned to 1641, the year of the order. It will be remembered that the letters patent of 1628 and 1636 gave licence for the erection of 'one or more chapel or chapels'; but this is the only paper I have met with showing that advantage was taken of this permission, and that there was another foreign congregation in the Chase besides that having its head-quarters at Sandtoft.

et un trumpier, a vollé son eglise, which he Englishes thus: he is a thief and a knave, and hath robbed his church: and hath brought another action against him in London for these words: J'ay ouy dire a Monsieur Despaigne qu'il avoir (sic) destroue les gents de son eglise de trant livres sterlin, et que c'estoit ung tres merchant (sic) home, which he Englishes thus: I have heard Monsieur Despaigne oftentimes say that Monsieur de Cursoll was a thief, and that he had stolen from the people of his church thirty pounds sterling, and that he was a very bad and dishonest man: which action John Despaign hath removed into the King's Bench, where it dependeth: and it is said that John de Cursoll hath brought the like action for like words spoken against him by John de Camps in the King's Bench.'

This report was brought before the Lords on the 5th, when the following entry was made in the Journals:—

'The House thought fit that an affidavit should be made that the order of this House is not performed, and then will grant an attachment; and, because the suits are vexatious, they shall be admitted *in formâ pauperis* in those courts where the causes are pending.'

Nothing further about the matter is to be found in the Journals, and it was apparently left to be settled by the law courts.

Despaigne seems to have remained only a few months at Sandtoft, as his name appears again in connection with Cursoll's in a petition presented to the Lords on January 11, 1643, with reference to certain new congregations of strangers then being formed in London. In this document the ministers and elders of the Dutch and French Churches of London complain that '*within these few months past* one John d'Espaigne, minister of the French Church of Santhoffs, in the Isle of Axolme, and one Stephen Cursoll, who likewise pretends himself to be a minister, have, for by-respects and private ends to themselves, endeavoured to disturb and distract the peace and quiet of the French congregation, by making divisions and dissensions amongst them, and in erecting to themselves, without authority or example, new congregations (out of the members of the said Church), who in conventicles

assemble themselves and preach in private houses.' This, however, does not concern the history of Sandtoft, and must be left for some other occasion.¹

It will be noticed that Despagne was still minister of Sandtoft when these dissensions commenced. The exact date of his ceasing to officiate does not appear in the papers I have examined, but the reason for his leaving is stated in a petition addressed by him to the House of Lords about the year 1643.

In this document he says that he 'served very painfully for two years, but was, for want of his promised allowance, necessitated to depart from thence, having only received during that time 25*l.*' He therefore 'prays their Lordships to order that 135*l.* justly due to him may be paid by such members of the congregation as' he 'shall make choice of, they abating so much from their rents to the Participants of the Level.'

There is no reference to this petition in the Index to the Journals, and perhaps Despagne thought it advisable not to press his claim, in consequence of his dispute with the elders of the French and Dutch Churches of London.

Despagne's successor at Sandtoft was Peter Berchett, but

¹ Despagne officiated as minister at the Hague in 1628, but after a time, being forbidden to preach in Holland, he came to London in 1629. In 1636 he went to Orange, where he remained about a year, and then returned to London, and acted as chaplain to the Duc de Soubize for a few months. 'Sur cela,' says a letter printed in vol. viii. of the *Bulletin* &c., 'une église (à quelques cinquante lieues de Londres) le fait demander, et à leur prière M. de Soubize luy permet de les aller servir.' (This would be the church of Sandtoft.) 'Deux ans après y ayant des bruits de guerre, et ne faisant pas bon à la compagnie, M. de Soubize le rappelle chez soy, où il prescha encore deux ans, c'est-à-dire, jusques à la mort dudit seigneur sur la fin de l'an 1642.' After the Duke's death 'les Français logés à Westmestre le prient aussi d'estre leur pasteur,' whereupon was formed the new congregation spoken of in the petition to the Lords on Jan. 11, 1643, which assembled in 'la grande salle' of the Countess of Arundel's house. (An entry in the Lords' Journals dated January 21, 1642-3, says 'in the house of the Lady Annandale.') Despagne came out victorious from his conflict with the Walloon Church, and 'aussitôt quelques commissaires luy prestèrent un autre lieu pour son église.' About six months after, the Earl of Pembroke granted him the use of the Chapel of Durham House. Here he remained about eight years until it was pulled down. Parliament then (in 1653) granted him the Chapel of Somerset House, where he continued to officiate until his death in 1659.

before referring to him I must return to the long-standing complaint of the native inhabitants of Axholme against the Participants for robbing them of their rights of common. The severity of the sentences passed upon the rioters by the Court of Star Chamber in 1631 put an end to their claims for some time, and when the question arose again the natives tried to assert their rights peaceably by bringing an action in the Court of Exchequer, where a decree was given against them about the year 1635.

On [July 5,]¹ 1636, the tenants of the manor of Epworth presented a petition to the King complaining that the Participants had 'prosecuted *several* suits' against them with respect to their 'commonable grounds,' but the document is imperfect, and does not furnish any particulars of interest.

Nothing of much importance occurred from this date until 1642, the year of the commencement of the Civil War. On June 25 riots broke out again, and in December there were further disturbances. 'Thirty-two houses were pulled down' in this year, 'besides barns, stables, and other buildings,' and the crops, consisting of oats, wheat, and rape, were destroyed, in all about 4000 acres being laid waste. The strangers applied to the Committee of Lincoln, but apparently got no redress.

The next² outbreak was on October 6, 1645, when the Participants appealed in vain to the sheriff to repress such disorders. Their complaints were, however, made the subject of inquiry by the 'Committee for the County of Lincoln,' which, on October 14, ordered that tenants to the Participants should pay their rents to the Committee *for the next two years*; and

¹ ? date.

² Though I have omitted all reference to disputes of a private nature, occurring since 1636, in which members of the foreign settlement were engaged, there is one which deserves mention here. In August 1643 John van Haesdonck, gentleman, complained that during his absence on the King's service Captain Vernatti with his 'agents and soldiers' had forcibly entered upon the possessions of his (Haesdonck's) tenants, 'viz. Hubert le Roy, John Wantier (? Wantier), Charles Waterlow, John le Haire, Edward Outibrigg, and others,' and committed divers outrages and 'barbarous acts,' saying, 'there is no law in force.' Full particulars of this interesting quarrel will be found in the *Calendar of State Papers*.

that, unless the Participants themselves obtained a legal judgment, or an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, confirming their title, they should, at the expiration of that time, '*give up their possession of the lands in question to the inhabitants altogether.*'¹

As this order struck at the very existence of the foreign settlement, the strangers on November 15 addressed the following petition to the House of Lords, complaining not only of the attacks of the natives, but also of the neglect of the Participants to carry out the agreement as to the minister's stipend.

*To the Right Honourable the Lords in the most
High Court of Parliament assembled.*

The Humble Petition of Peter Berchett, Minister of God's word, John Barrell, and John Amorye, as well for and on the behalf of themselves, as other the French and Dutch inhabitants of the newly-improved grounds lying in the Level of Hatfield Chace, and parts adjacent, in the Isle of Axholme, in the several counties of Yorke, Lincolne, and Nottingham.

SHewing, That your petitioners and other the said inhabitants, or some of them, have, for the space of sixteen years now last past, been farmers and occupiers of divers great parcels of land lying in the said Level and parts adjacent thereunto belonging, in the said Isle, which were heretofore surrounded and drowned with waters, and at the great expence of above two hundred thousand pounds drained by Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and other the Participants in the said Level, which lands were before of little or no use or value, but by the great industry, charge, and labour of the said Participants, and your petitioners, are now become very fruitful and commodious to the Commonwealth, by the great quantities of *corn and rape-seed* there growing.

¹ In another place I find a reference to an order of the Committee, dated October 18, to the following effect: 'that the tenants to the Participants shall give bonds for payment of their rents *for the following year* into the hands of the Committee, and shall thereupon plough and sow their lands; and if *within the year* the Participants shall not obtain some legal confirmation, then the tenants shall quit the lands to the inhabitants.' I am unable to determine whether this is a second order, or whether it is merely an inaccurate copy of the one of October 14, the date which is always subsequently assigned to the decision of the Committee.

That they have built many houses and a church, and have a settled French congregation amongst them, consisting of *above one thousand souls*, and that the said Participants have, by agreement amongst themselves, contracted to allow their Minister three score and ten, or four score, pounds *per annum* for his pains to be bestowed among your petitioners.

That notwithstanding your petitioners' so long and quiet possession of the said lands, and that part thereof, which lyeth in the Isle of Axholme, was settled upon the said Participants by a decree of the Court of Exchequer, made by consent of the most part of the inhabitants of the said Isle, yet nevertheless a great multitude of the meaner sort of the inhabitants of the said Isle have, about a month since, raised a commotion, and in a most riotous, violent, and barbarous manner, without any order of law, entered upon your petitioners' possessions lying in the manor of Epworth, within the said Level; thrown down their fences and enclosures; destroyed the most part of your petitioners' corn and rape-seed there growing to a very good value, with their cattle; broken, cut in pieces, and burnt most of the petitioners' ploughs and implements of husbandry; and offered and committed other great outrages by beating and wounding your petitioners, and daily threaten to pull down all the petitioners' houses and *their church*, and thereby utterly supplant and drive them away, to the utter undoing of your poor petitioners, their wives and children.

Their humble petition therefore is, that this Honourable Assembly (the premises tenderly considered) will be pleased to order that they may quietly enjoy their habitations and possessions, and the comfort of their labours, without any further disturbance, and that some speedy course be taken to suppress such exorbitant riots and outrages, and that your petitioners may receive satisfaction for the great loss and damage they have sustained from the ringleaders of the said commotion, that their congregation may be established in peace, and that their minister may have his promised allowance duly paid to him, which is detained by the said Participants.

And the petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

JOHN BARRELL.

JOHN AMORY.

To the petition 'articles' were annexed praying that the 'church and congregation may be secured in all liberties and privileges consistent with the laws of the kingdom; that the allowance agreed upon may be equitably raised and paid to their present minister, Mr. Berchett, and also *all arrears due to*

their late minister, Mr. Despaigne; that they may have compensation for damages done by the English inhabitants, who have destroyed the crops, broken the instruments of husbandry, *broken and burnt the seats of their church, broken the glass windows, and pulled down the lead from the church and steeple*; that the bonds given to the Committee of Lincoln may be cancelled; and that the tenants may deduct a certain sum from their rents to pay all the charges of John Barrell and John Amory since the commotions began.'

About the same time another petition was presented to the Lords, complaining that the tenants of the manor of Epworth 'have lately demolished some of the banks and fences, and forced open the sluices, and let in the water, and not only drowned the Level, but a rich country adjoining, and threaten to do the like again.'

An order was issued by the Lords on December 10 giving the sheriff power to call out the trained bands if necessary to put an end to such tumults. Whereupon the tenants of Epworth by their petition, dated February 6, 1646, asserted that this order had been obtained by 'mis-information,' and prayed that the order of the Committee of Lincoln might stand as an order of the Lords.

On March 21 the strangers again petitioned the Lords, and supported their prayer by affidavits sworn by John Gibbon, Jacob Vernoy, and others, and about the same time the tenants of Epworth put in a counter-petition.

Nothing final seems to have been done, and on July 13 further commotions ensued, to which the Participants drew the attention of the Lords by their petition of August 11, and orders were made in the matter on November 26 and December 1.

John Gibbon,¹ the purchaser of Vermuyden's lands, now

¹ Gibbon, if the evidence can be relied upon, was rather arbitrary in his dealings with the natives, though to be sure he had great provocation. Noddell, in some depositions taken before certain Commissioners appointed by Cromwell's Council which will be referred to presently, says that 'divers of the inhabitants made complaynt to this examinant of the harshe dealing of Mr. John Gibbons with the said inhabitants, who, as this examinant was informed, came with many loue fellowes, such as this examinant believeth was by the

comes to the front, his leading opponent amongst the English inhabitants being one Daniel Noddell, a solicitor.

On March 5, 1647, Gibbon applied to the Lords for redress against two Englishmen, who had themselves appealed to the Council, and, apparently on the same day, he presented another petition against the Commissioners of Sewers for Lincoln.

In this year, 1647, the tumults recommenced, the inhabitants coming armed with staves, pitchforks, and swords, and bringing with them a cart laden with 'musketts putt up in sackes.' The Participants complained to the Lords by petition dated September 8.¹ Orders were made by the House on September 27 and on November 11, and on the latter date the inhabitants of Epworth presented another petition to the House, but none of these documents contain anything of interest.

Apparently it was felt that appealing to the Lords was of little avail, for a Bill was filed in this year against the natives in the Court of Exchequer. The proceedings lingered in the Court until February 1651, when a decree was issued re-establishing the tenants of the Participants in their holdings. Meanwhile disturbances had commenced again in 1649, and they continued with intermissions until the publication of the decree, when the most serious tumults that had yet occurred took place, ending in the total destruction of the town of Sandtoft, and the ejecting of the foreign congregation from their church. It was the attempt to put the decree into execution which brought matters to a crisis, and so threatening did affairs look at Axholme that the Council appointed Commissioners to make full inquiries as to the reason of this prolonged dispute.

said Gibbons hired, and burnt the fuell, and drove the inhabitantes' cattell,' and sold them, and caused some of the 'inhabitantes to be imprisoned.' And, again, he says that Gibbons and his man meeting with one Staving, they pulled him off his horse and assaulted him, whereupon a justice of the peace issued a warrant for Gibbons' apprehension. In the disturbances of June 25, 1647, the rioters 'threatened to cut Mr. Gibbons in pieces.'

¹ Four affidavits are annexed to the petition; one, dated July 6, being by a David Zeland, and mentioning the foreign name of Jordam Gillams.

Their report, and the depositions which accompany it, furnish many interesting details respecting the riots, besides affording considerable information with regard to the drainage works and the cultivation of the reclaimed lands.

According to the Participants' own account they ought to have been possessed of 24,000 acres of land, for which they had paid 16,800*l.* to the Exchequer, and owed a yearly rent to the Crown of 1228*l.* 17*s.*, these sums being in addition to 175,000*l.* spent in draining. Of these lands 7400 acres lay within the manor of Epworth, out of which 4000 acres had been laid waste in the riots of 1642, leaving 3400 acres still under cultivation.

Notwithstanding the decisions of the several courts of law there is no doubt that the Englishmen were right in their contention. Their commons had never been legally taken away from them, for the King, as lord of the royal manor of Epworth, in spite of the arguments of feudal lawyers, was not sole owner of the wastes of the manor, and had no power to dispose of them by letters patent or indenture. If an Act of Parliament had been passed at the beginning to enable Vermuyden to drain, the question would have stood on a very different footing.

In 1651, with the King gone and Parliament ruling in his stead, everything was changed; but still the natives preferred force to law, and this time seemed determined to completely rid themselves of the strangers. Their houses were pulled down, their crops on the remaining 3400 acres destroyed, their windmill overthrown, their church profaned and closed, and they themselves treated with the greatest rigour. The total damage done by these latter tumults was estimated at over 80,000*l.*; a huge sum, making allowance for the difference in the value of money then and now.

The ringleaders in these disturbances were Daniel Noddell, Lieut.-Colonel John Lilborne, and Major Wyldeman, and in what they did they had the sympathy of Mr. Monckton, a resident justice of the peace.

An agreement was said to have been made after the tumults were over between them and the tenants of Epworth,

whereby Lilborne and Wyldeman were to receive 2000 acres of the land so laid waste and Noddell 200, in return for which they were to 'defend' the men of Epworth for the part they had taken in the riots, and 'maintain them in possession of all the rest of the 7400 acres.'

The depositions forwarded by the Commissioners are very voluminous. They were taken at various dates, and they relate chiefly to events after 1649, very little being said about anything which happened in that year. As the disturbances in 1650 and 1651 may be said to have been continuous, in giving extracts from these depositions, for the sake of simplicity, I shall not assign exact dates to the events described.

The pulling down of the houses appears to have commenced in March 1650, and they pulled down one here and there until the autumn of the next year. Edward Hill says, 'that 'twas as ordinarily done as for men to goe to theire labour, and some men were dayly in it, and that this was continued from October the midst of it vntill 3 weekes after Midsommer, and that they destroyed him in goods in value 100*li.*, and that he was served soe seaven seuerall tymes.'

In October 1651 they specially directed their efforts against Sandtoft and the neighbourhood, and in the space of ten days demolished the whole town, consisting of eighty-two houses and a mill, the church alone being left standing.

There is no mention made of brickwork in connection with the houses, and they were probably constructed with wooden frames, the interstices being filled in with plaster, clay, or mud.

Nicholas Tyson, one of the deponents, estimates they were worth altogether not less than 2500*l.*, and says that one of them had cost 150*l.* Possibly this was the house referred to in the examination of John Wray, who deposed that some fourteen of the rioters 'came with axes, spades, forkes, and clubbs, and pull[ed] downe the pales and rayles of Massengarb's house to the quantity of 81 load.'

To judge from his own words, Anthony Massengarb must have been the timber merchant of the district. He says they

came to his house 'and there broke the walls and posts,' 'and tooke four mares from him and one white nagge with a foale, and 3 cowes, one steer, two heyfers. His wife, newly gott out of childbedd, desired them to leave one cowe to relieve their children. They said noe, but they would provide a good pasture for them, and next day he went to see them, and that was the pound, and then desiring them, he was enforc't to pay 3*li.* before they would let them goe.' He then describes how they came with a waggon and took his pales away, coming again, time after time, until they had taken thirty-four loads. They then appointed two men and a swineherd to look after the cattle and hogs which they put in his corn. He then continues: 'And every day, all the sommer long, they came with 40 carts, and carried away the tymber and wood which was left in the houses.' 'Some of the wood was digged out of the ground, some was not.'

John Amory, one of the aliens, in speaking of the houses destroyed, says 'that some of them had stooede to his knowledge 16 yeares, some 12 and 10 yeares.'

He says, further, 'that hee had severall houses there which were pulled down by the ryotters,' and that 'they came in greate nombers with staves and axes, and cutt downe the houses, and they were pulled downe with ropes, and that hee was glad to runn away for feare of his lyfe.'

Several other witnesses also gave evidence about the destruction of the houses.

Joan Anderson stated 'that shee had a house vppon the land, which was pulled downe. They sawed downe the posts, and then with ropes pulled downe the houses.'

John Clesby deposed 'that some 40 or 50 of Belton were at the house of Nicholas Tyson in the Levell, and there Thomas Wykes, with an axe in his hand, fell a-chopping Nicholas Tyson's house, and said, *Downe with the house, and if it had beene done 7 years since it had beene better for vs all.* And vppon this Thomas Wykes with the said company pulled downe the house.'

Timothy Steward said he 'sawe Wykes knocking and cutting downe Tyson's house, and that there was with him 20

or more. He sawe not the house falle, but sawe them pulling the posts.'

John Bracer deposed that they pulled 'downe his house whilst his wife was in childbearing. She said, *Will you have not more pittie on mee? I am an English woman.* They answered and said, *You must packe away and follow your husband.* And when the walls and posts were pulled downe with cart-ropes, hee said, *Doe you thinke you doe well in this? Yes, wee doe good worke: we doe God's worke.* And from thence they went to Pinchon's house, and pulled it downe with the barne, and drew the women out of the house, and Samuel Pinchon therevppon was enforced to live in a dyke bottome for 10 weekes, together with his wife and two of his sonnes, he having beene a man worth 2 or 800^l, and ordinarily sowed 80 or 100 acres of corne.'

Thomas Sayles complained 'that they pull'd downe his house, and, having 3 children very young, sett them vppon the snowe, who were like there to starve.'

John Mylner said they 'pulled downe his pales of his house.' He also says 'hee hathe seene these men att seuerall tymes, with greate numbers, euery day, pulling downe houses vntill they had pulled downe all. They destroyed 84 houses, pulled them downe, and chopped them to peeces, and then carryed them away: sometymes they were 80, sometymes a 100: and hee was forc't to live in a dry dyke with his 3 children, and 4 children more, and soe to live for almost a whole sommer: and as they came by in the morneing and evening with fire in their hands, flung the fire amongst them, and said *wee will roste you out, you shall stay noe longer there.*'

Jacob Amory, another of the aliens, gives the following account of the destruction of the mill, which is said to have been worth about 150^l.: 'That from 120 to 160 of the rioters came to the mill-doore att Santofte, and desyred to come in, and said, *Lett mee come in.* He said, *I will not. Let me come in, or else I will pull downe the mill over your heads,* and came with axes and cutt downe the postes of the myll, thrust his sword into the mill, and was very like to have stabbed two of the children, and having broke into the mill, took the woman

and dragg'd the woman out by the heeles, and thrust all out of the mill, and then sayd, *Fling her over*, and vppon that tooke her, and flung her downe, and tore her to peeces.'

When the rioters at length turned their attention to the French church they found a large number of persons, apparently members of the congregation, assembled outside to watch their proceedings. One Whitacre bade them pull down the church. This they naturally refused to do. Their leader then addressed the minister's wife: '*Goe, Mistress, and pull downe your house, or if you doe not within 6 or 8 dayes, we will pull it downe.*' At which, says John Amory, one of the witnesses and an attendant at the church, 'she and the rest were much affrighted, and the house was almost all pull'd downe and since re-edified by Colonell Lilborne, who placed 3 men there.'

In reply to another interrogatory Amory says 'that vppon the 19th of October 1651 hee was goeing to Santoft Church vppon the Lord's Daie, and when hee came nere the church, hee sawe the Minister and some of his neighbours standing together, of which one was Mr. Lilborne, Jasper Margrave, and Daniel Noddell. Mr. Noddell spoke Latin to the Minister, which hee could not vnderstande, hee being a Frenchman. Lilborne said, *This is our common; you shall come here noe more, vnles you bee stronger than wee*, and this hee spoke to the Minister and the congregation. Lilborne had 2 men, who with himself had swords by their sides. And [he] saith that two men stood att the Church doore, with their swords, to looke vppon those that went it (*sic*). Lilborne prayed and preached. They would not let the Minister preach, and this was principally done by Noddell, Lilborne, and Margrave, they being there, and since that, they have made a cowhouse of the church and spoyled it, hewed downe the pulpitt, tooke downe the windows, and totally defaced the church, and that hay is layd there ever since.'

Edward Griffith, speaking of the same incident, says 'that hee was vppon the said 19th of October, [16]51, there, who told Lilborne and Noddell that these proceedings were contrary to the decree. And saith that Mr. Noddell was passionate on the

behalf of the ryotters, and argued against the decree, and Mr. Lilborne told him hee should not bee passionate, for they would have the more advantage against vs. And saith that Lilborne said you must not bee here vnles stronger than wee. And being askt why the men were plac't att the Church-doore, saith hee conceives to awe those who should goe into the Church; and being askt whither this were after the publication of the decree saith it was after the publication, and that the Church is totally defaced, and that the people dare not goe in.'

Another witness, 'Abraham Lottie, says the Church at Santoft was now imployed for keeping of cowes by Colonell Lilborne, or some whome hee did imploy, and saith that an oxe was killed in the Church, and hung vpp there by the direction of Lilborne and Noddell.'

Nicholas Tyson says 'that the Church cost att least 1500*li*.'¹

Burn, who appears to have examined these depositions for his work on the refugees, says that the strangers at Axholme 'grew large quantities of rape,' and then he continues, seemingly not noticing the inconsistency, 'it was not till the farmers on these levels were more English than French and Dutch, that anything was cultivated but oats or rye.' This, however, is incorrect. The depositions show that not only were oats and rape grown, but also wheat, barley, and flax. I have not met with any mention of rye as a crop, though it may be comprised in the phrase 'severall sortes of graine,' which occurs two or three times. If Burn means to imply that corn was only grown in small quantities, his statement is very wide of the mark, as is shown by the following abstract of a petition presented to the Privy Council on October 11, 1639, by John Stripe, merchant, and others:—

'There is general plenty of *all sortes of grain* this year throughout the kingdom, and particularly in the parts of Yorkshire² in

¹ This is also the amount named in a petition of the Participants to the House of Lords dated June 26, 1660. It will be remembered that Letitia Bedloe said it had cost her father-in-law 1159*l*. 3*s*. 9*d*., and that it was not yet paid for.

² Santoft, the head-quarters of the strangers' settlement, was in Lincolnshire.

and near Hatfield Chase, where it is much increased by the draining of the Level, by means whereof, and of their old stores yet remaining, the prices are so low that the husbandmen and farmers are unable to pay their rents and subsist, unless they sell some quantities to be transported into the parts beyond the seas.' They therefore pray for licence to export from Hull.

Flax is mentioned as one of the crops here and there in the depositions, and in the examination of Edward Hill the following passage occurs: 'Hee sawe a woman downe of her knees to begge that some parcell of her flax might be saved, and one West, being of the company, said that they had swore all together to destroy all, and if they should save hers, they should breake theire oath.'

The writer of the article in the 'Bulletin,' referred to above, says that the refugees introduced several *arts mécaniques*, and that tanning, dyeing, spinning flax, and weaving were amongst the number. He also states that the culture of woad, for which Lincolnshire has since become famous, and for which he says, on the authority of Arthur Young, the soil of Axholme is specially suited, received its first impulse from the refugees, and he suggests that the art of dyeing, which they practised, created a demand for the raw material. I find, however, nothing to corroborate this in the documents I have yet examined.

The Frenchmen who left the Chase to go to Thorney Abbey are said to have first sown colza in their new home, and to have had very good crops for the first few years. It seems that the colza was cultivated not only for the sake of the oil expressed from its seed, which was used for illuminating purposes, but also because of its value in some process in the manufacture of wool. Corn, of course, was sown as well.¹

As was only to be expected, the lands in the Level had risen considerably in value owing to the draining, while the

¹ 'Cominciarono à seminare certi canoli selustici detti colzat da' quali se ne eava certo oglio che serve molto non solo per la lampa, mà per quei che laurano in lana, e con che venne à fare nelli primi anni una raccolta molto vantaggiosa. S'è procurato di seminar grani, ma non hanno riuscito, tutta via il colzat e la biada riescono.'

demand for labourers, both for farming and for Vermuyden's gigantic works, had simultaneously caused a great increase in wages.

Edward Hill deposed 'that the land, one with another, was not worth 3*d.* per acre, and that land is now worth 14*s.*, 15*s.*, 16*s.* per acre, and that hee hath had very strange growth and increase of corne, and that many hundreds of acres, which were not worth 1*d.* an acre, are now worth 18*s.* 4*d.* an acre.'

Edmund Aukland said that 'most of the land was not worth 6*d.* per acre, and that it is now worth 14*s.*, 15*s.*, 16*s.* per acre, and that the land sowne was worth 6*li.* per acre.'

John Clesby said that 'the land generally was not worth 6*d.* per acre, and that now it is worth, the most part, 14*s.* per acre.'

Timothy Steward said 'the ordinary labour of labourers now is worth 12*d.* or 14*d.* *per diem*, and that there are very great complaints in the townes that they are all beggers since the improvements last downe; and that hee, having as much worke as hee could well doe heretofore, hath not, for these 12 monethes last past, had a daye's worke, and soe many hundreds are within the Isle; and that meadow ground (when the improvements were standing) were lett for 13*s.* 4*d.*, and since that it is lett for 24*s.* per acre; and that the poore cry out mightily since the improvement layd downe, and say they are all vndone; and, being askt whether he were not a ryotter, confesseth he was at the first, and that they hyred several men to goe along with them to destroy these improvements.'

William Wrook said that 'before the improvements the inhabitants were generallie poore, and now they are well to live, and a greate many growne very rich and able to relieve others, and that the wages formerly that the countrey gave was, for a poore man's day labour 6*d.*, and now they generally have 12*d.* per day; and that they would worke for 2*d.* a day, meate and drink, and now they will not worke for vnder 6*d.* a day.'

Edmund Aukland deposed 'that hee hath heard and doth beleve it, that there were sowne neare 20,000 acres in a yeare for 10 or 11 yeares vntill the ryotts began, and that heretofore there was nothing but a little fish gott, and may bee once in a

weeke a man should gett 6*d.* or 12*d.*, and as long as the improvement stood they could gett, a man and his wife, 2*s.* 6*d.* *per diem*, and now they cannot a penny, but goe begging and sterving.'

Strange to say, there is no account in these depositions of any of the strangers actually leaving the settlement in consequence of the tumults, though the examination of John Agar shows that he would have done so if he could have induced the rioters to accept his terms. He says that he 'offered to give them 10*li.* that they would lett him stay the winter and then goe away, but they would not lett him stay at all,' 'and vppon that [he] was forc't to take a lease, and that 7 or 8 more were enforc't to take lease.'

An attempt was now made to give a political aspect to the tumults by endeavouring to show that words derogatory to the Parliament had been used by the rioters.

One Richard Glewe deposed that three months after the riots of 1651, 'vppon the 12th of January last past, he was with Mr. Noddell in his owne house, att Owston, in the Isle of Axholme, where Noddell said, *There is none I hope in the house but freinds. John Lilborne, Wyldeman, and myselfe have made our case knowne to the Parliament, and they looke but lightly of vs, but wee will have it printed, and naye it vpp vpon the Parliament doores, and make an outcry, and if they will not heare us wee will pull them out by the eares. I will have Vavasor downe into the countrey, and wee will hyre a mason to goe with him with a pick-axe, and will pull downe the Church att Santoft, wee will leade it away, and I will have a house built of it, they shall goe two and two, and fling downe all, for they had the possession and they would keepe it. Their case would be a leading case for all the fennes in England.*

Other witnesses deposed that the Parliament had been spoken of as a '*Parliament of clouts.*'

To rebut these accusations Captain Robert Dyneley was examined, and he declared 'that Mr. Noddell did alwayes expresse as much affection by his actions as possibly could bee to the service of the Parliament,' and 'that when ever the Parliament prospered, hee reioyced and leaped for ioy, and when the Parliament did not prosper hee did much mourne.'

John Spittlehouse, another witness, said 'hee did not knowe any man in Lincolnshire more affected to the Parliament than ' Noddell, and 'that of late, when hee came from Worcester, hee never heard any man speake more joy and affection to that victory than hee did, and did delight to hear that story told, and that hee did expresse as much disaffection to the Scotts as possibly could bee.'

When at the commencement of the Civil War the King's forces came to Axholme, the inhabitants pulled up one of the sluices and 'drowned their owne grounds, as well as those of the Participants—drown'd them to the very doores.'¹

Two companies of foot soldiers were raised for the Parliament and maintained by the Isle, and Mr. Noddell acted as lieutenant under Captain Dyneley.

Not content with clearing themselves, the inhabitants turned the tables on their opponents. They proved that they had carried on negotiations to raise a troop of horse for the King. One of the witnesses asserted that he had heard two of the tenants of the Participants say, '*What was the Parliament? They were traytors and deserved theire throats were cutt. What are they? There is not a man of quality amongst them, but such as have beene soldyers, and before these tymes have been tynkers and saddle-makers.*'

Another witness declared 'that when the Prince marched towards Worcester, Mr. Gibbon said to him, "*Thou art a Parliament rogue: there be many Parliament rogues in the Isle. Prince Charles will come, and then all in the Isle shall be put to fire and sword. If Prince Charles came [and] hee should want 3 or 400 men, hee, Mr. Gibbons, would helpe them with horse, armes, and ammunition.*'

In consequence of this report of their Commissioners, the Council issued an order re-establishing the Participants in the possession of their lands, whereupon preparations were made to cleanse and refit the church, but it was not long before it was attacked again. In May 1654 fresh tumults arose, and the

¹ John Amory deposed 'that Sir John Meldrum sayd, *The Islemen doe not love yee I finde, for they have intreated mee very much to drowne the Levell, but I will not.*'

Commissioners of Sewers for the district were unable to collect the rates levied for the maintenance of the embankments and dikes. On August 18, in this year, John Gibbon presented two petitions to the Council, one in his own name and the other on behalf of the Participants, praying that Major Wyldeman, who had meanwhile been elected member of Parliament for Scarborough, might not be allowed to take his seat on account of his participation in the riots at Sandtoft.

A serious disturbance took place again in January 1656 owing to an attempt having been made by the Commissioners of Sewers to distrain for the rates, and a report upon it was sent by the Commissioners to the Council.

The strangers, who had now put aside their royalist propensities, appealed direct to Cromwell for protection by the following petition, dated March 18 :—

To His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

The humble petition of the poore Protestant strangers, being both French and Dutch, inhabitants within the Levell of Hattfeild Chace, and parts adiacent, in the Countyes of Yorke, Lincolne, and Nottingham,

SHEWETH, That your petitioners not haueinge the libertye to exercise the Protestant religion in theyr native contryes, did flye into England, and settle theyr families within the said Levell, and had a church erected for theyr publique service of God att Sandtofte, where they had peaceably assembled for almoste twenty yeares.

That diuers of the inhabitants of the Isle of Axholme, in the County of Lincolne afforesaid, in a moste barbarous and inhumane manner ryotously destroyed the corne and rapes, and demollished the habitations and millne of your petitioners, exposeinge them to th[e] extremity of cold and famine.

That the sayd ryoters, esteeming[e] it a little thinge to haue berefte your petitioners of theyr estates and liuelyhood (which they had formerly not accounted deare to them in competition with theyr religion, except they should haue demollished the House of God likewise), did breake doune the windowes, doores, seates, and pullpitt of the said Church and did steale aw[ay] the lead and iron thereof. And findeinge that, as your petitioners frequented not theyr Church

because it was not conveniently accomodated to God's worships, neither would they discontinue theyr assembling there, notwithstanding it was soe defaced, made it a slaughterhouse, and a stable, and buried carryon in the same.

That the said ryoters findinge all theyr irreligeous practices infectual to the keepeinge your petitioners from meetinge att theyr soe noyseome and ruinated place of God's holy worships, Mr. Ianyell Noddell, Sollicitor to the said Isle, with seuerall inhabitants hereof, came to the said Church on the Lord's day, and with armes enforced them thence, sayeing that vnlesse your petitioners were stronger then they, your petitioners should not come there.

That in pursuance of an Order of the Councell of State, and Writt of Assistance out of his Highness' Court of Exchequer, enioyninge the possession of part of the controverted lands to the Participants of the said improuement, Nathaniell Readinge, Esq., one of the Participants, haueinge taken possession thereof accordingly, gaue order for the cleanseinge and repaireinge of the sayd Church.

That on the one and twentieth day of January last, seuerall the inhabitants of the said Isle (with whome the said Mr. Noddell was, att theyr settinge forwards), being armed with guns and diuers other weapons, did come to the said Church, and did beate downe the windowes, dores, seates, and pulpitt, and haueinge layd them in heapes within the said Church, did sett them on fyre, and threatned to pull downe the stone and tymber thereof, and offered to sell the same.

That your petitioners did make the former particulars appeare before the Committee of the Longe Parliament, but the said Order of the Councell not beinge putt in execution for the tryall of the ryoters, nor any thinge inflicted on them though they were excepted in the Generall Act of Pardon, your petitioners have not onely been impoverished by theyr expensive attendance in expectation of releife, but the ryoters, makeinge an euell vse of theyr impunity for theyr former wickednesse, haue thereby been anymated to theise latter villanies.

Since your Highnesse' zeale for God's glory engaged you to soe great a tendernesse for the distressed Protestants in Sauoy, your most disconsolate petitioners do humbly pray that the Order annexed may bee renewed, and that they may bee freed from the violence of those cruell men, and may in peace assemble at the House of God, and such provision, as the Lord shall moue your hart vnto, bee made for theyr former sufferings and future safety : And as they fled hither from persecution for protection, and accounted

themselves most happy that the Lord hath made your Highnesse theyr protector,¹ soe shall theyr soules continually beseech and bless God for your Highnesse.

Jean De Kerhuel, [Pasteur] ²	John Cunelie
Jean Egar	Anthoinne Hapio
Lieuin Manié	Charle Vaterlo
John Le Talle	Danniel Du Verliez
Jaques Le Roy	James Becue
James Pinchon	Isaac De Lannoy
Jehan Le Houegh	John Le Haier
James Hancar	Joel Delespiere
Jacob Descamps	Jan Gokelaer
Christienne Smaghues	Pierre Egar
Jacob Venneille	Pierre Du Quenne
Jaques Hernue	Kaerel Pryem
Charle De Lanoy	Isanbaer Savatt

¹ From the few papers there are relating to the subject it seems that those of the foreign settlers who pronounced any opinions at all which have been recorded were royalists at the commencement of the Civil Wars. It is quite possible though, that their views were now changed, and that the above expression was used with all sincerity. Agnew shows that as a rule the Huguenots of France were at first active sympathizers with the royal cause, and that their ranks furnished the most celebrated of the writers who condemned the execution of Charles I. He says, however, that their opinions naturally varied according to those held by their English correspondents. Jean Baptiste Stoupe, pastor of the French Church of London, whom Cromwell entrusted with the delicate mission of sounding the French Huguenots as to their willingness to join England in an alliance with Spain against the French Government, first roused their feelings in favour of the Protector. This, followed by the energetic steps Cromwell took with regard to the persecuted Vaudois, completed the reaction, and there is nothing unlikely in the strangers of Axholme holding at this time the views which the two following abstracts of letters, written to Secretary Nicholas some three years later from Caen, show were entertained by their co-religionists in that town. The first letter, which is dated ^{March 25} April 4, 1658, runs

as follows: 'A company of Huguenots here make lies to keep up the reputation of Cromwell, whom they take to be a great protector of their religion, and cannot believe that he aims at the Kingship. The poisonous tenets of their religion bewitch them to join themselves to all sorts of rebels, otherwise they would not reconcile themselves both to Calvin and Cromwell.' In the second letter, which is dated December $\frac{1}{2}$ following, the same writer says: 'The Huguenot merchants here say all is quiet in England, and likely so to continue, and the army and people well pleased with the present government. These wicked Calvinists are such favourers of rebellions, particularly Cromwell's, that when there is no bad news abroad, they forge some to encourage their disciples.'

² This word is struck out.

Charle Gribau	Peeter + (marke) Castell
Samuel Le Talle	Dauid Morillion
John Amory	Isaac Amory
John Beharel	Jean Pinchon
John Le Hooke, <i>Ju.</i>	Somuel Pinchon
Dauid Le Talle	Jaques Hernu, <i>Ju.</i>
Jehan Du Mollin	Phillippe + (marke) Hennoc
André Maniez	Alisander Foster
Leuren Descou	Isaac + (marke) Hancar
Osee Le Grand	Absealon Le Gran[d]
Vincent Caillet	Sidrac Morillion
Jacque Du Bois	Samuel Morillion
Miches Amory	Jacque Goglær
John Amory, <i>Ju.</i>	Jan Dauerow

There is nothing to show who the persons were who signed this document. The names surely cannot represent *all* the male members of the congregation. Possibly they are only those of the remaining Participants and their tenants, and their labourers and servants did not sign. In 1636 there were 'some two hundred' foreign families in the settlement, and others were daily arriving,¹ and notwithstanding the emigration to the Forest of Galtres, spoken of in the petition of the next year, there were 'above one thousand souls' remaining in 1645.

If any of the strangers went away from Axholme in consequence of the riots of 1642 and 1645,² or the disturbed state of the country during the Civil War, they may have gone to Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely, where Vermuyden had other drainage works in hand.

Very little is known about the foreign colony in this village,³ but it remained there only a short time, and is supposed to

¹ No doubt some of these families settled in that part of the Chase which was situated in Yorkshire, where they formed, with the Dutch workmen and tenants of the Participants, the second congregation mentioned in 1641.

² The tenants of Sutton Marsh, in Lincolnshire, who are described as 'foreigners' and 'Dutchmen,' were said on July 2, 1645, to be preparing to leave the country after they had got in the 'summer's crops.'

³ Burn does not give the date of the draining, but he names 1646 as the year in which the foreign congregation of Whittlesey applied for admission to the 'Colloques,' and says they were then negotiating about the appointment of a pastor.

have removed thence to Thorney Abbey, a place about four miles distant, where, a few years later, the names of several aliens, who are known to have been members of the Sandtoft congregation, are to be met with in the church register.

Gregorio Leti, an Italian, writing in 1683 about the origin of the foreign settlement at Thorney Abbey, says that it was founded by certain Frenchmen who had come from *Yorkshire*, from the *neighbourhood of Doncaster*, *more than forty years before*, that is, about 1643 or a little earlier.¹

But Thorney Abbey is generally believed to have been founded in 1652,² so possibly Leti here refers to the foreign colony at Whittlesey, for if the strangers did migrate from that place to Thorney Abbey, the distance between the two villages being so short, the two settlements might easily, after so long a lapse of time as forty years, have been regarded as one with a continuous existence from the time of Charles I. At all events, this would explain the apparent discrepancies in dates.

If this be so, then some of the strangers left Hatfield Chase for Cambridgeshire much earlier than is usually supposed. It should, however, be remembered that the 'Frenchmen' spoken of by Leti are said to have come from *Yorkshire*, where, it has been shown, there was a settlement in the Chase quite distinct from that in the neighbouring village of Sandtoft in *Lincolnshire*.

¹ 'In tanto alcuni Francesi s[i] haueano affittate alcune terre nel contado di Yore, vicino a Doncaster, essendo stati inquietati da contadini del luogo, per quella natural antipatia, che regna trà le due nazioni, & inteso che il Conte di Bedford teneua quivi vn luogo, quasi inhabitale, pensarono di tentar fortuna con l' industria, hauendogli chiesto terre in affitto (già sono 40 e più anni) per dissecarle, o coltiuarle; ne il Conte hebbe difficoltà d' accordarli la domanda, così auantaggiosa per lui, di modo che fatteli certe honoreuoli condittioni, diedero i Francesi principio, e dopo gran fatica, e spesa, ne dissecarono vna buona parte, la coltiuarono, e vi cominciarono à seminare,' &c.

² The authority for this is a mural tablet in the parish church, erected to the memory of the first French pastor of the place. The phrase on the stone speaks of the 'cœtus Galli, qui hic congregari cœpit a.d. 1652.' This stone, if it is true, was not erected until 1674 or later, but its evidence is, in a measure, corroborated by the register of baptisms of the community, which commences with February 11, 1654, and as the first leaf is missing the opening date must have been a little earlier.

The year 1652, the date assigned to the foundation of the Thorney Abbey colony, was immediately after the great riots in which the inhabitants of Axholme took possession of the Church of Sandtoft and, ejecting the congregation, used it for profane purposes. It is, therefore, a very likely year for a further migration of the strangers ; but there is no evidence in the papers which I have examined, directly concerning Axholme, that any did remove then. It is very possible that some would take advantage of a clause in an Act of Parliament, passed in 1654, inviting aliens to settle in the Great Level of the Fens, and have joined the new colony at Thorney Abbey.

This Act was passed for the amendment of a previous Act empowering William, Earl of Bedford, and others to drain the Level, and awarding them 95,000 acres of the land reclaimed in recompense.¹

The clause conveying the invitation is as follows :—

And be it further ordayned and established, that if any person or persons of a foreign nation, in league and amity with the Commonwealth, being Protestants, shall become purchaser or farmer of any lands, part of the said ninety five thousand acres, the said person or persons, their heirs, executors and administrators (as to the said lands and the rents, profits and proceed of the same, and all suits touching the same,) shall be accounted free denizens of this Commonwealth, and enjoy the like priviledges and advantages for descent to their children, dower to their wives, and otherwise, as denizens of this Commonwealth ought to enjoy.

Here, though rather abruptly, I must leave the Sandtoft congregation for the present, but I hope, with the permission of the Council, to contribute a few notes on the closing scenes in the history of the settlement to our 'Proceedings' at some future date.

¹ 1654, cap. xx.; passed May 26; confirmed 1656, cap. x. (*Scobell's Acts and Ordinances*.)

Sir Theodore de Maperne.

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL F. P. LAYARD.

ON a cold and dreary morning in November 1885, through the kind courtesy of the Vicar, I was enabled to visit the crypt and vaults under the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. I was in search of the last resting-place of many members of my family, some of whom had been buried in the 'Vicar's Vault.'

My grandfather, Dr. Charles Peter Layard (the grandson of our Huguenot ancestor), who died Dean of Bristol in 1803, had been for many years Vicar of 'St. Martin's-in-the-Field' and Librarian of Archbishop Tenison's Library. I found the 'Vicar's Vault' empty, and learnt from the official in charge that all the bodies buried in the different vaults under the present church had been removed and reburied in a common grave outside the church, somewhere near the Lowther Arcade. These removals had included the ashes of poor Nell Gwyn and those of Jack Sheppard, the highwayman. A curious reflection!

The crypt was kindly lighted for my search, and it was with much interest that I examined the numerous monuments and tombstones which had been removed from the interior of the old church and refixed on the walls of the crypt below the existing church on its construction by Gibbs in 1726.

Amongst these old records of past mortality I came upon a sadly mutilated monument, of the time of Oliver Cromwell, showing a bust, in the costume of the period, standing on a pedestal with an inscription in Latin.

This effigy proved especially interesting to me for two reasons ; first, because it was that of a very distinguished Huguenot, and secondly, because two of his daughters had married two brothers of the old Huguenot house of the Caumonts de la Force, from a branch of which the Layards claim descent. The bust represents Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, Baron d'Aubonne, who was born at Geneva on September 28, 1573.

His father, Louis de Mayerne, *dit* Turquet, fled from Lyons to Geneva in 1572, after the cruel massacre of St. Bartholomew, with his wife Louise, a daughter of Antoine Le Maçon, Trésorier des Guerres under Francis I. and Henri II.

Louis de Mayerne, the Huguenot, was a notable man, and author of a 'General History of Spain,' in two volumes, folio, and, according to Haag, had two sons :

I. Henri de Mayerne, killed in a duel in 1644 by Samuel de la Chapelle, and

II. Theodore de Mayerne, under notice.

Louis de Mayerne returned to France, and died in Paris in 1618. We may presume that during the many years he remained in exile in Switzerland he must have purchased property near Geneva in lands or houses, and that they descended to his son Theodore, as amongst the 'State Papers' (Domestic Records) in the Rolls Court, dated June 24, 1636, in the reign of Charles I., there exists a 'Minute for entry on the Council Register,' of a 'Pass' for Jaques de Mayerne, son of Sir Theodore de Mayerne, Isaac Chouval, and Daniel Treswell, to go to Monsieur Mayerne's house near Geneva and to take with them two servants.

On this occasion we find Sir Theodore complaining on June 25 to the Lords of the Admiralty that the price of passports had been much enhanced, that on many previous occasions he had never paid more than 20s. for the licence and 10s. for the seal, whereas now Mr. Willis demanded 50s. a head for the writer's servants, besides a fee to himself for having written the 'pass,' and a further sum for the seal, 'and some gratuities for the porters and others.' It is evident that in the year 1636 the officials in his Majesty's Civil Service

were tempted into making a little money on their own account.

Again, we find on July 19, 1655, during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, four months after the death of Sir Theodore, that a 'pass' was granted to Monsieur Fauher, a servant of Lady Mayerne's, to proceed to Switzerland, probably to join his mistress, as on May 8, 1654, by Order of the Council, the Admiralty and Navy Commissioners were directed to 'appoint a convenient ship to transport Dr. Mayerne's lady and her attendants across to the Low Countries.' The ship so appointed on November 7, 1654, was 'The Convert,' with orders to transport Lady Mayerne to Dunkirk.

A 'pass' had been granted to this lady, under a warrant (1-74-2 6; 1-112-25), by 'the Protector and Council, dated May 2, 1654, to proceed to Holland and back, with servants, trunks, and goods, without search.' She was then no doubt paying a visit to her father, Sir Albertus Joachim, or Joachimi, a very eminent man of his time, who had been Ambassador from the States of Holland to the Court of St. James.

That Sir Theodore de Mayerne was a man of high reputation and in great favour at Court we may infer from the State Records in the Rolls Court, where we find that on October 14, 1619, in the reign of King James, an annuity was granted to him of 600*l.* a year and an additional 75*l.* for hire of his house.

This grant was renewed to him by Charles I. on December 4, 1626, on his reappointment as chief physician to the King and Queen. Besides these favours we find him on July 8, 1626, as keeper of Horne Park, receiving 37*l.* 10*s.* for fifteen loads of hay for the deer in that park (Coll. Sign. Man. Car. I. vol. i. No. 20), and by another warrant receiving 100*l.* for his new year's gift.

On March 24, 1635, a privilege was granted 'to Sir Theodore Mayerne and Dr. Cadiman for 14 years, for sole exercise of a new way of distilling strong waters and making vinegars, viz. out of cider, perry, and *buck*, whereof they are inventors under a rent of 10*l.* to her Majesty.' I may here mention that the Apothecaries' Guild complained and petitioned

against this grant, but were snubbed for their pains, and told to mind their own business and have respect for their 'superiors.'

There are several letters preserved amongst the Domestic Series of 'State Papers' from Sir Theodore Mayerne, which show him to have been a man of varied learning, great reading, and much humour. An extract from a letter of his dated from Chelsea on October 8, 1651, addressed to Lord Conway, runs thus: 'I have seen the prescription you sent me for curing fat people; it is not bad, and can be taken without danger, rather than salt, some cummin, and vinegar. But shall never use it, having long recognised that a wicked soul never or rarely dwells in a fat body.'

So much was Sir Theodore esteemed that we find under a 'Declaration of the Council of State,' dated Whitehall, July 4, 1653, 'that having considered the condition as to exemption of taxes on which Sir Theodore Mayerne, a stranger born, and very eminent in his profession, was invited to England, and which has been hitherto continued to him, to express their esteem of his quality and abilities, and to manifest how acceptable his residence here is to them, he is to be free from all taxes and assessments, provided that his land in all parts be liable as hitherto' (I. 70, p. 15).

Under Oliver Cromwell, however, the Doctor's annuity was apparently reduced to 200*l.* a year.

I need not enter more fully into the career of this distinguished Huguenot, as this may be found in the 'Universal Biography,' by William à Beckett, junior.

As a Huguenot he was in high favour with Henri IV. of France, and in 1611 he was formally invited by King James I. to come to England, where he accepted the office of first physician, and where he passed the remainder of his days. He received the honour of knighthood from King James I. in 1624, and was on the accession of Charles I. appointed first physician to him and the Queen.

After the execution of Charles I. he retired to Chelsea, where he died, on March 15, 1655, in the eighty-second year of his age.

Sir Theodore had been twice married: his first wife was Marguerite Elburgh de Boetslaër, or Boetzler, by whom he had two children, who died young. She died in 1628, and was buried in the chancel of the old Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. In the register of burials we find: 'Nov^{br} 18^o, 1628, Domina Margareta Mayern, Uxor Theodori Equitis Aurati, Sepulta fuit in Cancellâ.'

The second wife of Sir Theodore was Elizabeth, the daughter, as I have before said, of Sir Albertus Joachim, or Joachimi, Ambassador from the States of Holland to the English Court. By her he had two sons and three daughters.

One son, Jaques de Mayerne, went away to Switzerland, as stated above; of the other I have as yet found no trace—he may have died young.

Of the three daughters we know that Elizabeth, who was born in 1633, married, at the age of nineteen, in March 1652, at Charenton in France, Pierre de Caumont, Marquis de Cugnac, the son of Henri Nompars de Caumont, Marquis de Castelnau, afterwards the third Duke de La Force, and grandson of the famous Jacques Nompars de Caumont, first Duke de La Force, a marshal and pair of France, for many years a most valiant Huguenot leader and a 'fortunate and invincible commander of the royal armies,' who had miraculously escaped the cruel Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, as a boy of eleven years old, by throwing himself, feigning dead, on the bodies of his murdered father and brother, who fell pierced with wounds at the end of the Rue des Petits Champs in Paris.

The Marquis de Cugnac must have married before he fled from France. His wife may have accompanied him in his flight, or, like many other wives, she may have afterwards joined him in England, where her father had been long resident.

The Messrs. Haag say that Madame de Cugnac died in childbed in 1664, but this is an error, as by the epitaph on a monument on the wall near the communion-table in the old church at Chelsea we find that she died on July 10, 1653.

The inscription is on a square ornamental slab in gilt letters as follows :—

D.O.M.S.

Elizabethæ Equitis Theodori de Mayerne Baronis Albona filia Petri de Caumont Marchionis de Cugnac, patre Henrico de Caumont Marchione de Castelnarh et Avo Jacobo Nompas de Caumont Duce de la Force primo Franciæ Marescalo Regiorum Exercituum longum imperatore Fortissimo fortunatissimo invictissimo nati Uxori dulcissimæ, lectissimæ, charissimæ XVI^{to} post nuptias mense acerbo ereptæ fato. Conjux in Amoris inconcussi et irruptæ Fidei monumentum mœrens posuit. Obiit X^o Julii MDCLIII in Pago Chelsey juxta Londinum, vixit annos XX menses VI dies III.

Resurget.

Σὺν Θεῷ.

which may be thus translated :—

Sacred to the Memory of Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Theodore Mayerne, Knight, Baron of Albona, the dearest and best beloved wife of Peter de Caumont, Marquis of Cugnac (son of Henry de Caumont, Marquis of Castelnau, and Grandson of Jacques Nompas de Caumont, Duke de la Force, First Marshal of France, for many years a most valiant, fortunate, and invincible Commander of the Royal Armies), snatched away by cruel death sixteen months after her marriage.

Her sorrowful husband, as a proof of his unshaken love and inviolable faith, has erected this monument. She died the 10th day of July, 1653, in the Village of Chelsea, near London, aged 20 years 6 months and 3 days.

She will rise again with God's permission.

Though Mademoiselle Elizabeth de Mayerne formed by her marriage with the young Marquis de Cugnac a good 'parti,' as far as birth and connection were concerned, and also in a worldly and pecuniary point of view, as he is said to have brought with him a considerable fortune, yet amongst the 'Domestic State Papers' in the Rolls Court of the reign of Charles I. (11, vol. cxc. No. 153) we find under date of February 1667, four years after the death of his wife, a letter from 'Darel to Lady Arlington, entreating that Lord Arlington would, with the King's leave, write to the Commissioners for poll-money on behalf of the Marquis of Cugnac, who is taxed

in heavy sums, *though he has hardly bread to eat.* Having no property in England, he should be taxed only as a private gentleman; the house of the Duc de La Force, to which he is related, would thus be laid under obligations.'

A month before his young wife died I find a warrant of the Council of State and Generals of the Fleet, dated June 27, 1653, to the Navy Commissioners to allow the Marquis of Cugnac to import twelve tuns of French wines, customs free (169-420, vol. xliii. 93).

The late Rev. David Agnew, in the index volume to his 'Protestant Exiles,' p. 188, published in 1874, quoting from Colonel Chester's MSS., says that Elizabeth de Mayerne had a sister, Adriana, who lived to marry Armand de Caumont, Marquis de Mompouillan (Montpouillan), 'probably a brother of de Cugnac,' and adds that in the registers of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, the intended marriage is published (after the Commonwealth form) for the last time on January 18, 1656-7, thus: 'Arnaunt de Chaumont, Marquis of Mount-Pelian, of this parish, and Adriana Demiyerne of Chelsea, single woman.' Two years and a half afterwards the marriage is registered at Chelsea thus: '1659, July 21st, the Right Hon. Armand de Caumont, Lord Marquis of Mompouillon, and Mrs. Adriana de Miherne.'

That the Marquis de Montpouillan *was* the brother of the Marquis de Cugnac, and both of them sons of Henri Nomp de Caumont, third Duc de La Force, we cannot doubt, as we find amongst the 'Domestic State Papers' in the Rolls Court a warrant by the Protector and Council, dated May 29, 1654, being a 'licence for the Marquis of Montpouillan, *brother* of the Marquis of Cugnac, to export his six coach-horses, being out-landish geldings, and two other geldings to France *Customs free*' (the last clause was added June 28, 1-75-326; 401-1112-12); but, according to my family records, Henri Nomp de Caumont, Marquis de Castelnau, and third Duke de La Force, had nine children by his wife Marguerite D'Es-cordeça, Dame de Boesse, daughter of Armand (or Raymond) d'Es-cordeça, Baron de Boesse, and Jeanne de Bourzolles. Of these the third son, Pierre de Caumont, Marquis de Cugnac,

married Elizabeth de Mayerne, and Armand (or Raymond) de Caumont, Marquis de Montpouillan, married, it is said, twice :

First, Amable Guilhelmine de Brederode, a daughter of Wolfard, Seigneur de Brederode, by whom he had a daughter, who was married in England on April 25, 1689, to William Paulet, son of Charles Paulet, sixth Marquis of Winchester, who was created Duke of Bolton on April 9 of that year ;

Secondly, to Grace Angélique Thérèse Arazola d'Ognate, by whom he had no issue. He died in Holland, aged seventy-six in 1691. Madame de Caumont, on the Marquis de Montpouillan's death, remarried in May 1702 Marc Antoine Bosc, Seigneur de Boucher et de Servièrès.

I cannot at present account for the omission of the earlier marriage of the Marquis de Montpouillan, at the age of forty four, in 1659, with Adrienne de Mayerne from my family records.

The two brothers above mentioned had declared against Louis XIV. during the civil and religious war which broke out in Guienne in the year 1650, and anticipating, by the intrigues of Cardinal Richelieu and his successor Mazarin, that the Huguenots were to be harassed and persecuted, they fled from France to England, where Armand de Caumont became a Gentleman-of-the-Bedchamber to the King, and afterwards Lieutenant-General of the States of Holland and Governor of the town of Naerden.

In conclusion, I may mention that the second wife of Jacques Nompars de Caumont, who became the fourth Duke de la Force (the eldest brother of the two Huguenot refugees), Mademoiselle Susanne de Beringhen, fled to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, having with her husband suffered great persecutions. She died much respected in St. James's Place, London, near the Palace, in 1731, all her children having been violently and cruelly taken from her when infants and brought up in France as Roman Catholics.

Notes on Huguenots in Portugal.

By WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

HAVING had occasion to search through the English 'State Papers' relating to Portugal, preserved at the Public Record Office, I was struck with the number of French and other foreign names which occur among the lists of merchants belonging to the English factories at Lisbon and Oporto, but more especially at Lisbon. Upon further examination I have come to the conclusion that at the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth centuries, there was a comparatively large settlement of Huguenots from England in Portugal, living under English protection. My notes are, I am afraid, of a somewhat disjointed nature, but such as they are I lay them before the Society.

English intercourse with Portugal is of an early date; as far back as 1446 special privileges were granted by the King of Portugal to English merchants trading in his dominions. The trade gradually increased, and in 1571 a treaty was entered into. In 1640 certain Articles of Commerce were arranged between Charles I. and the King of Portugal, by which, among other things, it was granted that the subjects of Great Britain should have free exercise of the Protestant religion within the kingdoms and dominions of the King of Portugal, and that they should not be interfered with by the Inquisition. These Articles were afterwards renewed by Cromwell in 1654. The British factories at Lisbon and Oporto probably existed in the sixteenth century. I find mention of the factories in the appointment of John Howe as Consul for Portugal in 1634. These factories were com-

munities of merchants and their agents, who clubbed together for purposes of trade and protection. Similar factories appear to have been established at Genoa, Leghorn, and other places, where there was much English commerce. The principal imports into Portugal from England were, as given by a return of the Consul, 'bays stuffs, cloths, Exeter serges, perpetuanas, fustians, Welch cottons, kersies, hose, silk, worsted and linen,' together with dried codfish from Newfoundland. The exports, it is needless to say, were wine, olive oil, &c.

In 1660 and 1661 the British merchants at Lisbon were very much displeased with their Consul, Thomas Maynard, and addressed several petitions to Charles II. praying for the revocation of his letters patent of office, the principal charge laid against Maynard being that he was a recusant and a friend of the Papists and the Inquisition. From this it may safely be concluded that all the petitioners were Protestants, and therefore that the following French and foreign names, attached to the petitions, were those of Huguenots, viz.: John Jermyne, Thomas Normansell, Daniel Duprie (? Dupeire), Leon Wessell, Abraham Wessell, Abraham Momma, Henry Loady, John Amory, Richard Delbridge, Thomas Roche, George Nevid, John Paige, George Boun, Edward Bouverie, Edward Arlibeare,¹ John Fredericke Maior, and Giles Lytcott.² These names constantly occur attached to petitions from merchants in Portugal to the English Government at the end of the seventeenth century.

In 1677 the Portuguese Ambassador in England contracted with nine men from Colchester, of whom some were 'bay-makers, some comers, and others that make stuffs,' together with two women, to teach the Portuguese to card and spin the English way. The names of the workmen and workwomen were John Beard, Nicholas Bolton, Richard Merrick, William Hadly, John Gage, John Lawrence, William Davies, Anna Beard, and — Gage; Mathew Pyeman and Edward Harvey also went out, but were not mentioned in the contract.³ It would be interesting to know if these persons were descendants

¹ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 7.

² *Ibid.* No. 8.

³ *Ibid.* No. 15.

of the Huguenot clothworkers who settled at Colchester, which their occupations, but not I am afraid their names, seem to suggest. Other workmen from England followed, and the Portuguese Government put up thirty looms, which do not appear, however, to have taken the trade from England.

In 1683 I find the following Huguenot names, besides those already given, attached to various petitions and addresses from the English merchants at Lisbon, viz.: Peter Delmé, William Raphez, and John Le Duke. This Peter Delmé¹ was probably the father of Sir Peter Delmé, Lord Mayor of London in 1724.

In 1686 Frederic, Duke of Schomberg, took refuge in Portugal for a few months, and in a letter addressed from Lisbon, May 13, in that year, to Pastor Du Bose, speaking of the French Ambassador, he says: 'The Ambassador labours here with great officiousness to oblige five or six Protestant merchants to become Romanists. He has found a disposition in the King of Portugal to withdraw from them his protection, pretending that it is due to himself that he should be even more zealous than the King of France. There are some recantations.'²

As so little is known of this visit of Schomberg to Portugal, the following extracts from letters by Charles Scarborough, British Envoy at Lisbon, to the Secretary of State in England, may be of interest. In the first, dated Lisbon, November 16, 1686, he says: 'The day after my landing, Mons. de Schomberg sent one of his gentlemen to compliment me, and the next day to invite me to dinner. I waited on him and delivered your Lordship's letter and message. He desired to have his service presented to your Lordship, and will very suddenly return you an answer.'³ In another letter, dated Lisbon, December 16, 1686, he writes: 'The enclosed Mons. de Schomberg delivered me, and desired that it might be conveyed to your Lordship by sea as I had lately sent his former

¹ The last time I find his name mentioned in the *State Papers, Portugal* is in 1686.

² *Agnew*, vol. i. p. 94.

³ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 16.

letter. Since that he has taken a very sudden resolution of leaving this place, and having the opportunity of a Dutch frigate, bound for Holland, has already embarked his goods, and to-morrow he and all his family go on board. I suppose he has acquainted your Lordship with the cause of his removal, the Inquisition not permitting him the private exercise of his religion. He is in so general esteem here that most men think him hardly used, having had that liberty allowed him when he commanded their forces, and that it ought to be continued to him in regard of his former services to this kingdom.¹ Of Schomberg's former military visit and of his son's later one I do not intend to speak, as it is outside the province of my Paper.

Henri de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Portugal in 1704, and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Portugal in 1708. He was recalled in 1710. In his diplomatic capacity Lord Galway greatly interested himself on behalf of the British factories with regard to the performance of divine service at Lisbon and Oporto. On August 1, 1710, he wrote to Lord Dartmouth, inclosing a memorial from the merchants on this subject, and begging him to use his influence with Queen Anne for a favourable reply to the memorial. Again, on September 15 he wrote: 'What I have more particularly to answer your Lordship is relating to the Consull's Memorial about having Divine Service performed in his house according to his patent, which I find has not been rightly understood, the factory having hitherto assembled at my house, and not at the Consull's. I have left the Queen's Arms over the door of my house for the protection of it, and the factory will continue to meet there till the Consull can find a convenient house where I believe Divine Service may be performed without difficulty, provided nothing be said of it to this Court, which I never was of opinion to do.'² Lord Dartmouth replied to this that he had laid the memorial of the merchants before the Queen, but on consideration she had commanded

¹ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 16.

² *Ibid.* No. 25.

him to say that she did not think proper at that time to make any 'instances' to the King of Portugal to obtain leave 'for the performance of Divine Service in a certain place,' as it would meet with so much opposition.¹ Another grievance which Lord Galway attempted to rectify was the abduction of Protestant children by the Portuguese clergy for the purpose of bringing them up in the Roman Catholic religion. This practice had become a great scandal, and Lord Galway used all his influence with the Portuguese Ministry to have it stopped; instead, however, of redressing the evil, a law was passed giving full power to the priests to take all children over seven years of age, who, it was said, were quite capable of choosing their own religion. Lord Galway protested strongly against this, and represented the matter to the English Government. Consul Milner, writing in 1710, stated that there were 'too many instances of children being stolen, and one very lately, and never any recovered except his own little boy, who had been taken from him.' He then goes on to quote a case where a child was stolen from her mother and carried to a *condeca's*, and upon an application by Lord Galway and himself no satisfaction could be obtained, and the only answer returned was that the child should be taken care of, but would never be restored, as she was eight years old.² Before Lord Galway had time to do much for the removal of this grievance he was recalled home, leaving his secretary, Thomas Leffever, in his place. Lord Dartmouth wrote to Leffever that by Lord Galway's recommendation, as a person well instructed in the affairs of Portugal, her Majesty would have him remain at Lisbon, after his Excellency's departure, to take care of her Majesty's affairs there.³ Leffever continued to make representations both to the Portuguese and English Governments concerning the abduction of children, but with little result.

In December 1710 Captain George Delaval was appointed Envoy Extraordinary at Lisbon, but, notwithstanding this, Lord Dartmouth wrote to Leffever that the Queen was #0

¹ *Foreign Office Papers*, foreign, various, vol. xlii. p. 16.

² *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 25.

³ *Foreign Office*, various, vol. xlii.

satisfied with his services that she would have him continue at Lisbon till further orders. However, at the beginning of the following year, at his own request, he returned to England. Captain George Delaval was an officer in the British Navy, and served under Admiral Aylmer in the Mediterranean in 1699. Later in the same year he was employed to treat for the redemption of British captives in Barbary. He continued to act as English Ambassador at Lisbon till 1714, when he was succeeded by Mr. Worsley. A Mr. Anthony Corbiere addressed a letter to the Secretary of State in England dated Lisbon, October 26, 1711, concerning a Portuguese order relative to the price of corn.¹

About this time the Portuguese Government refused to allow foreigners naturalised by English letters patent the privileges granted to British-born subjects resident in Portugal. In a letter from Captain George Delaval to the Ministry in England, dated Lisbon, November 8, 1712, he states that 'the Court here likewise continued to vex the naturalised French Protestants by repeated demands of their Title, and lately laid an Embargo upon what effects they have in their Debtors' hands notwithstanding what efforts I have been able to make for the preventing such proceedings; but upon my pressing that this Embargo should be taken off at least whilst my memorial remains unanswered, and her Majesty may know the King's mind upon all the heads mentioned therein, the Secretary of State has complied so far as to promise he would send for the officers, and suspend a mischief which he would seem not to know the execution of.'² The principal persons so troubled by the Portuguese Government were James, Samuel, and Daniel Garnier, brothers and copartners, large woollen and cotton importers of Lisbon. It appears that in 1709 they refused to pay a tax levied in time of war called *maneyo*, from which British subjects were, by treaty, exempt. For their refusal the Portuguese officers forcibly seized ten pieces of long ells out of their house, under pretence of its being due for taxes by Mr. James Garnier, who had left Lisbon for London; and

¹ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 26.

² *Ibid.* No. 27.

again in 1712 the Portuguese Ministry obliged certain debtors of Messrs. Garnier to pay to it a large sum of money owing to the Garniers, and continued to demand the tax for the years 1713, 1714, and 1715, stating that as the Garniers were not born in Great Britain, but only naturalised, they ought not to enjoy the privilege of British subjects. In 1718 the British factory at Lisbon forwarded a memorial on the subject to the English Ambassador, Mr. Worsley. This memorial was very numerously signed, and amongst the signatures I find the following names, apparently belonging to Huguenots, viz.: John Baudwin, James, Daniel, and Samuel Garnier, Samuel Malcher, John Brochett, Richard Guise, Isaac Hoissard, Auriol, Isaac Reynons, Peter Cext, Charles Blanchard, John Daubus, John Baudwin, Junr., Joseph Warkman, Philip Harman, Paul Berthon, Challis Hays, William Vilett, Walrair Lodwick, Peter Guionneau, Isaac du Maistre, Peter and Francis Arbouin.¹ The matter seems to have been settled satisfactorily to the memorialists, as it is not further alluded to in the Ambassador's correspondence. I find that James, Daniel, and Samuel Garnier, sons of Michael Garnier and Mary, his wife, were naturalised by letters patent dated April 15, 1687.² I find a petition dated 1713 signed by the following, viz. Isaac Hoissard, Peter Bonnin, James Garnier, Clement Lempriere, Peter and Nathaniel Delaporte, Francis La Roche, Simon Duport, and William Vilett.³ Besides these names there are in another petition from the British merchants, as to certain articles of trade, the following, viz. John Lempriere, Walrair Ludwick, and Carsten Paulsen.⁴ Of the above names I find, by Agnew, that Isaac Hoissard was naturalised by letters patent dated July 10, 1696. Whether the signature Auriol stood for James Auriol or Peter, his brother, is uncertain; both of them appear to have been resident in Lisbon at this time. James, the elder, married at Lisbon Miss Russell, by whom he had four children. Peter, the younger brother, was in partnership with

¹ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 34.

² *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 23.

³ *Agnew*, vol. III. p. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.*

his cousin, David Pratveil, and was father-in-law of Robert Drummond, Archbishop of York. The pedigrees of both brothers will be found in Agnew. I find Isaac Reynons was a director of the French Protestant Hospital in 1725. Peter Guinneau was naturalised by letters patent dated July 3, 1701. Simon Duport was probably son of Simon Duport, who, with his children, Simon and Susan, were naturalised by letters patent dated March 20, 1686. Francis La Roche was at the latter part of 1717 elected to the office of treasurer to the factory at Lisbon, which office he refused to execute, stating that, having declined to act as executor to a merchant who died at Lisbon, he had been declared incapable of serving the factory. A petition on the subject was presented to the Ambassador by the merchants setting out the danger of this refusal. The Ambassador referred the matter to the English Government, and Mr. Secretary Craggs replied on June 24, 1718, that his Majesty desired that Mr. Worsley, the Ambassador at Lisbon, should withdraw his protection from Mr. La Roche, and that he should notify the same to the Court of Portugal in such manner that other merchants might be deterred from being guilty of the like offence for the future.

On April 30, 1717, William Poynty, the Consul at Lisbon, wrote that he had obtained a piece of ground for the burial of Protestants dying in that city.¹ This privilege was only obtained after continual application by the British factory to the Portuguese Government. The cemetery at Lisbon has been considered one of the most beautiful in Europe.

Notwithstanding this Concession at Lisbon the Portuguese in the following year appear to have taken strong measures at Oporto to prevent the exercise of the Protestant religion. A merchant at whose house divine service had been performed was ordered to leave within eight days. The merchants petitioned for interference on their behalf against this arbitrary conduct, and amongst the signatures I find that of Stephen Dupuis.² Mr. Secretary Delafaye replied to this memorial saying that it could 'make no material difference whether they performed their devotions in one house or another, and

¹ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 33.

² *Ibid.* No. 34.

for their own ease and interest they should by good-humour and gentle methods seek to win the affection of the people they lived with.¹

The question of the abduction of Protestant children by the Portuguese, in order to bring them up in the Romish religion, again arose in 1720. On January 27 in that year the merchants of the factory at Lisbon addressed a petition to George I. 'upon the free exercise of our holy religion in a point of the tenderest nature, the education of our children.' The petition sets out that 'it has been frequently known in this place that children have been stolen from their British parents and never restored or heard of after; but the private and concealed manner in which this has been practised was a kind of tacit acknowledgement that it was unwarrantable, and the instance we beg leave to lay before your Majesty is of the most flagrant nature, as it is in the most public manner avowed. Margaret Belangé, daughter to James Belangé, one of your Majesty's Protestant subjects residing here, is at the age of eight years inveigled from her father's house and openly maintained in the family of the Marquis of Marialva. Upon frequent demands made for her restitution the judge appointed in this nation to preserve our rights and privileges is sent with an order from the King of Portugal to examine the infant whether she would return to her father and continue a Protestant, or change her religion and remain with the Marquis of Marialva; and the child having chose the latter is openly detained from her parents and educated in the Romish faith: and this is all the justice we are ever to expect in cases of this time for the future. An open precedent of this nature will be so industriously followed by a nation who think such an act carries with it the greatest religious merit that your Majesty's free and Protestant subjects for the future will be unwilling to settle with their families here, where they have no security for their posterity.'² The petition is signed, amongst others, by the following names: John Baudwin, Auriol, Simon Duport, Isaac Hoissard, John Brochet, Peter Laury de Hame,

¹ *Foreign Office Papers*, various, No. 42.

² *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 37.

Isaac Reynons, Peter Guionneau, Richard Guise, Paull Berthon, P. Auriol, Isaac du Maistre, Noah Houssay, Challis Hayes, Samuel Garniere, Carsten Paulson, Daniel Garniere, Peter Arbouin, Walrair Lodwick, Richard Gulston, Francis Arbouin, Josh. Gulston, Senr., Josh. Gulston, Junr., and Abraham Duport. Lord Carteret took up the matter in England, and on May 2, 1721, wrote to Mr. Worsley, the English Ambassador in Lisbon, stating that 'a paper has been lately put into my hands setting forth the custom of inveigling the children of the King's subjects residing in Portugal in order to pervert them to Popery and then detaining them from their parents, an instance of which has lately appeared in the case of Mrs. Belangé's daughter of eight years old. You will inform yourself of all the circumstances, and I make no doubt but you will take care to render his Majesty's former instances on the subject effectual.'¹ Again on September 19, in the same year, he wrote: 'Notwithstanding the discouragement you have met with in relation to Belangé's child, his Majesty thinks that too essential a point to be given up without representing further to the Court of Portugal the inconvenience and hardship of such a proceeding, since nobody can seriously imagine that a child of eight years old should be thought capable of choosing her religion. If the many arguments that may be made use of upon the occasion have no weight with them, yet methinks they should have some regard to their own interest by considering that any compulsion of this kind must in process of time prove a very great discouragement to the subjects of other nations to settle amongst them.'² I find correspondence on the subject down to October 28, 1721, up to which time the child Margaret Belangé had not been restored to her parents.

A further petition concerning the exercise of the Protestant religion at Oporto, dated June 28, 1721, is signed by Anthony Boubay and William Swarbreck;³ and in 1728 serious complaints were made against the Portuguese Custom House officers for entering the house of Mr. Noah Houssaye,

¹ *Foreign Office Records*, various, No. 45.

² *Ibid.*

³ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 29.

described as an English merchant at Lisbon, and committing great violences and insults upon him.¹ Attached to a petition concerning the Consul dated in 1724 I find the following names: George Vanburgh, Peter Delmé, Gerrard Bolwerk, and William Sewan;² and to a petition in the same year from English merchants trading to Portugal, asking for the appointment of the Rev. Arthur Young, LL.B., as chaplain to the factory at Lisbon, dated from London, there are the following names: John Lordell, Frederick Dorrien, James Garnier, Peter de la Porte, C. Langenhorst, Peter Meyer, John Baptiste Mayer, Bosquet, Clerembault, and Daniel Garnier.³ A similar memorial, approving of the appointment of Hon. Charles Compton as Consul at Lisbon, dated London, May 17, 1727, is signed by Jacob Wachter, Paul D'Aranda, J. Auriol, Francis Arbouin, Henry Gaultier, David Bosanquet, Henry Faure, John de Meyer, John Boucher,⁴ George Champion, George Vanburgh, Henry Vandersbergen, and Peter de la Porte.⁵

In 1733 a dispute arose between some of the merchants at Lisbon and the Consul-General, the Hon. Charles Compton, concerning the appointment of the Vice-Consul. The two candidates for the appointment were Mr. Challis Hayes and Mr. Walrair Lodwick. At the election the supporters of the latter attempted to exclude all the French Protestants not naturalised though under the protection of England, though, as the Consul pointed out, 'if this had been permitted several good houses, very considerable traders, and whose qualifications were never before doubted, would have been left exposed and subjected to the Inquisition.' The majority, though, the latter candidate was declared to have obtained, was disputed, and the matter referred to England. In the papers are lists of the voters on each side. Amongst those for Mr. Challis Hayes I find the following: Joseph Gulston, Daniel Casa Mayor (described as 'a man independent, and tho' lodges in another's house has separate business, a Frenchman natural-

¹ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 39.

² *Ibid.* No. 29.

³ *Ibid.* No. 22.

⁴ Director of the French Protestant Hospital in 1730.

⁵ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 29.

lized'), Noah Houssaye, Peter John Aubin, a silversmith, Charles Divie, John Paradine, Peter Garnault, Peter Auriol, David Pratviel, James Grossett, James Rigaud, and Paul Berthon. Amongst those for Mr. Walrair Lodwick I find Isaac Hoissard, John Forinyer, David Garrice, Louis Arnold Majendie, John Legay, Noel Boteler ('a quondam master of a ship detained here on a lawsuit'), Elias Perochon, and Simon Onely ('a journeyman packer sent to adjust some accounts').¹ The matter was settled by appointing two vice-consuls.

Attached to a petition dated Lisbon, December 6, 1740, praying for protection against Spanish privateers, are the following names: Berthon and Garnault, James Rigaud, Boucher, Perochon and Co., Legay, Grossett and Ord, Isaac Hoissard, and Arbouin and Majendie;² and to another petition on the same subject a few days later: Peter Garnault, Peter John Aubin, Simon Duport, and Elias Perochon.³

The foregoing are a few notes I have taken from the 'Foreign State Papers' relative to Huguenots in Portugal. I may say, for the information of those who wish to go into the matter further from a genealogical point of view, that the registers of the factories at Lisbon and Oporto exist from 1729—some at the Bishop of London's office, and some at the Vicar-General's office, Doctors' Commons.

¹ *State Papers, Portugal*, No. 48.

² *Ibid.* No. 52.

³ *Ibid.*

History of a Cevenol Family.

By FRANCIS P. DE LABILLIERE.

SOME of my friends in the Huguenot Society, having seen the old family papers which I have inherited, suggested to me that I should write to Aulas, from which place in the Cevennes my ancestors came, and ask if anything were known there respecting the family, which was long supposed to have been entirely driven from the neighbourhood at the time of the Revocation. I accordingly wrote to the mayor, at the end of the year 1885, and he not only kindly sent me copies of various registers relating to members of the family,¹ but also, through M. Ferd. Teissier of Nîmes, put me in communication with the Baron de Cabiron, who² is married to the daughter of the last male descendant of the French branch of the family, the late M. de la Cour de Lagardiolle. A most interesting correspondence has taken place, and the Baron has, with extreme kindness, copied for me no less than thirty-five letters (the first dated March 1, 1687, the last August 10, 1764) from members of the branch which came to England to those of that which remained in France. Last September Mrs. de Labilliere and I were shown all the old papers and taken to many places of interest to the family during an extremely pleasant visit to my relatives at Vigan.

Before dealing with the documents themselves, it will throw much light upon them and add to their interest if a sketch of the early history of the family be first given.³ Its four branches, the senior and Huguenot of De Labilliere (the

¹ See note G at end of paper.

² I deeply regret to note that Baroness de Cabiron died on March 7, since this paper was read.

³ See note A at end of paper.

only one now represented in the male line), the De la Gardiolle, the De Montcamp, and the De Viala, all trace from Bernard de la Cour, of Le Plan near Aulas, whose will is dated January 2, 1460. Several families of De la Cour still exist, the one in question being that of the Cevennes, and mention is first found of it in connection with Esparon, a ridge beginning near the junction of the valleys of Aulas and Vigan, and rising to a summit capped by a commanding and picturesque rock, where formerly stood an ancient castle. At Bez, to which commune Esparon now belongs, are lists or registers of old legal documents, themselves no longer to be found, relating to various transactions. Among these, in a 'Sommaire des Reconnaissances,' the family of De la Cour is first mentioned in the year 1264, thus:—

'1264. Noble Guillaume de la Court ép. de Guilhaumie Raymonde d'Esparon.

'1276. Raymond de la Court ou d'Esparon.

'1314. } Pierre de la Court fils du précédent.
'1355. }

'1401. Raymond de la Court.

'1450. Jean de la Court.

'1492. Bertrand de la Court.

'1462. Jacquette de la Court fille de Jean de la Court et d'Isabel.

'1417. Bertrand de la Court.'

The entry of 1264 is as follows, in old French:—

'Bernand de la boyssière recognoist a Guilhaumie d'Esparon, femme de Noble Guillaume de la Court l'an 1264 et le neufviesme des Calandes d'Octobre. Acte receu par M^{re} Pierre Cristol N^{re}, Collet No. 81.'

A description of several properties follows. There are references also to:—

'1271. Acte dans lequel bertrand de la Cour prend la qualité de Chevalier;

'1274. Testament de bertrand de Lacour chevalier, dans lequel il nomme Laurence sa femme; guillaume, Pons, bertrand ses fils; Marie, fédaille, emergande ses filles.'

Entries of 1274 and 1304 refer to 'Raymond de la Cour Chevalier;' and a later one records:—

'1329. Vente du fiefs de Comeyrase faite par pierre de Lacour, damoiseau du Chateau d'espéron, fils de Raymond de la Cour, chevalier à guillaume de la Cour damoiseau.'

Armans, in his 'Tablettes Militaires,' says, 'un acte du 10 Avril 1347 reçu Fresquet notaire du Vigan désigne Jean de la Cour avec qualité de Commandeur de l'ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem.'

The above dates, at which members of the family are mentioned, bridge over the period between Guillaume de la Cour in 1264 and Bernard de la Cour in 1460; but the links of the genealogical chain between them are wanting. From Bernard downward they are complete. Espéron, where the family is found at the earlier date, is within easy walk of Le Plan, where it is found at the later; and Aulas, where it was established for some generations before the Revocation, is not more than a mile from Le Plan. Aulas is within half an hour's walk of Vigan.

To the point where it branches off from the main stem, the pedigree of the De la Cour de Montcamp branch, as given by D'Hozier, in his 'Armorial de la Noblesse de France,' corresponds with that of the De Labillieres and De Lagardiolles, from which the following is taken:—

I. 'Noble Bernard de Lacour du lieu du Plan fit son testament le 2 Janvier 1460, dans lequel il fit un legs à Guillaume son fils cadet.

'Noble Bertrand de lacour, son fils, se présente à la Convocation,' &c.¹

Bernard's wife, according to D'Hozier, was named Sauxie.

II. 'Noble Guillaume de la Cour, fils de Bernard de la Cour du Plan, épousa par contrat du 23^e janvier 1466 Flore Réal. Il fit une donation à son fils le 21 Janvier 1479 et son testament le 2 Avril 1502.

III. 'Jean de la Cour qualifié noble ainsi que Guillaume son père et son ayeul Bernard suivant une enquête du

¹ See note E at end of paper.

4 Decembre 1480 qui prouve ainsi que d'autres anciens titres que leurs ancêtres prenaient la qualité de Chevalier. Il fit un testament le 24 8^{bre} 1544 en faveur de son fils André qui suit.

IV. 'André de la Cour, Seigneur de la Billière, épousa Jeanne de Mandajors fille de Jean de Mandajors, Seigneur d'Aleyrac et Desplantiere. . . . Il fit son testament le 13 Juillet 1578 en faveur de sa dite femme et de son fils Fulcrand par égales portions. . . .

V. 'Fulcrand de la Cour Seigneur de la Billière, marié à Demoiselle Liette de Tarron, par contrat de mariage du 17 Juin 1582. Il fit un testament le 30 Mars 1687.' In it D'Hozier says, 'qu'il fit profession de la R.P.R.,' and from his son Pierre, junior to André who follows, D'Hozier also traces the De Montcamp and Du Viala branches, which are extinct in the male line.

VI. 'André de la Cour Seigneur de la Biliere, épousa par contrat de mariage du 9 Janvier 1611 Jeanne fille d'Armans de Bilanges. Il fit un testament le 30 Août 1661, fait un legs à Charles son petit-fils et fait heritiér pierre Capitaine au bataillon de Nimes, mort sans posterité et marié avec Mademoiselle de Rousset.'

This was, as we shall see, the noble Pierre de la Cour, Seigneur de la Gardiolle, the Huguenot, who was buried not many hundred yards from where we now are, in St. Giles-in-the-Fields.

VII. 'Paul (ou Pol) de Lacour Seigneur de la Gardiolle, Cornette au regiment de Cavaliere de Bentivoglio, épousa par contrat du 22 9^{bre} 1642, Claude fille de Henri de Vissec, Seigneur de Pradines. Il mourut au champs devant Lerida 1646. Claude de Vissec étant veuve fait une donation à son fils Charles le 1 Mars 1655.'

VIII. 'Charles de la Cour, Seigneur de la Billiere épousa par contrat du 7 9^{bre} 1664, Francoise fille d'Etienne de Quatre-fages écuyer. Il obtint un arret de maintenance de noblesse du 27 7^{bre} 1680, par lequel il fut déclaré noble et issue de noble et ancienne race.' Louis XIV. required that families claiming to be noble should prove that they had been so for 200 years. The original judgment, signed by the King, in favour of

Charles and also of his uncle the noble Pierre de la Gardiolle, is in the archives at Montpellier, from which Baron de Cabiron obtained the official copy which I have; ¹ he also kindly gave me an old parchment dated 1648, on which Pierre de la Gardiolle's arms are displayed and his pedigree traced up to Bernard de la Cour. The French pedigree in possession of Baron de Cabiron continues, respecting Charles de Labilliere, 'Il eut de son mariages—

' 1^e. Francois qui suit.

' 2^e. Charles, Seigneur de Valbelle.

' 3^e. Paul de Lacour, Major de Dragons, passé au service de l'Angleterre, apres la revocation de l'édit de Nantes, mort sans posterite.

' 4^e. Pierre de Lacour, Capitaine de Dragons au service d'Angleterre ou il etait passé avec son frere. Il a laissé de son mariage deux fils et une fille dont le plus jeune est major d'infanterie.'

The order of birth is here reversed, the pedigree being of the French line; for Paul and Pierre were the two elder, and François and Charles the two younger brothers. Among my old family papers is one recording their birth as well as that of their grand-uncle Lagardiolle. Having compared it, at Vigan, with some of the writing of Charles, Seigneur de Labilliere, in the possession of Baron de Cabiron, we have no doubt that it was written by Charles. This curious old document is evidently part of a letter. I give it with the old French spelling.

' Vous me marquez par vostre lettre que vous désiriez de scavoir la naissance de mon oncle et de toute la famille. Voycy le memoire de la naissance de notre cher oncle tiré du libre de memoire de mon ayeul.

' Pierre est nay en l'année 1624 et le 28^e Nouembre jour de Vendredy son parain a été mon frere de Montcam et sa marraine Mademoiselle de blanquefort et baptisé par Mon^{re} Noys.²

' Voycy les vostres tirés du libre de baptistoire.

' du 9^e 8^{bre} 1667.'

¹ See note F at end of paper.

² See note G at end of paper.

'Paul fils a noble Charles de la cour S^r de labilliere et de demoiselle françoise de quatrefages est nay le 8 jour du presant mois et presanté a baptesme par noble pierre de la Cour S^r de lagardiolle et demoiselle françoise de Mays re.

'du xj^e Jueillet 1669.'

'Pierre fils a noble Charles de la cour S^r de labilliere et de demoiselle françoise de quatrefages mariés est nay le 29^e Juin dernier presanté a baptesme par noble pierre de la cour S^r de lagardiolle et demoiselle louyse de quatrefages baptisé par le S^r guisard pasteur lequel s'est soubsigné avec le parrain et marraine et le pere guisard pasteur, lagardiolle, labilliere louyse de quatrefages.

'du 24 Auv 1674.'

'Francois fils à noble Charles de la cour S^r de labilliere et de demoiselle françoise de quatrefages habitans de la presant ville daulas est nay le 4^e mois dernier presanté a baptesme par noble pierre de la cour S^r de lagardiolle et demoiselle Marie de joly baptise par Mons^r grouignet pasteur qui s'est signe avec le pere et le parrain la marraine a dit ne le scavoir grouignet la gardiolle parrain labilliere.

'du 18^e X^{bre} 1676.'

'Charles fils a noble Charles de la cour S^r de labilliere et de demoiselle françoise de quatrefages mariés daulas est nay le 29^e 8^{bre} 1676 presenté a baptesme par noble pierre de la cour S^r de la gardiolle et demoiselle louyse de quatrefages baptise par Mon^s du bruc. M. qui s'est signé le pere parain et marraine dubruc, louyse de quatrefages, labilliere, père.'

In D'Hozier it appears that Paul, son of the noble Abraham, of the Du Viala branch, born June 19, 1685, was 'tenu sur les fonts de batême par Noble Pierre de la Cour son parent S^r de la Gardirole lequel avoit assisté en cette qualité au contrat de mariage de son père.'

From the time of Fulcrand, if not earlier, all the family seem to have been Protestant. In the list of members of the General Assembly of the Reformed Churches of the Cevennes, held at Cognac in 1683, M. Dubruc, as pastor, and Charles,

Seigneur de Labilliere, as elder, represented Aulas. Pierre de la Gardiolle also attended 'comme gentilhomme' pour le Colloque de Sauve. In 1684 the Council General 'des Protestants reformés du Vigan' sent him as a deputation to the Marquis de Montenègre to have the town relieved from the payment of 100,000 livres in support of the troops, 'Le Vigan ayant comme plusieurs autres villes de Cevennes embrassé le projet de Claude Brousson, Pasteur celèbre.'¹

The next that is heard of Pierre de la Gardiolle is in the following testimonial, the original of which is in my possession, and which contains the autographs of sixteen Huguenot pastors. Several are in list, note B.

'Nous soubsignes pasteurs de Languedoc et des Ceuenes à present refugies en Suisse attestons que noble pierre de la Cour Seigneur de la gardiole de la Ville du Vigan, aux dites Ceueñes a tousiours professé nostre Sainte religion; et non seulement s'est comporté en bon Chrestien, mais de plus a donné de marques d'une piété exemplaire et d'un zeile tres ardent, tant par les grans soins qu'il auoit tousjours pris des affaires de nos pources eglises, auant ces derniers desordres, que principalem^t par la maniere edifiante avec laquelle nous apprenons qu'il s'est conduit depuis qu'il a pleu à Dieu de permettre que nous ayons este arrachés dauec nos troupeaux; ayant puissamment trauaillé a soutenir, et fortifier non seulement les freres de l'eglise dont il estoit membre, mais aussy ceux des eglises voisines, au reste n'ayant pas moins paru dans le monde par son merite, et par sa vertu, qu'il a paru dans l'Eglise, par son zeile, et par sa piete, ayant esté capitaine dans Beaufort, et fait pendant tout le temps de son seruice les actions d'un homme de bien; mais comme la cruelle persecution qu'on exerce en france contre les [paper worn and word lost] fidelles, luy a fait justement craindre de tomber entre les mains des enemis de la verite, il s'est enfin resolu à abandonner tous les biens, et à sortir de france à trauers mille dangers, et a faire une partie de sa marche à pied, parmi de rochers et de precipices pour se derobier a la poursuite des gardes, afin de suivre l'agneau de Dieu; et se rendre en un

¹ See notes B and C at end of paper.

is ou il le peut seruir en liberté de conscience ; cest pour-
 moy nous prions tous nos freres ou il plaira à la diuine
 providence de l'adresser quils veuillent le tenir pour un vray
 membre du corps mystique de nostre Seig^r a la grace duquel
 nous le recommandons, à Lausanne ce 26 Septembre 1686 :

‘ F DUBRUC, pasteur de l’eglise d’aulas en Sueñes et come
 ayant reculi la^d eglise du Vigan dans la mienne pen-
 dant vingt mois apres la demolition du temple du^d
 Vigan et come connoissant fort particuliere le^d Noble
 de la Cour Seig^r de la Gardiole ay souscrit le present
 certificat.

‘ CHAUNON, pasteur de Vebron en Ceueñes.

‘ MARCHANT, pasteur de Beauvoisin prez de Nismes.

‘ LA PORTE pasteur du Collet de Dezes en Cevennes.

‘ VINCENT ministre de Sauve en Cevenes.

‘ PAGEZ pasteur de S^t André en Cevennes.

‘ BARJON pasteur de S^t Marcel en Cevennes.

‘ M. BARTHELEMY pateur du Ceuenes.

‘ BLANC ministre de Mavrigols.

‘ VIAL m. en Ceuvnes.

‘ VINCENT ministre du lieu d’Aumessas pres du Vigan en
 Ceuennes.

‘ REBOTIER, ministre de leglise de frugieres en Ceuennes.

‘ PERRIN pasteur de ferrieres en haut Languedoc.

‘ PORTAL ministre de la Sale en Ceuenes.

‘ Je soussigne condis les sign^s des ces Mess^{rs} les pas-
 teurs qui ont signé ce certificat,

‘ HOMBRE (or I COMBRE) past^r a Lausañe.

‘ MERLAT min. a Lausanne.

‘ HANABAR ministre de Cardaillhac.

‘ Veu a Francfort ce 30^e d’Octobre S^t V. 1686.

‘ JEAN MARTIN GOGEL, Diacre de la C^{nr} R. Francaise.

‘ In ffort. d. 30 Othr 1686.’

‘ I. WENDEL diaconus der Reformirten deutsche Ge-
 meinde.’

If, therefore, Pierre de la Gardiolle were the bearer of his
 testimonial, he must have travelled northward from

Lausanne to Frankfort between September 26 and October 30, 1686. I have nothing to show the date of his arrival in England. His nephew, Charles, Seigneur de la Billiere, abjured after the Revocation, and for a time his four sons remained in France.

We shall now trace through the old correspondence the course of the two elder of them, Paul and Pierre, the former of whom was eighteen and the younger sixteen at the Revocation. According to the French custom of the time each of the brothers was distinguished by a different name derived from some family property—Paul at first signing himself de Lascours, and afterwards de Labilliere; Pierre, for some years, de Naver; François, de la Gardiolle; and Charles, de Valbelle. I saw all the properties, which are close to Aulas. All except Naver are still possessed by the French branch of the family, having been handed down from time immemorial. The locality of La Billière is uncertain. From Pierre I am descended; he was grandfather to my grandfather.

It is greatly to be regretted that the letters written from the French to the English branch of the family have not been preserved. They would have supplied many facts, and have made complete a correspondence, the like of which, even as it is, Baron de Cabiron says is not to be found with any other family, at least in his part of France.

The first letter of his two eldest sons is written to Charles, Seigneur de Labilliere at Aulas by Paul, and is dated St. Chely, March 1, 1687. It tells him that they will take horses from Clermont to Paris, and that Messrs. d'Assas and la Loubière kiss his hands.

In translating the following extracts from the letters, I have been particular to give all names mentioned, and anything special regarding them, as the movements of other Huguenots may be thus traced.

From Paris on March 19, 1687, the brothers inform their father of their safe arrival, and that it had been decided that they should go to Brissac and not to Besançon. This they regret, as they expected to have to do with the severest governor of all the companies of cadets, M. de la Cystardie. In their

next letter, however, they say, 'We have to do with a captain who asks nothing more than that we should do our duty well. They had arrived on the 10th of the month, had passed five days in Paris and two at Versailles, 'had sold the black horse and kept the other to carry their luggage,' and after buying what they required had trente louis d'or. L'Abbé de Pibrac, M. de Barbesieux, fils de M. de Louvoise, and M. de Pelisson, are mentioned as persons for whom they had inquired. Of sixty cadets, they remark, none was as small as their young brother, La Gardiolle, but that he would have been as well received as themselves. They conclude, 'praying God night and day that he may preserve you and our dear mother and brothers.'

In a P.S. they wish a 'happy deliverance' to M. Flory, their Aunt and Cousins Flory, and to Demoiselles de Salles. Messrs. les prêtres Sieur Daniel Boursson, Cousins Gaubert a Cour, and de Ressenon, as well as M. de Randornnières and Madame de la Gardiolle, are mentioned.

In the next letter, also signed by Paul, as de Lascours, and Pierre, as Naver, to their father, dated Brissac, April 24, 1687, they state that they had arrived there on the 11th, having had continual rain or snow upon our backs,' and having passed through mountains more rugged than our own.'

They say they were not so unfortunate in going to Brissac as they expected, 'having found some acquaintances from our neighbourhood, who are M. de Vignolles, de St. Jean du Bruel, to whom we owe a thousand obligations. As soon as we arrived he sought out a room for us to lodge in, placed us in his rigade, and did us the honour to love us as if we were brothers, and M. Aigoine de Sumere, who arrived a few days ago.' They state that they had sold the horse which had carried their things to a cadet who had gone out as a lieutenant, and also report what they had done with letters which they had taken to Paris, to M. la Plume, Mademoiselle de Quatrefages, M. Bouguet, Demayes, Faubel, de St. Paul, Delmas. They mention that M. d'Assas and de la Loubière had been taken into the company of M. de Ligny. They say at the end, 'We pray our dear mother not to forget us, and pray God night and

morning to live in his holy fear and to die in his grace, without forgetting our dear brothers, begging our brother La Gardiolle to write to us.' They send their respects to Messieurs les officiers and Messieurs les prêtres, M. Daniel Boursson, Demoiselles de Salet, Cousin de la Cour and family, and M. de Boisset.

On December 1, 1687, in a letter from the Fort of Brissac to the noble Charles de Labilliere, Paul and Pierre inform him that they had been hindered from writing by an intermittent fever which they had had for three months; and they had had to live on broth diet, and to wear wigs. They availed themselves of M. Aigoin's return to send the letter.

The next letter, of January 16, 1688, is signed by my ancestor Pierre alone, acknowledging a letter from his father. He says also that they had received one from M. Flory, who was married to their aunt, often referred to in their letters. Pierre says, 'We have answered him, and he exhorted us to remember the good lessons he has given us. . . . We told him that we were in a condition to withdraw ourselves in the month of May, taking our leave, this air not being favourable to us.' He then asks for some money, their resources having been exhausted by their illness; and refers to his father having mentioned in his last letter having met M. de la Valette, at the fair at Vigan, who had informed him that M. de Vignolles had spoken of their health in a letter. Pierre mentions a report that they were going with the other companies to Paris, to the Invalides.

There is a P.S. to this letter in the handwriting of M. Vignolles, in which he sends his respects to Charles and Madame de Labilliere.

From Fort de Brissac on February 16, 1688, his two sons write as to the transmission of money *viâ* Lyons and Strasbourg. They express surprise to their father at the news he had sent them that they would have M. de la Cytardie no longer for their captain.

In a P.S. it is stated that M. de Vignolles would have written to his father if it had not been for illness. The letter runs: 'He begs you to ask for news of his brother, being in

much trouble about him, not knowing what has become of him since he left the province.' Paul de Labilliere, in whose hand the letter is, writes: 'My brother Naver (Pierre) has been only once out hunting with other cadets with M. de la Cytardie when they killed two wild boars, and my brother killed one of them which weighs more than 300.'

In a short letter of March 5, 1688, Paul and Pierre inform Seigneur de Labilliere that M. de Vignolles is better and that he sends his respects, as they also do to M. de la Valette.

The last letter from Fort de Brissac to their father is dated April 2, 1688. They say that since their last, which they had sent by M. de Pierredon, of Sauve, they had both had fever, but were beginning to get better, expecting that the air at home will be more favourable for them than that of Brissac.

A page of this letter is torn. They send respects to their Aunt De la Gardiolle and Uncle and Aunt De Flory, ask for news of their relations at St. Rome (Dept. du Tarn), and that M. de la Valette may be informed that M. de Flottes has written to him.

In a P.S. M. de Vignolles says he is very much indebted to M. de Labilliere for his kindness and sends his respects to Madame de Labilliere, adding: 'You have informed us that my younger son had left a long time ago; however, I have no news of him. I pray you to inform me. My salutations to M. de la Valette, to whom I will write at an early day.'

In one of the interesting drives which he took us, Baron de Cabiron pointed out a piece of land, close to Aulas, which belonged to the Vignolles family.

This letter, of April 2, 1688, is the last for a period of nine years. Any other letters to their father, Charles, Seigneur de Labilliere, who was very likely privy to the flight of his sons Paul and Pierre, were probably destroyed as being compromising to him. I have no particulars of their escape. They probably crossed the Rhine from Brissac, and may have come over to England in the expedition of William of Orange. I have received as a tradition that my ancestor fought at the Boyne and in the Irish campaign.

The correspondence reopens with the following letter from Paul and Pierre, who were in Marton's Huguenot regiment in the army of William III., to their brothers François and Charles (De la Gardiolle and de Valbelle) in the French regiment of Bresse, in the army of Louis XIV. It was just before the peace of Ryswick was concluded.

‘Brussels, Saturday, August 5, 1697.

‘We are very much grieved, messieurs and very dear brothers, that we were not at the conference which took place yesterday between my lord Portland and M. le Maréchal de Boufflers, having been made aware that you were both there by the drummer who brought the note this morning. We should not have failed to have ourselves been there also; but the departure of the King was the cause that we knew nothing of it till after they had assembled; for M. le Comte de Marthon had promised us to give us notice, and he would have even been there himself if he had known of it sooner, from what he said to us this morning. I hope he will send us a passport at an early day, so that we may have an interview which we both so much desire. This will be soon, as we hope. The King left this morning. M. le Prince de Voudemont has gone to accompany him as far as Antwerp, and on his return we will do our best to have the passport which is necessary for us. We have received your letters, and would have replied sooner if we had not waited to know something positive about the peace which is counted upon; I hope to be made. We wish that it may soon be proclaimed, so that we should be able to see the rest of our friends, whom I pray you to salute on our behalf. Adieu, our dear brothers; we embrace you and are wholly yours,

‘LABILLIERE—NAVER.’

Two letters sent in the same envelope, one from his sons Paul and Pierre, in the English army, and the other from his sons François and Charles, in the French, inform their father, the noble Charles de la Cour de Labilliere, at Aulas, of the meeting of the four brothers, who, after years of separation, passed one short interval of their lives together,

under circumstances so extraordinary. It is recorded in the family that when the brothers were all at Aulas their height was remarked as they walked about the place. Paul and Pierre thus write :

'Brussels, October 3, 1697.

'The joy which we have had, monsieur our dear father, to see the arrival of our dear brothers, has been so great on our part, that it is not in our power to express it to you on paper. It would be complete, if at the same time we had been able to embrace you and to enjoy a happiness which we have desired since so long a time, and which will never be so soon as we wish it to be. We ought to expect from heaven all things which will give alleviation to our ills, when it shall seem good to it. We must pray God with all our heart to put an end to our longings, and to bring together again so many dispersed families. You will have the pleasure, monsieur our dear father, to see by this letter all that God has given you for (a word is illegible) children, who are at present only four, after such a long time of absence from each other. God has graciously permitted them to meet again in order to testify to each other by their presence the affection they owe to each other, which will increase all the time it shall please the Lord to leave them upon this miserable earth. The only desire which remains to us, our dear father, is to be able soon to embrace you. We tell you nothing new. The armies have withdrawn themselves. It is not known if our French regiments will be broken or maintained. What we know for certain is that we shall have (the paper is torn, but the word is probably peace), at all events, as things go, I shall pass soon into England. We have no news of our dear uncle. We are writing to him conjointly with our brothers (*messieurs nos frères*). This will give him much pleasure. When we have news of him we will give it to you. In looking forward to see you soon, monsieur our dear father, we pray you very humbly to be pleased to take care of yourself, to the end that God may give us the favour of finding you in perfect health. We will write to you soon. Messieurs our brothers have been with us only four days. It was with much regret that we allowed them to depart ; but we have the

hope that this peace, so much desired, will re-unite, one day, the whole of the family. In awaiting this happy moment, monsieur our dear father, we are and shall be all our lives your very humble and very obedient sons,

‘ LABILLIERE — NAVER. ’

There is a P.S. with kind messages to members of the family mentioned in previous letters. The following, enclosed with that of their elder brothers, is from François and Charles :—

‘ Du lieu de St. Anne, October 4, 1697. ’

‘ We arrived last night from Brussels, monsieur my very dear father, where we were on the 27th of last month, with a musketeer who had only a simple passport from M. le Maréchal, with which we arrived in the most fortunate manner possible, at which everybody has been surprised, seeing that there had been several officers (some words are wanting). The sentinels did not even ask us where we were going. They directed us to the camp of Marthon and to the tent of our brothers who were then in the town. The officers of their regiments recognised us, and indicated to us the place where they were staying, after having shown us all possible attention. Arriving at the Impératrice, where the French officers are staying, we met at the door M. de Lascours (Paul), whom I recognised, but, fearing I might be mistaken, I asked him if he were not of Marthon's regiment. He answered me, Yes; and if he were not Monsieur de Labilliere. He answered me the same. Immediately we dismounted, saying to him that his brothers were speaking to him, which gave him such an agreeable surprise that he remained motionless whilst we embraced him. He broke silence by praising the Lord for at length granting us that for which we had so long asked Him. He could not distinguish us from each other till after he had been told. M. de Naver (Pierre) was not slow in coming to join us, but he had no difficulty in recognising us, knowing that we had arrived. The joy and pleasure of seeing each other did not cause us to spare our tears on account of the just subjects of the past.

All the officers of their regiment did us the honour to come and see us. We have received from them a thousand times more civility than we could ever tell you, as well as from M. de Miremont, de Marthon, and M. de Montandre, their lieutenant-colonel. We have found on both sides and recognised that the affection was as strong and sincere as we had relied upon from the assurances by letter. They insisted on making purchases for us, and upon our accepting many things which they wished to give us. They have charged M. de Valbelle with a piece of English gold to deliver to you, and pray you to keep it in memory of them ; a similar one for my dear Aunt de Flory, with a ring and some lace for the Cousin Louison, and to mark their sentiments for the Demoiselles de Salets they send them also by M. de Valbelle half a dozen handkerchiefs. We have been each obliged to take a guinea, which are the pistoles of England. We arrived in Brussels on the 27th and we left yesterday. The time passed without our perceiving it, so much pleasure and satisfaction did we find in being all together. We wrote also to our dear uncle, of whom they have no news, nor of you, our dear father. We were hoping to find some here on arriving. It has made us long very much to receive some. Have the goodness to address to us at Cambray, where we will arrive on the 9th. That place, Tournay, Valenciennes, Douay, Bouchain, St. Amans, Arras ought to contain all [word obliterated, probably 'infantry'] of this army, where they will be reformed. That of Catinat is withdrawn to the places between Tournay and Dunkirk, and that of Boufflers into the country of the Sambre and Meuse. We can tell you nothing of our neighbours, seeing that the armies are dispersed *dans les cantons*. Since our departure we are very pleased that this is our destination. The number will be eight battalions. As soon as the recruiting of M. d'Artagnan is accomplished, which we daily expect, M. de Valbelle will leave. I have written also to our brothers, who apparently will have received their orders for departure which they were also expecting to receive at any hour. We pray also every day the Lord to keep you by His holy grace ; and again uniting our prayers to those of our dear brothers in

beseeking you to preserve and carefully to spare your valuable health, since our one desire is to know that it is quite perfect, as being also with more respect than ever, monsieur our dear father, your very humble and very obedient sons,

‘LA GARDIOLLE—VALBELLE.’

There is a postscript with compliments to various relations and friends.

Paul writes to his father, just before crossing over to England, a letter full of affection and the desire of his brother and their grand-uncle for the reunion of the family. He says some people flatter themselves that after the peace they will be able to travel in France, at least as foreigners, and mentions that the last he had heard of their uncle, who was unable to write on account of his hand, was through his captain, who had shown him a letter from his wife, who said that he was well. Madame de Cadenous, he adds, wrote him to that effect a month ago. He states also that the French regiments would soon embark for Ireland.

Pierre de la Gardiolle writes from London to Charles, Seigneur de Labilliere :—

* November 5, 1697.

‘If I have not sooner replied to your letters, my very dear nephew, it is not for want of remembrance which I have for you, which I shall retain all my life. I am in perfect health, thank God, and I feel in no way inconvenienced except that my hand is not so steady as it was two years ago, which has obliged me to wait for one of my nephews to write and to testify to you of the desire which I have to be able to embrace you, my dear nephew, once again, if God were pleased to grant me this favour, with the rest of the family. God has been pleased to afflict us in withdrawing from this miserable world, my dear niece, your faithful wife. I assure you, my dear nephew, that this news has made me very sensible of your sad condition in which you find yourself reduced in losing your dear partner (*votre chère moitié*), and I in losing a person whom I loved so much. I had the hope of seeing her again, but God has decided it otherwise. I pray God to

console you, and that He will favour us by re-uniting us with the rest of the family, to whom God has given the favour in part to be able to embrace each other. I long, my dear nephew, for that happy moment, which may God soon favour us with. M. de Lacour (Paul) has told me that M. de Valbelle was going to you. I embrace him with all my heart, as well as the Cousin de Lascours and all his dear family and all the rest of our relations and friends, of whom I shall always retain a perfect recollection ; and as for you, my dear nephew, I pray you to be persuaded that I will have you always in my heart, and wishing nothing so much in the world as to be able to embrace you with your dear children, praying you to come and see us ; for the roads are not free to us. As to you, you could come here in safety, which does not appear for the present easy to us. May God in his grace have pity on us and cause us to meet together again from our dispersion ! In awaiting this happiness I am, monsieur my dear nephew, your very obedient servant and faithful uncle,

‘LA GARDIOLLE.’

The last lines, beginning with the words ‘In awaiting,’ are in La Gardiolle’s hand ; the previous part of the letter is in that of Paul, who adds some news on his own account. He states that he had embarked from Ostend on November 10 in a little vessel, and had had a very favourable passage, not having been more than six days upon the water. He says that he found the dear uncle in perfect health and in as good a state as he left him two years ago. ‘It is unnecessary, my dear father,’ continues Paul, ‘that you should commend your children to him. His affection for us only increases, and he shows more and more to us his favour and benefits, only caring always to spare something for his children ; for there is no difference between him and a father, so that we are often obliged to say truly that God has given us a second father.’

Pierre remained in Holland after Paul in order to visit Amsterdam, from which place he wrote on November 7, 1697, to his brother François de la Gardiolle, stating that he had come to consult M. Catusses, le Maître Chirurgien, because in

England there were no such clever men. He says, 'I found myself last Saturday at the Jewish synagogue, where Madame de Harlay had come through curiosity, like myself and M. de Piedferrier who was travelling. We had the pleasure to see everything curious in the church by the kindness of Madame Harlay. The law of Moses was exhibited to the people, who uttered extraordinary cries, worse than our war cries.' Pierre hopes he may soon know in what garrison François may be during the winter, and that if he himself should return to Ghent they may meet again; 'but,' he goes on, 'wait until I write to you on my return from the Hague to Rotterdam, and then I shall know the fate of our regiment, because Count de Marthon ought to find himself at the Hague, as the King will be there. They ought to arrive there to-morrow with all the Court, and in a short time to pass into England. I hope to cross over there also after our agreeable interview.'

From Ostend on December 24, 1697, Pierre de Labilliere writes to his father that they had been surprised by an order countermanning the departure for Ireland of the French regiments, which would already have been in that country had it not been for the winds. He expresses the belief that the King wished them to be in Ireland—'as,' says he, 'we passionately desire, as it is the greatest good that can be accorded to us. However, we are here on the eve of leaving for Ghent to-morrow, where we shall remain to know positively our destiny. Each makes it in his own way; but it is certain that we should not be as well off in the service of Holland as some of our gentlemen wish to be. It is true that the generality of our gentlemen expect that it is only a delay for us in order that we shall be the last to go out of this country, and it is more natural that the people of their own nation should be preferred to foreigners. That which gives us most hope is that, if it were the wish of the King that we should remain in Holland, he would not have signified in the order of the day that the recruits should follow the regiment which had already been able to depart for Ireland. That is very clear, since it made it evident that if our regiments had been there

already they would have remained there. His Majesty may have reasons which we cannot fathom. In the first place, as soon as we should have arrived, they would have had to break some regiments of their own nation, and we should have to occupy their places. It would have seemed very hard to these people to see strangers retained to their prejudice. So it will now be three English regiments which will go to that country in our place, and by this means those which will be broken in that country will have less cause to complain of their fate. We flatter ourselves till now in believing that we only remain the last, and when everything is perfectly quiet we shall be able to depart for that country. May God grant our prayers, so that we may be able to live as a complete family with our good uncle who wishes to be of the party!'

On December 24, 1697, Paul writes from London to his father a letter full of affection, as are indeed all the letters, and of longing for the reunion of the family. The good uncle, who adds a few lines to the letter, and the brothers, are spoken of in the same warm terms. Compliments are sent from M. de la Becède and Madame and the Mademoiselles de St. Sauveur.

In a short letter from London of June 24, 1698, Pierre de la Gardiolle writes to Charles, Seigneur de Labilliere, respecting his grand-nephew Charles, the son of the latter. He says, 'I pray you, my very dear nephew, to make every effort for the advancement of the dear Valbelle in buying him the Company about which I have written to you, . . . in order to give me the satisfaction of being aware of the solid establishment of all our dear family. It is this one who does not possess it, the others remaining well enough placed to my satisfaction.'

In their letters to their father, about this time, his brothers also express a strong desire for 'the establishment of the dear Valbelle,' as does also the uncle La Gardiolle in two or three other notes. Paul writes to Valbelle with the uncle's letter to his father, in most affectionate terms. 'You know me too well to doubt not only my unchangeable sentiments which I entertain for a dear brother whom I love as myself, who is a second self in everything which honour requires from us. . . .

I believe that you only remain in the country on account of your affection for the dear father. . . . I hope that I shall soon hear that you are starting to join the regiment.'

In the above letter, in desiring to be remembered, among others, to 'the Cousin de la Cour,' Paul says, 'I will write him at an early day and will give him news of M. de la Peillerade.'

Annexed to this letter, Pierre gives their father the following statement of their affairs:—'You wish to know what money we have at interest. We have four hundred pounds sterling at interest, which makes in French money *deux mille ecu*. From the way the thing is at present, that gives us seven per cent. interest. We received a week ago one year's interest, which amounted to twenty-eight pounds. The interest is received every three months; but if one wished, one could get at the capital any day in the course of the exchange. It is negotiable as if it were bank bills. . . . This sum is a good fund, which I fear may be repaid sooner than we should wish, on account of the abundance of money in this kingdom. We have by us a hundred pounds sterling, which we keep to use in case of need; and the dear uncle has nearly two hundred pieces which are due to him from his pension, of which we hope soon to receive a part; for this will be not so soon as we wish in order to be able to invest it like the rest. In the event of the dear uncle dying without being paid, we should receive it without any difficulty, as we have seen by past examples. This is so fortunate a people that strangers envy their happiness.

'You have been incorrectly informed as regards the state of my uncle. His sight and hearing are still as good as ours; he has not that memory of the world which he had in the past, nor also does he frequent it. I am going to give you the detail of the manner in which he will finish the rest of his days. He goes every day to exercises of devotion, and when he is in his room he reads some book of devotion and smokes his pipe. He obliges us to go out after dinner and supper, when we remain always two hours with him and an hour and a half. In the morning we do not see him because we pay our visits. Calveyrac sleeps in his room. (This man seems to

have been an old servant who came over to Gardiolle from Aulas, and who had a son living with the family there.) He in no way mixes with the world. We pay everything that is necessary for him, and sometimes we are obliged to tell him that what costs us a crown we have for twenty sous. He wishes to leave us something of his own, so that he may die happy, exhorting us always to have everything in common with the dear family. That until now this has given him great pleasure, and it would give him still more if he could see you again. He sees but very few visitors. He only goes to the family of M. de Guirand and the Demoiselles de St. Sauveur and Hubac. He does not go to the coffee-houses like other old men. At present he is in no way indisposed, but asthma, which causes an oppression in his chest, prevents him often from sleeping at night. Those are all his ailments. He eats better than we do; also he has grown stouter within a year. We shall be obliged to have another vest for him; for he will only have one coat. He wears a wig, as I believe I have told you. . . .'

At the beginning of a letter from London of August 15, 1698, signed by Paul and Pierre, are a few lines by the uncle, La Gardiolle, about 'the establishment of the dear Valbelle,' which his two brothers also urge.

The father, Charles, is informed of 'the arrival of the dear Naver,' Pierre, my ancestor, 'in this city three days ago in perfect health,' and that he had seen, before embarking, 'the dear La Gardiolle,' their brother François. The letter runs: 'At last we shall learn our destination, which is Ireland. The three regiments of infantry were to have left Ostend last Thursday, and we hope that, with the aid of the Lord, they have already arrived in Ireland, for the wind has been good since. As to the regiment of Gallway and Miremont, they have also put some vessels at their disposal, which will oblige them to leave at the first favourable wind. All the officers who are not found in Ireland in two months, are threatened with their pay being kept back. This does not alarm my brother nor me, for we both have leave from M. le Comte de Marthon (Marton?), who waits for us before taking any reso-

lution for our journey. The King has at present made the order of the day for Ireland. He will soon attach a pension to it. He is a lord who is in high favour with the King, and does not move a step from him. We do not expect our good King till the end of September. M. de Naver will be obliged to cross over to Ireland for the care of our little business matters, and he will not leave till we have received an answer to this, wishing as much as I do to know by that answer of the establishment of the dear Valbelle.'

The letter speaks of a M. David, who had gone into the country to see his brother, and says, 'M. de la Becède, who is here, sends his compliments. He has written to M. Bastié, and we will pass the winter together. He ought to leave at an early day for the baths, which are twenty hours from here; he goes there for some attack of gout.'

They speak often in such terms of affection as these: 'We often have you in our memory, and all the conversations which we have with the dear uncle only turn upon you, my very dear father, and brothers. You should never doubt the respect we owe to the dear uncle, of the gratitude we owe him which we will never fail in. If God were to allow you to see this dear uncle when with us, you would see the joy depicted on his face by the presence of his two nephews. His last desire would be to see us all again one day. That will only be when it shall please the Lord.'

In a P.S., after the usual remembrances to their Aunt, Uncle, and Cousins Flory, and the Demoiselles Salets, they say they had found a relation of M. Finiel named Dumont, and had assisted him, and that they had had a letter from M. Liron.

Pierre de Labilliere, in a letter from London of October 6, 1698, and also signed by his brother Paul, writes to their father, of 'his cruel absence,' and says, 'what consoles us most in our dispersion is the continual pleasure of the company of our dear uncle;' but that 'the greatest sorrow which will remain to me is to be away from a dear father and brother whom I respect and love with the utmost tenderness, passionately as I feel.' Pierre also says, 'The arrival of the King is

my only expectation of going into Ireland, and of joining the regiment, which is already in the tranquillity and repose which a peace favours. Also our officers begin to perceive it by the good living which it affords; and the pay does not fail a single day. . . . Up to this it has been given complete to the reduced officers, which is thirty [probably pence a day] to lieutenants, and twenty-four to ensigns. If that continue . . . we shall be perfectly well off in that country.'

There is also an affectionate letter of the same date to their brother Valbelle, Charles.

On October 13, 1698, Pierre writes from London to his brother François de la Gardiolle, who was with the French regiment of Bresse in the garrison of Dunkirk. He mentions the names of Combebrune, De Caladon, Hubac, Guirand, Labèssede, and La Roque among the refugees in London.

Pierre de la Gardiolle writes to his nephew, and Paul and Pierre de Labilliere to their father, Charles, Seigneur de Labilliere, at Aulas, from London, November 13, 1698, urging him to do what he can for the establishment of 'his last' son, who is unprovided for—'the dear Valbelle.' The letter says: 'By this same post I write to Ireland to M. de la Fabrègue, and send him the letter of his sister.'

There is a break in the correspondence till 1703, and Charles de Valbelle is not again mentioned. The papers of the family in France, however, show that he obtained a commission in the French regiment of Bresse to which his brother François de la Gardiolle belonged, and that he was killed at the siege of Mantua in 1702.

The next letter is a very long one, dated London, September 6, 1703, from my ancestor Pierre de Labilliere, to his brother François de la Gardiolle, captain of the regiment of Bresse in the French army in Italy. He states that their eldest brother Paul had left about two months in a regiment of marines on board the 'Manchester,' one of a fleet of fifty vessels which had sailed for the Mediterranean under Admiral Shovel, and that he had received a letter from him dated Lisbon. As to himself Pierre says—and the references in these letters throw some light on the history of the Huguenot

regiments—that his lot ‘was very nearly being sent to Portugal. It was when the Queen’s Council, having thought proper to cause a French regiment of dragoons of twenty companies to be levied, of which the Duke de Schomberg would have been colonel, and the officers on pension would have been employed. The thing was decided, and all the officers named, and even during a fortnight they worked to raise the dragoons. I was cornet of the company of M. de la Fabrégue, and De Rouvière, his lieutenant. La Fabrégue had a commission as major. The regiment would have been soon raised. We had already seventeen dragoons in our company when the Council thought proper to inform the Queen that the regiment could not be ready to serve in Portugal, and besides, that Parliament would be displeased that foreigners had been raised without its order, so that a fortnight after we were countermanded; and thus things remain. As to myself in particular the advancement which I had was no great thing; but the pleasure of being together with one’s friends would have been in some measure mine. . . . As to the purchase from M. Carles, that has failed also, because at the beginning of the campaign, when the Duke of Marlborough besieged Bonn, M. de Villeroi assembled his army in Brabant and fell upon Tongres, a town three leagues from Maestricht, and made the two regiments prisoners of war. That of Carles was one; so that regiment is still in France. . . . You ask me, my dear brother, for the details respecting M. Dobdan. Apparently the newspapers from Holland do not reach you.’ Pierre then goes on to give a long account of some military movement, commanded by a Dutch general or officer whose name is written Dobdan, in which the parts taken by Marlborough, De Boufflers, and De Villeroi are described. He says also, ‘the Duke de Schomberg is going to command in Portugal. We expect the Grand Duke soon; honour will be done to him here as King of Spain. Let me know any news of importance you may have. M. de Miremont and Lifford have been very pleased to see the account which you have had the goodness to send me. It gave them pleasure. They salute you. . . . The dear uncle embraces you. He is very

well for his age. Only two-thirds of his pension and mine are paid to us. This is general, because there is no money. They do not pay the arrears of pension here at all. We have had sad experience of it in the past. I have only eight sous a day to live on, and my uncle twenty-four sous, and on that we have to keep ourselves. We have also in a year consumed two hundred ecus of the little the dear uncle had.'

In this letter François's wife, Demoiselle d'Aiglepierre, of Saline in Franche Comté, to whom he had been recently married, is first mentioned. The house of Vigan in which we were so hospitably entertained was the one in which she lived after her husband's death. Her portrait and his, of which I have photographs, are still there, and also an orange-tree which belonged to her. Pierre in a P.S. says, 'Bagarde of Vigan has returned to the country; he saw our sister-in-law at her house at Saline. He has given us here a very favourable account of all the family, and that there is a great air of grandeur in that house.' A M. de Barbezière is mentioned, and compliments sent from M. de la Fabrégue, Combesure, and Madame d'Assas and her sisters. The family of d'Assas still have a place at Vigan, where is a statue to one of them who was killed at Clotterchamp.

Paul de Labilliere, serving in the English fleet, writes to his brother François de la Gardiolle, captain in the army of the Duke de Vendôme at Milan, September 28, 1703. He says, 'My position which is to be, lieutenant in the regiment of marines of De Villars. It will surprise you that I am still only a subaltern; but know for your satisfaction that it is not for want of having done my duty, but it is the number of officers who are in this country. The man-of-war in which I am has been cruising along the coast of Montpellier. It has given me much grief to find myself so near to the dear father without being able to embrace him.'

In forwarding the above letter to Charles, Seigneur de Labilliere, at Aulas, François says, 'I think, my very dear father, that but very few people ought to see this letter. This proximity of vessels in which you have a son who has written it, will set all the silly women of the country chattering, and

at length they would go as far as saying and imagining that we have communication with these fleets.'

A short letter from Paul and Pierre to François of June 20, 1704, refers to a letter sent through M. Connvreur Santigue, of London, but had not been received.

The next three letters from Paul and Pierre de Labilliere to their brother, François de la Gardiolle, principally relate to the death of their father, the Noble Charles, Seigneur de Labilliere, who was assassinated at Aulas on April 22, 1704. He had been one of the *nouveaux convertis*, and had helped the Government against the Camisards, by one of whom he was shot. I was shown the two places which are pointed out as the scenes of the tragedy; one in the square in which his house still stands, close to the church at Aulas; the other a few hundred yards above the little town, on the banks of the torrent which passes through it. On July 21, 1704, Paul and Pierre write to François in deep sorrow and indignation at the deed. They say, 'As to you, our very dear brother, you ought not to refuse the favour we ask you, for the love which you have for us, which is to withdraw yourself from the miserable country of our birth. . . . Leave vengeance to the Lord.' They express great fear of his being assassinated. François had pursued and overtaken a band and killed some of those who were supposed to have been concerned in his father's death. 'Give us a few details of the assassination and the spot, and what has become of Calveyrac's son, who was in the house? His father, who still serves the dear uncle well, salutes you. The poor good man asks us every day for news of you and of the dear deceased, inquiring if he is still alive, because we tell him that it is on account of the disturbances that he cannot write to us, and that there is only you who can do so. He keeps you always well in his memory. We hide from him the loss. We tell him that the mourning which we wear is on account of the court. It would have shortened his days, and he would have talked of it continually; for he loved his poor deceased nephew very much.' The brothers speak of letters being sent through Messrs. Signoret, bankers, and M. Portales; and by way of Holland through M. Daniel de la Mothe and M. du

Cros at Geneva. They say 'M. de la Fabrégue kisses well your hands. It was he who announced to us the sad news; he is a great friend of ours. . . . M. Corbettes is in Ireland, and M. d'Assas, but Madame d'Assas is here. . . . M. Roussi is one of our friends.'

In a letter of August 5, 1704, the two brothers write from London to François: 'The letter which we received two days ago, dated from Lyons, May 28 last, has entirely made clear to us the manner in which the dear father was assassinated. . . . A blow so little expected has thrown us into the deepest affliction; for without a special grace from the Lord there would be reason to despond in the very sad thought of an end so dreadful as has been that of the dear father. Let us render thanks to the Lord for the kindness He has shown us in giving us the strength necessary to enable us to sustain such a trial. Let us pray Him to give us more and more the aid of His Holy Spirit in all the circumstances of our life, and let us live as upright and honourable people, and the Lord will bless us. No vengeance. Leave that to the Lord. . . . All the people of this place, who are from our neighbourhood, say, without flattery, that he was as much loved as any one in a community could be. . . . These wretches ought to have remembered that he had an uncle whose name was well known to them and two sons who were out of France, and that even if the poor man had done anything to them, they ought not to have done him any harm for the love of us; but we see well that there was no motive of religion for these dozen scoundrels. I forget myself, my dear brother. The first fury of anger leads me to useless reflections. Our poor dear father is no more. . . . He is in heaven, in a happy state, and we, misérables, crawl upon this wretched earth. Let us honour his memory by living as good brothers, waiting till it may please the Lord to call us from this miserable life to go and live eternally in the blessed abode. The Lord God give us all His grace and bless us with His most precious benedictions.'

In a letter from London of December 10, 1704, Paul and Pierre say to François: 'We thank you for all your kindness

which we have just received. We shall never forget it till death.' On the letter François has endorsed, 'the thanks of my brothers for the 3,800 which I have sent them.' I do not know what the amount was ; but probably it was a share of their father's money. Fearing the effect upon 'the dear uncle' of hearing of his nephew's violent death, they write: 'We have hid until now all your letters from the dear uncle, since the loss of the dear deceased father ; but in future we must take some means of showing him that you write to us and that you inform us that the dear deceased is well ; for he asks us every day for news, saying that he is surprised to have none if he is still alive. The good man has scarcely any memory. He concerns himself with nothing in the world but thinking of his salvation ; he goes every day to church. So you could, our very dear brother, by your next letter send him your compliments, and those of the deceased, saying that the troubles of the country prevent him from writing to him.' If fibs were justifiable in any case, they would certainly have been in this.

Messrs. Corbettes, de l'Espigarié, and Liron are mentioned in the letter, which also says, 'M. de Rouvière is in Ireland. He is married there. M. de la Fabrégue salutes you. M. Portales is in Holland, where he arrived a few days since with M. le Marquis de Miremont, who has gone to the States General to request that he may levy a corps of French troops to lead into Piedmont. He has obtained here a commission from the Queen as Lieut.-General Commander in Chief for Her Majesty in Piedmont. Some French are being raised here for that ; . . . if that succeed, my brother will go for certain. The Marquis will remember him. He is one of our great friends.'

The letter is written by Pierre, but also signed by Paul. There are salutations to Aunt Flory, Demoiselles de Salet and M. Finiels of Aulas, and it is stated that 'Madame d'Assas has received the letter of Mademoiselle d'Assas of Vigan. . . . Mademoiselle de Brechet, or Brochet, daughter of M. Brechet of Avignon, has also received their letter . . . M. Roussi is much obliged for your remembering him.' Letters are to be sent through him and M. Daniel de la Motte.

In a letter from London of April 27, 1705, the brothers tell François of the anxiety they had felt on account of the danger they had heard he had been in from an abscess on his old wound. They state that M. Agoin had written to his brother. Pierre says: 'I cannot tell you anything for certain whether I shall have employment or not. I wait for news from Ireland for that, if I have made a purchase either of a new company or a lieutenancy in the Guards which they are about to raise there . . . I have not been able to conclude any purchase, because the colonels have no power to sell any employment, for the Duke of Marlborough gives them all the officers complete!'

On July 30, 1705, Paul and Pierre write a letter to their sister-in-law, and also one to her husband François. They say they are going to have the letters posted at Paris through the Comte de Blansac, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Ostend, and who had got leave from the Queen to go to France for six months. They say: 'He has been in town three weeks with his mother. We see him very often at Lord Lifford's, his brother; he knew you.' Pierre says: 'I have several times been in the way to purchase employment, but have not up to this time been able to succeed. I have just again failed in an affair which appeared to me advantageous, as also to my friends who recommended it to me as a reliable thing from which I should have had bread all my life. It was a company in an old regiment, of which my Lord Duke of Marlborough was colonel. . . . The captain of that regiment had obtained permission and leave from the Duke of Marlborough to leave the camp on the Moselle and to come here to get rid of his company, desiring to buy something better, so the purchase of the said company was proposed to me. In short we were in agreement with the said captain, and even as to the day I should begin pay; all the conditions being concluded, it was only a question of writing to the colonel to complete the agreement. This we did. After a month the answer came, and the said colonel made known that the first lieutenant had asked him for the preference at the price, and a month's time to pay the money. Thus my

affair has failed, on account of which I am much vexed, since my friends and every one approved of it, and although I wanted more than 400*l.* sterling, which make 1,600 crowns here, and more than 5,000 livres in France; but when it is considered that one year's pay is worth half the sum, if God had preserved me I should have soon overtaken my money; and my friends advised me to give something more, which amounts to a quarter more than a new company, for which 300*l.* sterling is asked, and there is the risk of being broken. M. de la Fabrégue left me a bill for 200 crowns, which he lent me with good grace when he left for Ireland where he is at present. . . . It is true that I have been five or six times in the market for similar things. If I had enough to live upon a little respectably, I would be far from the desire to serve; but it is necessity which forces me to that. . . . Settle entirely your affairs and quit the service. It seems that in the state in which your family is, health which needs care, all these things, joined to the prayers of your good brothers, should persuade you to return, immediately after you have arranged your affairs, to the midst of your dear family, and there to live in the pleasantest way your circumstances will admit of.'

François is asked to send his reply through Mr. Léonard van Armeijden and M. Roussi.

November 3, 1705, Paul and Pierre write, from London, informing Francis that they had heard that he was well through a letter which M. Portales had had from his mother. Pierre says, 'I leave for Catalonia, where I have at last bought a company in the regiment of Lord Montjoy. The colonel is here. I have the happiness to please him, and he has shown me a thousand civilities. I concluded the purchase from the beginning of last August. . . . The captain is here from whom I have purchased. I gave him 280*l.* sterling.'

I have in my possession this very commission of my ancestor, signed by Queen Anne; also, among others, one of his in Lord Montjoy's regiment of dragoons, dated 1716. I have discovered in the Secretary of War's Letter Book, No. 134, Record Office, two letters of 1706, signed 'H. St. John,' giving

directions that Captain Labilliere and servant should be taken out to Spain in the transport 'Samuel.'

In his letter of November 3, 1705, Pierre also thus describes the death 'of the dear uncle.' 'He gave up his spirit the 3rd of the current month (October according to Old Style) at nine o'clock in the morning, in his arm-chair, completely dressed, when Calveyrac was near the fire, and he thought he was asleep as he was sometimes accustomed to be, and seeing that he had one leg over the other, Calveyrac wished to feel his pulse, but he could find none. He called the landlady, and then came to my room, saying the good man is dead. Judge of my surprise, since Calveyrac had just told me, only a moment before, that he had passed the night well, without uneasiness, and that he had risen at the usual hour. I ran and found him as I have told you, his hands and face quite warm, the mouth and eyes closed, without being changed. I confess to you, my dear brother, that this has touched my brother and me much, all the more so because we had not received his benediction, although he had often given it to us. But the poor man was not aware of his end, any more than ourselves, although he expected it at any moment, being very resigned and praying to God constantly. God give us grace to live as he has always lived, and to die in like manner in the fear of God! He died in his eighty-second year. For six days before his death he had not been out to go to church; but almost ever since the beginning of autumn he has had a very severe attack of his asthma and he did not sleep at all at night. Calveyrac has never left him, and has rendered him the last duties the same as we have. Alas! He is very happy, the poor man, for his life was only a long endurance of continual oppression, and he said very often, the good God will soon take me out of this. With all that he seemed to us to take the place of father. It is very true that he proved it to us by his actions during more than sixteen years that we have been with him. We ought, the whole family together, to honour his memory.' He was married to Suzanne de Rousset, but left no child. His death is registered in St. Giles-in-the-Fields, October 5, 1705.

In all the previous letters Paul had signed himself Labilliere and Pierre Naver; but in a postscript to the above my ancestor writes, 'I have taken the name of Labilliere because that younger sons are not distinguished by the name of the house, but by the name of baptism, so I am Pierre and my brother is Paul.'

In the Act naturalising Peter Bagneol and others, 13 Gul. III., No. 48, he is described as 'Peter de Labilliere, son of Charles de Labilliere and francois his wife, born in Languedock in ffrance.'

Paul was naturalised with Thomas St. Leger Bacalon and others, 1 Anne, No. 3, 1702.

The letter of November 3, 1705, is the last which exists, written by his brothers to François de la Gardiolle, who was killed on the night of August 27 or 28, 1706, at the siege of Turin. According to a letter of the Duc de Vendôme he distinguished himself in an attack on the entrenchments of Castlefouillet; he was dangerously wounded at Chiany in 1701, and for his services and wounds the French king, in 1702, conferred a pension of 400 livres on him, which continued to his descendants till 1790. He left a widow and infant son who resided at Vigan, in the house in which my wife and I have recently been so hospitably entertained. He and his brothers were the—

IX. Generation in the pedigree. His son was—

X. Charles Désiré de la Cour de la Gardiolle, who had a son—

XI. Charles Philibert de la Gardiolle, who as lieutenant in the French regiment of Dauphiné fought at the battle of Rosbach, about which he wrote some interesting letters which have been printed for private circulation by Baron de Cabiron. He saw much service, became colonel of his regiment, and died, leaving a son, the last male of the De la Gardiolle branch—

XII. Louis Marie de la Cour de la Gardiolle, who, as a young French naval officer of much promise, was taken prisoner with his ship, 'La Sérieuse,' at the battle of the Nile. Among the letters printed by Baron de Cabiron are some by

M. de la Gardiolle, giving very interesting particulars of the movements of the French fleet from its departure from Toulon and capture of Malta, to its destruction by Nelson. We had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of his widow, Madame de la Gardiolle, at Vigan. He left only one daughter, who was married to Baron de Cabiron.

But to return to the old correspondence. The remaining letters after the death of François are but few. The next from Paul (Captain Paul de Labilliere) to his sister-in-law, Madame de la Gardiolle, is dated London, June 15, 1717. He speaks of not having seen Mr. Roussi, 'merchant of this town,' who was going abroad, or he would have asked him to see her and her son before his return. 'My wound,' he says, 'inconveniences me much.' Probably that received at Tortosa.

Pierre (Captain Peter de Labilliere, my ancestor) writes from Dublin, January 25, 1727, to his nephew, Charles Désiré. He speaks of letters which he had sent through a friend, M. de Baysse, or Bayse. He mentions his two sons and three daughters, and says, 'There is every appearance that I shall have to serve. War appears inevitable. Spain is besieging Gibraltar. Being allied as we are with France, we might be able to see each other some day if God preserve us.'

He writes again from Dublin, October 13, 1727, expressing to Charles Désiré de la Gardiolle and his mother good wishes upon his marriage.

In both letters he gives directions about a cask of wine which his nephew was to send him to Dublin.

The next letter, the last written by Captain Pierre, from Dublin, January 8, 1745, to his nephew, speaks of a Mademoiselle de Crojroux de Meyrueis who had come over from France about the property of her late aunt, Mademoiselle de Vebron. He says that his eldest son Paul, my grandfather's father, was then in Charleston with a firm of very rich merchants. He refers to his nephew having seen Paul at his house at Vigan, the one in which I was staying, and says, 'He passed through severe hardships when he was prisoner at Barcelona, from whence released to go to Perpignan, afterwards to Marseilles. The poor boy finding himself without

friends or relations, and no money, an Irishman who had known him lent him upon his parole twenty pounds sterling, which makes 500 livres tournois, which I have paid here, thanking the person who lent it to him.'

I know nothing further as to how or when my father's grandfather came to be made prisoner of war at Barcelona, or of his stay at Charleston. He was in England in 1753, for he married in London, on March 5 of that year, Martha Bruguère, who lived till 1818.

In this letter Captain Peter de Labilliere also speaks of his younger son Pierre, who became Major Peter Labilliere, and died in 1800. He says, 'He is seventeen years old, and has studied nine years, and was ready to enter Dublin College. . . . The Viceroy has given me an ensign's commission for him, in consideration of my services, not being in a condition to serve his Britannic Majesty by reason of my indispositions, joined to my age. . . . He is doing his service here with the regiment as well as an old officer. He is very wide awake and lively. . . . It is true that his Latin and Greek may serve him, although he will be in the army. I wish to have him taught drawing and mathematics. Perhaps he may become an engineer. If his lot be to go to Port Mahon, he might be able to visit you. His pay is three-and-sixpence a day. . . . If I had been obliged to buy his commission it would have cost four hundred guineas.'

I possess two or three of Major Labilliere's commissions, and his engraved portrait. In accordance with an eccentric wish, expressed when he was very old, he was buried on the top of Boxhill.

IX. in the pedigree, Captain Peter de Labilliere, second son of the noble Charles de la Cour Seigneur de Labilliere, married at St. Bennet's, Upper Thames Street, February 2, 1703, Maque Françoise Reynaud, whose sister Esther was wife of another Huguenot officer, Captain Benjamin Malide, of Coffin's regiment, who came from Nevac in Guienne.

The births of six children of Captain Peter are to be found in the registers of St. Mary's and St. Patrick's French Churches, Dublin. Among the sponsors are the names of

Marguerite Corbette, Benjamin Malie, Elizabeth Jouvin, Jean Canton, officier, Marguerite Dons, Françoise Morel, Estienne Saurin, Marthe Boirrileau, and Madame de Pelletreau. The ministers who officiated were M. Degalinière and M. St. Paul.

Captain Peter de Labilliere must have died a few months after he had written the letter of January 8, 1745, for his will was proved in Dublin by his widow July 1, 1746. Three Huguenot names appear as witnesses to it—G. des Vœux, Dan. Gervais, and James Pelletreau. I have an old document with his signature to it, witnessed in Ireland by Michel Aigoïn and Dan. Aigoïn; also a receipt for a legacy paid by him to Ester Mercier. The will of his widow was also proved in Dublin, November 24, 1748, by her daughter Ann and the other executor, whom the testatrix describes as 'my good friend the Rev. James Pelletreau,' the well-known minister of the French Church in Dublin. The will was witnessed by Henry Dabzac and Dan. Gervais. The wills of Captain and Madame de Labilliere mention their children, Paul, Peter, Ann, and Martha.

Paul (Captain or Major Paul), who came over with Pierre (Captain Peter) and was the eldest of the four brothers, never married; he became senior captain with title of major in Colonel Dalzell's regiment. His name appears on the half-pay lists from about 1717 to 1734. I possess one of his commissions. Mr. Overend kindly informed me about two years ago that he had discovered in the Record Office a letter from him about his half-pay dated April 11, 1720, in which he mentions that he had been wounded at Tortosa. His death is mentioned in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1736. For the following extract about him, from the 'Kentish Post' of December 11, 1736, I am indebted to General Layard, who kindly communicated it to me, two years ago. 'On Tuesday, died at his house at Charing Cross, Major Paul Labbleair, formerly major or oldest captain in the regiment of foot under Colonel Stanhope, now Lord Harrington, in Spain. He was an old officer, and served in all the late campaigns in Flanders and Spain, and was on half-pay. He was of French extraction, and always behaved like a courageous, bold and brave

officer.' His death is registered in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

The last letter of the correspondence is a short one written from Dublin, August 10, 1764, by Paul Labilliere to his cousin at Vigan, in which he says: 'My brother, who is at present in London, has begged me to ask you to have the goodness to send him . . . the impression of the arms of our family' . . . to 'Major Labilliere, St. James's Coffee House, Piccadilly, London, . . . my brother having had the misfortune to lose my father's seal.'

On a portrait of the major which I have the arms are displayed. They are the same as those mentioned in the Armorial General of Montpellier-Montauban, an official record in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where a commission appointed by the King of France, December 4, 1696, in its report setting forth the names of persons entitled to bear arms, states at page 220—'20. Charles de la Cour S. de labilliere Porte de gueulle et un aigle esplayé d'or couronné d'azur, langué, bequé membré onglé d'argent.' This is the same as on the pedigree of Pierre de la Gardiolle, and also at the head of D'Hozier's article on the De la Cour de Montcamp branch.

On sending me the copy of the last of the letters, my good kind friend M. le Baron de Cabiron writes: 'Voilà la dernière lettre de la correspondance, après elle le silence se fait jusqu'en 1886, où vous avez eu la bonne pensée de le rompre;' and in another letter he says, 'Cette correspondance a duré 77 ans, interrompue par des intervalles plus ou moins long, mais pas abandonnée. Ces lettres, du moins les premières, ont près de 200 ans d'existence.' And now, since I have had the extreme pleasure of making the acquaintance of my very estimable relatives at Vigan, the family correspondence is being continued in the third century of its existence.

X. Paul, born in 1715, son of Pierre (Captain Peter de Labilliere), was 10th in descent. He had several children, but I know of only two who grew up, Jane, who died in 1837, and my grandfather—

XI. Peter, who was born July 25, 1766, and baptised by Rev. Jaques Pelletreau in the French Church, Dublin.

He had a number of children, most of whom died as infants, and all unmarried, except my father, with whom he went out to the infant colony of Victoria in 1839, where he died, and was buried in Melbourne in 1847.

XII. Charles Edgar, born August 4, 1801, died Nov. 2, 1870, was 12th in descent. I, his only child,

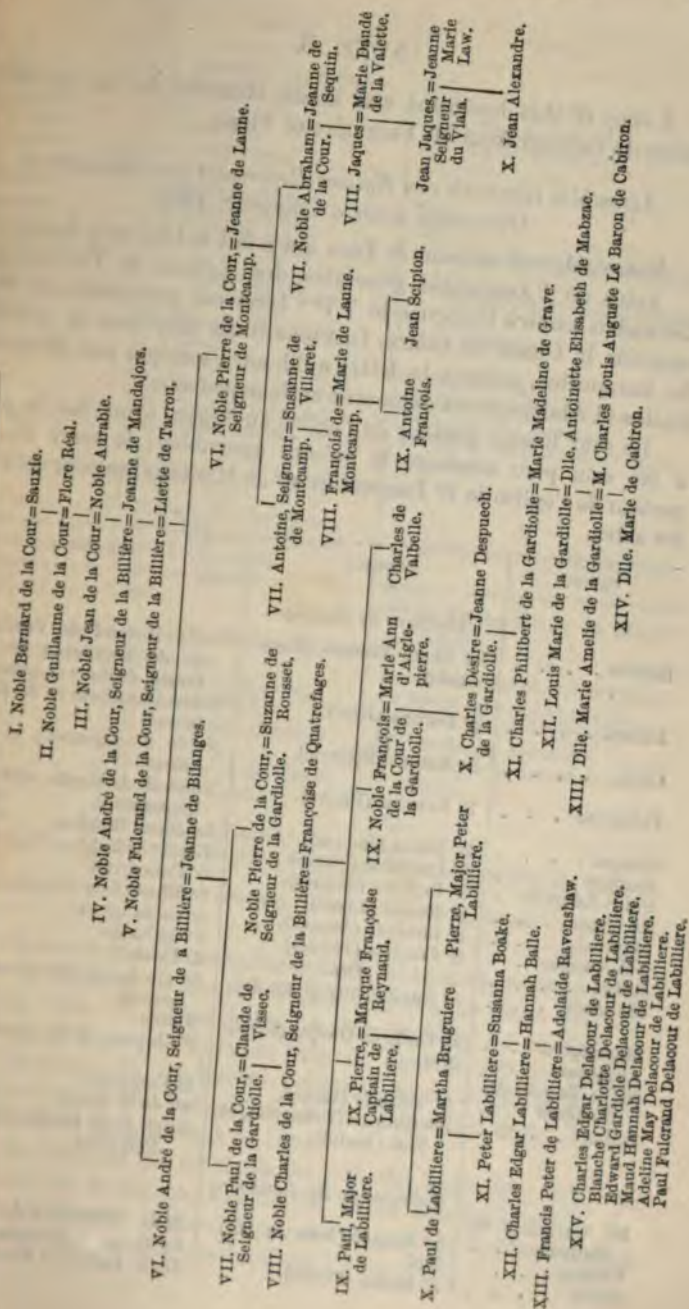
XIII. Francis Peter, am 13th; and my

XIV. Six children make the 14th generation.

Since my recent visit to Vigan and Aulas, it is most probable that for centuries the only two of my ancestors who never beheld the ancient home of the family were my father and grandfather. It was extremely interesting to see the old house of Charles de Labilliere, with its high flight of steps rising close to the entrance of the Church at Aulas, in which so many of the family were buried. Within stone's throw of the house, which Paul and Pierre left on account of 'the religion,' I attended afternoon service in the Protestant Temple. We were on two Sunday mornings at one of the three Protestant Churches at Vigan. The congregations were large, with a greater proportion of young men than I think I ever saw in any place of worship. The service was much like that of the Church of Scotland, but most of the prayers were read from a book. The Temples at Aulas and Vigan are of the Evangelical type—the old faith of good old Pierre de la Gardiolle, to which the members of the family in Great Britain have steadily adhered.

As I remarked to my relatives at Vigan, what a strange mingling of associations and recollections my visit produced in my mind!—of old world and of the newest of new world life; the idea of the family on the rock of Esparon six centuries ago; of so many of its members having lived in these Cevennes valleys; of one dying at the siege of Lerida; of La Gardiolle flying over rocks and mountains; of the journey of Paul and Pierre to Paris and Brissac; of the meeting of the four brothers at Brussels; of Charles de Valbelle's death at Mantua; of his father's assassination at Aulas; of François being killed at Turin; of 'the dear uncle's' life and death in London, and his burial in St. Giles-in-the-Fields; of Paul and

Pierre serving under William of Orange, and in Spain and Flanders; of the one buried close here in St. Martin's churchyard, the other in Dublin; of one member of the family fighting at the Battle of Rosbach, and his son made prisoner at the Nile; of my ancestor, a colonist in America; of my father and grandfather in Australia, where the latter lies buried; of my birth and early associations at the antipodes in the midst of the newest of new country growth—the rapid and unparalleled development of the great Australian section of the British United Empire—and finally of my reunion during the past summer with the family in its ancient Cevennes home after the separation of the branches for nearly two centuries.



NOTE B.

A copy of this document was kindly obtained for me by M. le Baron de Cabiron from M. Falguière of Vigan.

Assemblée Générale des Eglises Reformées des Cévennes et Gévaudan tenue à Cognac, 1683.

Notre aide soit au nom de Dieu qui a fait le Ciel et la terre.

Actes de l'Assemblée générales des Eglises de Cévennes et Gévaudan tenue à Cognac le 7 7^{bre} 1683 par permission de Monseigneur le Comte de Roure, Lieutenant du Roy dans la province du Languedoc, suivant la lettre qu'il en a escripte aux Messieurs Dalles (d'Alais) qui est demeurée en leur pouvoir.

Le seur Rossel, pasteur de l'église du Vigan, ayant fait la prière a été eslu pour conduire la présent assemblée; le sieur Pistoris pasteur de l'église de St Laurent et Mr de Montmoirac pour recueillir les actes.

Eglises	Pasteurs	Anciens
<i>Colloque de Sauvre.</i>		
Sauvre	Le Sieur Vincent (François).	Noble Durand de Vezénobre; S ^r de Ferrières; le S ^r de Claris, docteur et avocat.
Dufort	S ^r Dumas (Jean).	Noble Damabric S ^r de la Les- bière.
Cros	S ^r Robert (Etienne).	Noble S ^r Aubanel; et le S ^r Gérard.
Cognac	S ^r Fesquet (Pierre).	Noble S ^r Aubignac, et le S ^r de Bringuier.
Gauges	S ^r Blanc (Jaques).	Le Sieur Boudon.
Sumène	S ^r Daigoint (Pierre).	Les S ^{rs} Gérard et Flessières.
Saint-Laurens .	S ^r Pistoris (Jaques).	S ^r Caucarras.
Le Vigan	S ^r Rossel (Josué).	S ^r Dhorthet-de-l'Espigarié.
Meyrueis	S ^r Couderc (Jaques).	S ^r de Salignes.
Valleraugue . .	S ^r Combes (Jaques).	S ^r de Sales.
Avèze	Des.	S ^r Liron.
Molières	S ^r Barthélemy (Jean de).	S ^{rs} Guibal de Cavaillac et Fu- lougue.
Mandagout . . .	S ^r Gally de Gaujac (C.H.).	Nullus.
Aumessas	Nul.	S ^r Dupont S ^r de Bormels.
Saint Roman-de- Codières	S ^r Teissier (Isaac).	S ^r Camplan.
Aulas	S ^{rs} Dubruc (François), et Vial (André).	S ^{rs} de la Cour. Seig ^{rs} de la Billière, et de Ferrières.
<i>Colloque de St. Germain.</i>		
St. Germain de Calberte	S ^r Ducros (Jean Jaques).	S ^r de Sabatier S ^r de la Forest.
Vébron	Nul.	Le Seigneur de Salgas.
Barre	S ^r Motte (Pierre).	Le S ^r Baron de Barre.

Eglises	Pasteurs	Anciens
Frugères . . .	S ^r Reboutier (Jaques).	Nul.
Fraissinet . . .	S ^r Bouré (Jean).	Nul.
Castagnols . . .	Nul.	S ^r du Thérond.
St. Privat . . .	S ^r Dautun.	S ^r Teissier, avocat.
Le Coulet . . .	S ^r de la Porte.	—
St. Martin de Boubaux . . .	S ^r Guion (Jaques).	Nul.
Saumane . . .	S ^r Grougnat fils.	Nul.
Molezon . . .	S ^r Malbois (Paul).	S ^r de St. Martin S ^r de Brissac.
St. André de Val- borgue . . .	S ^r Pagézy (Jean).	S ^r Briuguier ; S ^r de la Palhole.
St. Julien d'Ar- pahon . . .	S ^r Mauries (Maugin) (Jean).	S ^r de Folaguier.
Gabriac . . .	S ^r Mazel (David).	S ^r Baume Marin.
Auduze . . .	Le S ^r Vincent (David).	S ^r Brunel, Diéve, et Flamen.
Alles . . .	S ^r Bouton, pere et fils.	S ^r Jassaud et Fontane.
Lasalle . . .	S ^r Portal (Moïse).	S ^r de la Rogue, et Guizard, medecin.
Monoblet . . .	Privat S ^r de la Rouquette (J. An.).	Nul.
St. Félix . . .	S ^r Bagards (Louis de).	Nul.
Mialette . . .	S ^r de Soustelle (Pierre).	S ^r de St. Brés, et de St. Benézet.
St. Paul-Lacoste	S ^r St. Olympies.	Nul.
St. Hilaire . . .	S ^r des Marets.	Nul.
St. Christol . . .	Nul.	S ^r de Trémoulet, et de Mont- moirails.
Vézénobre . . .	S ^r Dumas (François).	Nul.
Cassagnoles . . .	S ^r Verdier.	Noble de Rozal S ^r St. Sébastien.
Lédignan . . .	S ^r Cabrit (Théodore).	Le Sieur Jean d'Aigremont.
Aigremont . . .	S ^r Astruc (Pierre).	Le Sieur Baron d'Aigremont.
Cardet . . .	S ^r Fraissinet (David).	S ^r Boudon et Sabatier.
Lézan . . .	Nul.	Le Seigneur de Lézan Bilotia.
Bagards . . .	S ^r Baudan (Jean Henri).	S ^r Brunel.
Soudorgnes . . .	S ^r Darvien (de).	Nul.
Soustelle . . .	S ^r Dumas.	Nul.
Canaules . . .	S ^r Bouvier (Pierre).	Nul.
Thoiras . . .	S ^r Roux (Henri).	S ^r Deshours de Calviac de Las- sali.
Brenoux . . .	S ^r Audibert (Pierre).	Le S ^r Ribereineasse.

Ont été reçus dans l'Assemblée les gentilhommes suivants :

Pour le Colloque de Sauve.—Noble Pierre de la Cour, Seig^r de Lagardiole, Noble de Lafarelle ou La Farelle Seig^r de St Merceu, Noble Jean Béranger de Caladon Seig^r d'Espinasse, N. de Vailhac Seig^r de Monségu, N. de Lताल Seig^r de Valamon, Noble Jaques de Foucquet Seig^r de Boissebard, N. de Vignolles Seig^r de St. Bonnet, N. de la Roque Seig^r de Lione.

Pour le Colloque de St. Germain.—N. de Vignolles, Seig^r de Montvailhan, le S^r de La Valette, S^r de la Garde, le S^r de St Estienne, le S^r des Jugues Baron de Cadouène, Noble Jacques Béranger de Caladon Seig^r de La Caze.

Pour le Colloque d'Anduze.—Le Sieur Baron de Malerargues, le S^r Baron de St. Christol de Montmoirac, le S^r du Meyrieux de Maleargues, le S^r d'Aubressargues, le S^r Boudan père, le S^r de la Bécède, le S^r de Cardet, le S^r de S^t Hilaire Roqueservière, le S^r de Baudan fils, le S^r de Cassaignolles, le S^r de Cornelis, le S^r de la Salette Cleiran, le S^r de Las Courts.

Des autres gentilhommes qui peuvent être dans le présent lieu.—La compagnie a député un pasteur et un ancien pour aller les autres Mess^{rs} gentilhommes que peuvent estre dans le présent lieu de rendre incessamment à l'assemblée.

Des Messieurs nommés pour la direction des affaires.—Les Messieurs nommés pour la direction des affaires ont rendu compte par la bouche de M^r d'Olimpies de tout ce qu'ils avaient fait jusqu'à présent et leur conduite a été approuvée.

De la concertation pour examiner en particulier les affaires sur lesquelles exhoit de deliberer dans cette assemblée.—La compagnie a nommé par aller concerter tout presentement des affaires qui doivent être traitées dans cette assemblée, pour le Colloque de Sauve, les Sieurs Rossel et Daigoin, pasteurs, et les S^{rs} de Ferrières et de l'Espigarié, anciens.

Pour le Colloque d'Anduze.—Les Sieurs Bouton père, et Olympie, pasteurs, et les S^{rs} de Baudan et Flamen, anciens.

Pour le Colloque de St. Germain.—Les S^{rs} de la Porte et de la Coste, pasteurs, et les S^{rs} de Salgas et de la Valette, anciens.

Des habitants de St. Hippolyte faisant profession de notre religion.—Sur le rapport fait à la compagnie par les susdits commissaires, les habitants de St. Hippolyte se sont présenté à l'assemblée et ont juré et protesté par la bouche de leurs députés qu'ils ont pour notre Grand Monarque tous les sentiments de respect et de vénération dont des bons sujets peuvent être capables et qu'ils conserveront toujours pour sa Majesté une fidélité inviolable, leur religion, leur naissance et leur propre inclination les y tenant attachés ; et n'ayant rien fait qui tende à troubler la tranquillité publique priant la compagnie de vouloir inserer dans les actes de l'assemblée la présente declaration.

La compagnie étant persuadée et informée de la fidélité et de l'innocence des dits habitants de St. Hippolyte, les a exhortés à y persévérer pendant toute leur vie, louant au surplus leur zèle et leur piété.

De la députation vers M^r le Comte du Roure, lieutenant du Roy dans cette province, et vers M^r l'Intendant.—Ont été nommés pour aller assurer M. le Comte du Roure, de l'invincible fidélité de toutes les Eglises des Cévennes et Gévaudan et en particulier de celle des

habitants de St. Hippolyte pour le service de Sa Majesté de laquelle tous les députés qui composent cette Assemblée ont protesté, qu'ils ne se départiront jamais, et pour le supplier de vouloir en informer Sa Majesté et de vouloir intercéder envers elle pour leur faire sentir à tous nos frères les effets de sa bienveillance royale et les faire jouir d'une entière liberté de conscience, conformément à l'Edit de Nantes.

Pour le Colloque de Sauve.—M. de la Nougarède de la Garde, auquel a été substitué, en cas de légitime excuse, M. Fouquet de Boissbart.

Pour le Colloque de St. Germain.—M^r le Baron de Barre, auquel a été substitué M^r de la Forest.

Pour le Colloque d'Anduze.—M^r le Baron de Mallerargues, auquel a été substitué Monsieur de Meirieyres, son frère. La compagnie a aussi chargé les mêmes députés d'aller faire de même protestations et supplications à M^r D'Aguesseau, Intendant de cette province.

De l'envoi des pasteurs pour prêcher à St. Hippolyte.—Les députés des habitants de notre religion de St. Hippolyte ayant demandé à la dite compagnie d'estre consolés par les Pasteurs de cette province, a été unanimement délibéré que M^{rs} du Consistoire du Vigan qui ont la direction, auront le pouvoir d'y envoyer tel Pasteur de la province que bon leur semblera, ensuivant pourtant autant qu'il se pourra, la table du synode et de tour des colloques.

Après quoi le Modérateur ayant rendu grâces à Dieu, de son assistance, et donnée la bénédiction, la Compagnie s'est séparée.

La présente copie a été collationnée sur l'original, écrit de la main de Josué Rossel Pr. du Vigan qui est aux archives de l'Hérault, fonds de l'Intendance, Archives Civiles C. 178, les fautes soigneusement corrigées. Les noms des Pasteurs ont été corrigés d'après une liste des Pasteurs qui devaient sortir de France copie aux mêmes archives.

NOTE C.

I am also indebted for a copy of this document to M. le Baron de Cabiron.

LE VIGAN.

Deliberation du 24 Juillet, 1684.

L'an mil six cens quatre vingtz quatre et le 24^e jour du mois de juillet, environ l'heure de neuf de matin, par devant et dans la maison d'habitation de Mr M^e Jaques Daudé, S^r de la Coste conseiller du roy et son juge en la ville et vignerie du Vigan, assisté de Mr M^e Claude de Lautal procureur du roy—Assemblés en Conseil, S^r Jacques Liron S^r d' Airolles, assesseur de Scindic et autres soubs signés tous habitants de la ville du Vigan faisant profession de la religion préthendue réformée.

Par le dit sieur Liron assesseur de Scindic a été proposé que la Compagnie de Chevaux-Légers de Mr le Chevalier de Rondet, est en garnison en la présente ville par ordre de Monseig^r le Marquis de Montanégre, Lieutenant Général pour le roy en ceste province depuis le 4^e du courant, et comme il est du tout impossible aux habitants de la religion prethendue reformée de la dite ville de pouvoir un plus long temps à la paye et subsistance de la dite compagnie à cause de leur misère et des grandes foules qu'ils ont souffertes, estant nécessaire de faire députation devers Mond^t Seigneur le Marquis de Montanégre pour lui représenter le triste état ou se trouvent les dits habitants.

Il a convoqué la présente assemblée pour y deslilierer et fere choix de telles personnes qu'elle jugera à propos.

Sur quoi, après que la dite proposition a esté entendue et murement examinée par un chacun des subz-nommés a esté délibéré d'une commune voix et oppinion que charge est donnée à Noble Pierre de la Cour, S^r de la Gardiolle et au dit S^r Liron assesseur de Scindic, de se rendre incessamment à la suite de Mondit Seigneur le Marquis de Montanégre pour lui représenter avec un profond respect l'estat d'humilité, de soubmission et d'obeissance où se trouvent les dits habitants, et le supplier d'estre fortement persuadé qu'ils seront toujours en estat de faire paroistre leur zèle et leur fidélité inviolable pour le service du roy et mesme pour le prier très instamment de la part des dits habitants de vouloir implorer grace et miséricorde pour eux envers Sa Magesté, et cependant, attendu que pour subvenir aux logements qu'ils ont souffertz actuellement depuis le 9^e Octobre dernier, et à l'occasion desquelz

ils ont fourni par des emprunts ou des cotisations plus de 100,000 livres, ils ont entièrement épuisé tout ce qu'ils pouvaient avoir en argent, en dettes, en damées et en marchandises, et qu'ils se trouvent par conséquent dans une impuissance involontaire de pourvoir un plus long temps à la paye de la dite compagnie.

Charge est aussi donnée aux dits députés de le représenter à Mondit Seigneur le Marquis de Montanégre et de le supplier très humblement de leur accorder le deslogement de la compagnie de chevaux de Monsieur Desportz qui estoit aussi en garnison en la présente ville et lui présenter les soubzmissions et obeissances des dits habitants.

Et les sieurs députés seront relevés de la dite députation. Et ainsi a esté conclud et délibéré.

Les seachant escrire se sont signés, les autres illitrés.

DAUDÉ juge

DE LAUTAL procureur du roy

LAGARDIOLLE

LIRON

DEBAGART

DEMONTFAULCOR

GUIRAUD — RAUDON — BELON — CAIROL — LAPIERRE — VIVENS —
LAPIERRE — LAPIERRE — FAVENTINES — ROUSSET — PINTARD —
BERNARD — VALETTE — ABRIC — DE LA FABRÈGUE — VILLE-
MEJANE — GRAILHE — UNAL — FINIELS — GOUT — PEYRENC —
VALETTE — HUBAC — CAMBESSEDES — FINIELS — TEISSIER —
MARCELIN — FABRE — CAULET — VILLEMÉJANE — SALES —
PEYRENC — J. SALLES — LEQUES — FLOTARD — DESMONTZ — DE
LA COUR — SOLLIER — LEQUES — VALAT — PUECH — ANGELY —
D'AIROLLES — SEQUIN — HILAIRE — VILLARET — FAVIERES —
CAMBESSEDES — PINTARD — FINIELS ET CABANIS.

Signés.

NOTE D.

In *L'Écho des Cévennes* of October 2, 1887, published at Vigan, there is an article by M. Alp. Falguière upon the 'Ratification des franchises d'Aulas en 1654.' The town, he states, is about two kilomètres from Vigan, and contains 850 inhabitants. It was known in the eleventh century, and contained seventeen households in 1884. The following are extracts from the document respecting its franchises :—

'L'an 1654, et le 10 Mars, régnant prince Louis etc., dans la place publique d'Aulas se sont présentés Daniel de Mercier, sieur de Salet, Consul de la dite ville, M^e Antoine Maurin, Consul de

Bréau ; M^e Pierre Mazel, Consul de Bréaunèse ; M^e Etienne Galar, Consul d'Arphy, assisté de Nobles Pierre de Caladon, Seigneur de Lannéjol ; André de la Cour, Seigneur de la Billière ; Jaques de Caladon, Seigneur de la Caze ; Etienne et Pierre de Caladon frères ; Sieurs du Boisset et de Clapices ; Jaques de Mercier, Jean et Marc d'Arnifs ; Sieur Jean et autre Jean de Ricard, écuyers ; Noble Guillaume de Grailhe, Seigneur de Plaslongs, Capitaine français ; Hubac Etienne, Pierre et David Arual frères, Pierre Boisson Capitaine ; M^e Louis Corbettes, notaire, et M^e Jaques Reilhan, bachelier en droit, tous habitants d'Aulas ;—Noble Etienne de Mahistre, M^e Gabriel Dunal, docteur en droit ; Noble Etienne Dunal ; M^e Antoine Parlongue, notaire ; le Sieur Mahistre Bourgeois ; le Sieur Mazel, aussi bourgeois ; Pierre Gallary, Guillaume Brunel, Antoine Valette, Isaac Nogarède, des lieux de Bréau et Arphy, et plusieurs autres faisant la plus saine partie des habitants de la dite ville et paroisse.—Lesquels par l'organe du Seigneur de Salet, consul moderne de la dite ville, dressant leurs propos a Messire Christoffe de Montfaucon, Seigneur de Vissec et du Claux, baron d'Hierle.'

The privileges which Aulas possessed since the thirteenth century are then set forth, respecting which M. Falguière remarks : 'Peu de communes en France possédaient de franchises aussi étendues.'

These, the document states, had been confirmed by the Noble Guillaume d'Anduze Seigneur et Baron d'Hierie in 1275, by Noble Pons de Saint-Just in 1280, by Noble Bernard de Saint-Just in 1290, and by Gilbert de Peyrefort 1374, and these ratifications had been received by M^{rs} Horson de la Salle, Guillaume Giraud, and other notaries.

The Seigneur Christoffe de Montfaucon Baron d'Hierle having confirmed the franchises, the document goes on to say that those present 'ont remercié le dit baron de sa bonne volonté et lui ont prêté le serment de fidélité la main levée par chacun d'eux à Dieu, suivant la forme de la religion réformée.'

MM. Boissire et Valette were nominated on behalf of the Seigneur and MM. Condamine et Rousset, of the consuls, to see to the registration of the document, which thus concludes :—

'Fait et récitè ou que dessus présent Sieur Mallet, apothicaire du Vigan, M^e Pierre Roux, docteur en droit de la ville d'Aubin en Rouergue ; M^e François de Lapierre, praticien de Valleraugue, signés avec ledit Seigneur baron et autres sachant écrire, et nous, M^e André Bastide, Notaire royal de Molieres, qui avons reçu note de laquelle le présent grossage a été tiré. ALP. FALGUIÈRE.'

NOTE E.

The following is copied from a very old document kindly given me by Baron de Cabiron :—

1492.

‘ Convocation du ban et arrière ban.

‘ Le ban et arrière ban des Seigneurs et gentilshommes et autres tenant fiefs, nobles de la sénéchaussée de Beaucaire ci-apres nommés qui sont venus et se sont presentés à l’assemblée du Ban et arrière Ban faite par devant noble homme Thomas de Venéjan ecuyer, Seigneur de Cassaignoles, lieutenant lai de M^e Le Sénéchal de Beaucaire, Commissaire en cette partie par le roy notre sire par ses lettres pattantes sur ce octroyées données à Paris le X^e jour d’avril dernier passé, pour recevoir le serment de faculté accoutumée des dits nobles et leur faire les commandements d’en tenir tout prêts en leurs maisons en bon habillement de guerre selon la quantite et qualité de leurs fiefs, terres et seigneuries pour partir et aller avant, ainsi que par le dit Sl. de briefs leur sera mandé et ordonne et feut faite la dite asssemblée les 14^e XIII. XX. XXIII. et XX6 jour de May l’an mil quatre cent quatre vingt et douze.

‘ Premièrement les hommes d’armes des trois Diocezes Basses—

‘ Messere Guillaume de Calvisson Seigneur de Calvisson deux lances cy—II Lances.

‘ Le Seigneur de la farre, &c.

‘ Brigantiniens à deux chevaux des dites trois diocezes.

‘ Claude Dauriac Seigneur de lois en la viguerie d’anduze un brigantinier à deux chevaux—1 Brigand 2 Chev.

‘ Guillaume de Narbonne d’Anduze un Brigantinier &c. a un cheval des trois diocezes Basses.

‘ Noble Jean de Monteulliers Seig^r de Servac en la viguerie de Saumières un Brigantinier—1 Brigand.

‘ Jaques Saurat Seig^r en partie de Bernis &c. arbalestrier des trois diocezes Basses.

‘ Noble Jean Caladon du Vigan un arbalestrier a trosse—Pierre de la baulme, &c.

‘ Noble Bertrand de la Court du lieu d’Aulas un arbalestrier a trosse.

‘ Noble Guillaume Carrière du lieu de St. André de Valborgue à la viguerie d’Anduze &c.

‘ Féaudatoire demurant en l’eveche d’Uzes ; et premièrement Fornier Blanchon de S^t Ambroise a Baillée sa nommée est value une charge d’orge.

ANT^h DE CASTILHON &c.’

Extrait sommairement tiré du livre du Ban et arrière Ban des gentilshommes de la senechaussée de Baucaire sujet aux Bans couverts de parchemains, cotté au dos par No. 4, paquet du Ban de la Senechaussée, étant aux archives royaux de Nismes dum^e collationné par moi garde d'iceux. Soussigne ce Septieme Octobre mil six cent septante neuf,

DE LA GORCE signé.
Scellé au, &c.

J'ai l'expédié en mon pouvoir,
DE LA COUR LA GARDIOLLE.

NOTE F.

The following is taken from the official copy, kindly obtained for me by the Baron de Cabiron from the Archiviste of Hérault, of the judgment of nobility pronounced in favour of Pierre Seigneur de la Gardiolle and his nephew Charles Seigneur de Labilliere :—

Extrait des registres déposés aux Archives du département de l'Hérault, Série B.

Extrait du registre numéro cinquante, folio cent quarante trois. . . .

‘Relief de noblesse en faveur des Sieurs Pierre et Charles de la Cour.

‘Louis, par la grace de Dieu roy de France et de Navarre a nos ames et feaux Conseillers les gens tenans nostre cour des Aydes a Montpellier salut.

‘Nos bien ames Pierre de la Cour escuyer Sr de Gardiolle et Charles de la Cour escuyer Sr de la Billiere, nous ont tres humblement fait remontrer qu'ils sont issus de noble en antienne race de nostre province de Languedoc, que leur pere, ayeul et bis-ayeul et autres encestres ont tousjours vescu noblement, que pendant qu'ils ont esté en estat de servir ils ont continuellement porté les armes pour nostre service ou des Roys nos predecesseurs et notamment Paul de la Cour escuyer Sr de la Gardiolle pere du dit Charles ayant servy durant plusieurs années sous le feu Comte d'Harcour lieutenant general des armes du feu Roy nostre tres honore Seigneur et pere que Dieu absolve, et s'est trouve au siège de Lerida en l'année mil six cent quarante siz et plusieurs autres occasions auxquelles il a donné des preuves de sa valeur fidelité et affection pour nostre service; et quoy que la noblesse de leur famille soit notoire dans la dite province, qu'elle soit justifiée par des

tiltres valables et authentiques depuis plus de deux siecles, néanmoins leurs ennemis auroit suscité Alexandre Belleguise charge du recouvrement des taxes quy ont esté faites sur les usurpateurs des tiltres de noblesse en la dite province, lequel auroit fait assigner les exposants par devant le Sieur Bezons lors intendant de justice en la dite province pour représenter les tiltres de leur noblesse a quoy ils ont satisfait et par des tiltres incontestables ont plainement justifié leur extraction de plus de deux siecles ; néanmoins sous prétexte que Guillaume de la Cour l'un de leurs aieus qui estoit propriétaire d'un moulin qu'on appelle a drap et auquell se foule et par des estoffes de laines, auroit esté obligé ses derniers années apres avoir consommé ses forces, sa jeunesse et la plus grande partie de son bien au service des Roys nos aieuls ; cette pocession auroit donné lieu a une prethendue qualité de pareur de draps quy a esté donné au dit Guillaume il y a plus de cent ans dans une copie escripte en latin non signée d'un prethendu testament du dit Guillaume de la Cour ; et que le dit André de la Cour l'un des dits ayeuls pendant sa jeunesse se trouvant cadet de sa famille avec peu de bien pour se maintenir dans l'estat le moins avantageux auroit exercé durant quelques années un office de notaire royal, et le dit Pierre de la Cour, Sr de la Gardiolle auroit avec quelques parents, il y a trente ans pres affermé le benefice de Blandas ce qu'il n'a fait lors que pour avoir des pailles pour servir à la nourriture de ses chevaux qui luy estoient nécessaires pour nostre service ; et sous ce pretexte le traitant auroit soutenu que les susdits cas estoient une derogance a leur noblesse, sur quoy il a esté rendu un jugement contre les exposants le quatorze Octobre mil six cent soizante huit par lequel ils auroient esté déclarés roturiers et condamnés, scavoir le dit Pierre en mil livres et les deux sols pour livre d'amande et aux depans moderés a cinquante livres et le dit Jacques, a cinq cent livres et les deux sols pour livre et aux depans moderés a vingt cinq livres pour le payment desquelles amandes et depans ils ont esté poursuivis par des rigoureuses contraintes executions et vente de leurs meubles en sorte qu'ils y ont satisfait, et d'autant que les dits esposans ont justifié une pocession de noblesse de plus de deux cens ans sans aucune derogance que celle cy dessus exposée quy ne provient quand celle du dit Guillaume seroit véritable que pour avoir consommé son bien au service de nos predecesseurs Roys et de nostre estat, ce quy donne lieu aux exposans de nous requérir humblement attendu mesme le payment qu'ils ont fait des damandes de les vouloir relever des susdites derogances et leur en faire expédier nos lettres sur ce nécessaires.

' A ces causes, disant favorablement traiter les dits exposants et

leur donner des marques de la satisfaction que nous avons de leurs services et de leurs prédécesseurs, nous vous mandons que notre procureur General et autres quy peuvent avoir interet appelés par devant vous que s'il vous appert par tiltres bons valables et authentiques que les esposans sont issus de noble et ancienne race que leur pere, ayeul, bis et tres ayeul ayent vecu noblement sans autre derogance que celle cy dessus esnoncée, vous, au dit cas, les fairesz jouir de tous les privileges et immunités dont jouissoient et ont accoutume de jouir les autres gentilhommes de nostre royaume tant et sy longuement qu'ils vivront noblement et ne fairoient acte desrogeant a noblesse nonobstant et sans vous arreter aux susdites derogances ny au susdit jugement, des quelles derogances nous avons levé et dispensé les dits esposans par ces presentes.

' Signées de nostre main.

' Sy vous mandons que ces dites presentes vous ayes a faire registrer et du contenu en icelles jouir et uzer les dit esposans et leurs enfens posterite et ligne nais et a naistre en loyal mariage plainement et paisiblement à la charge de payer la taille pour la presente annee en cas qu'ils se trouvent y avoir été imposés sans que le dit payment puisse prejudicier à l'advenir a leur noblesse.

' Car tel est nostre plaisir.

' Donné a Saint Germain en Laye le huitieme jour de May mil six cent soizante dix neuf et de nostre regne le trente sizieme,

' LOUIS signé

' et plus bas par le roi PHELIPEAUX, signé

' et seillée du grand sceau de cire jaune à simple queue.

' Les presentes ont este registres en registre de la Cour des Comptes aydes et finances pour jouir par les impetrans leur enfans postereté et lignié nais et a naistre en legitime mariage de l'effet et contenu d'icelles, ouy le procureur general du Roy suivant l'arrest de ce jour d'huy.

' fait a Montpellier ce vingt septieme Septembre mil six cent quatre vingt,

' Signé POUGET.

Pour copie conforme et pour expédition.

Montpellier le huit juillet mil huit cent quatre vingt six,

S^e LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL,

LE CONSEILLER DE PRÉFECTURE DÉLÉGUÉ,

ROUELLY.

Visé pour collation

L'Archiviste departmental,

L. DE LA PIZARDIÈRE.

At the end is the stamp of the Prefect of Hérault.

NOTE G.

The following notes, dated April 2, 1886, under stamp of the Mairie, were most kindly sent to me by M. Brunschevig, Mayor of Aulas, with a letter of April 5, 1886, in response to mine of November 3, 1885, asking for information.

Notes, recueillies au Secrétariat de la Mairie d'Aulas (Gard) dans les Archives du Vigan, &c. :—

1616. Paul de la Court, fils à Noble André de la Court et Demoiselle Jehanne de Bilanges est né le 26 l'Avril 1616 et présenté à baptême le 15 jour de Mai du dit an, par Noble Fulcrand de la Court Seigneur de la Belière et Demoiselle Marthe Galtier femme du Sieur Bilanges.

1616. David de la Court, fils à Pierre de la Court et Marie Raudon (or Randon) est né le 6 de Septembre 1616 et présenté à baptême par David Raudon et Jehanne de la Court le 18 du dit mois.

1620. Blanche de François Anne de la Court fille à François de la Court fille à François la Court et Jeanne Soulière est née environ la fin d'Avril 1620 et présentée à baptême le 21 Août par Pierre de la Court et Anne Soulière.

1622. Fulcrand de la Court, fils à Noble André de la Court et de Demoiselle Jehanne de Bilanges est né le 1 jour de fevrier 1622 et présenté à baptême le 16 du dit mois par le S^r Amans de Bilanges docteur et avocat du Vigan et Demoiselle Eliette de Tarron.

1624. Pierre de la Court, fils à Noble André de la Court et Demoiselle Jehanne (ou Jeanne) de Bilanges est né le 29 de Novembre 1624 et présenté à baptême le 15 de Decembre par Noble Pierre de la Court et Demoiselle Francoise de Perrier femme du Sieur de Blanquefort.

Nota. La famille de Bilanges était originaire du Vigan.

1624. Naissance d'Antoinette, fille de Pierre de la Court et Marie Raudon née le 9 fevrier 1624, baptisée le 3^e de Mars.

1626. 19 fevrier Noble Fulcrand et André de la Court, père et fils, S^r de la Bélière assistent au Conseil général de la Commune d'Aulas, assemblé devant le Temple et délibérant relativement à la demande du Duc de Rohan, d'imposer dans la vignerie du Vigan 62 quintana de cuivre pour la fonte de 2 canons.

1627. François de la Court, fils à Noble André de la Court et Demoiselle Jeanne de Bilanges, est né le 13 de 7^{bre} 1627 et pré-

senté à baptême le 21 de Novembre du dit an, par Noble François de Caladon et Demoiselle Gentille de Bilanges.

1628. Marguerite de la Court fille à Pierre de la Court et de Marie Raudon est née le et présentée à baptême le 16 de Janvier 1628 par David de la Court et Antoinette Raudon.

1628. En 1628 M^r de la Bellière fut cotisé pour sa portion des fortifications du Vigan, la quantité de une canne sept pans (Archives d'Aulas).

1629. Catherine de la Court fille à Noble André et Damoiselle Jehanne de Bilanges est née le 26^e d'Octobre 1629 et présenté à baptême le 23 de Decembre du dit an par Estienne de Bilanges docteur et avocat, Seigneur de Blanquefort et Damoiselle Catherine de la Court femme à Noble François de Caladon, Seigneur du Boisset.

Blanquefort est situé dans la Commune d'Arrigas pres Aumessas à 17 kilometres du Vigan.

Le hameau du Caladon est situé dans la commune d'Aumessas à 12 kilometres du Vigan.

Le Boisset est situé dans la Commune d'Aulas.

1629. Jehan Nouys, fils à moi Jehan Nouys, pasteur de l'Eglise d'Aulas et Louise de Nissolle est né le Mardi 13^e de Mars 1629 et présenté au baptême le lendemain par Noble Paul de la Court Seigneur de la Gardiolle, et ce au nom du Sieur Jehan Nissolle absent frère de ma dite femme et Marie de Nouys ma fille.

1632. David fils à Pierre de la Court du Bruël et Marie Randonne est né le 23 de février 1632 et présenté à baptême par David Randon et Marthe Mazel le 16 Avril 1632.

Le Bruël est situé dans la Commune de Bréau près Aulas.

1637. Paul Nadal fils à François Nadal et Marthe Mourgues, est né le 22 d'Octobre 1637 et présenté à baptême le 20^e de Novembre par Noble Paul de la Court Seigneur de la Gardiolle, docteur et avocat au parlement et Demoiselle Claude de Vissec.

Extrait des registres tenus par les pasteurs d'Aulas.

1664. Marguerite fille de François de la Court et Suzanne Unaille, née le 11 jour du mois de Janvier du dit an (1664) présenté à baptême par David de la Court et Marguerite Unaille.

1664. Décès.—Monsieur André de la Court sieur de Labillière est décédé Jeudi 29^e Mars 1664.

1666. Claude, fille de Noble Charles de la Court Sieur de la Bellière est née le 15^e jour de Janvier 1666, présenté à baptême par Sieur Etienne Quatrefages de Breau et Demoiselle de Vissec.

The attendance of Charles Seigneur de Labilliere and Pierre

Seigneur de la Gardiolle, in 1688, at the Assemblée Générale des Eglises Reformées at Cognac, and also the latter being deputed in 1684 to wait on the Marquis de Montanègre respecting the troops quartered on Vigan, are next referred to, as recorded in the Archives de l'intendance à Montpellier and the Archives Communes du Vigan (*see* pages 392, 396, and 397).

1704. L'an 1704 le 28^e jour du mois d'avril a été enterré Noble Charles de la Cour sieur de la Bilière, âgé d'environ septante ans, décédé le jour d'hier, présents sieur François Boulet et Jean Desperiés, soussignés avec nous aussi soussigné,

Signé: BOULET, DESPERIÉS et MASSANES Curé.

Notes prises sur l'ancien Compoix ou Cadastre d'Aulas.

1^o Compoix de 1565, Bertrand de la Court est inscrit pour ses contributions au folio 237.

1565. 2^o. M^{re} Andrien de la Court possède 20 articles à partir du folio 180,

1565. 3^o. M^e Andrien de la Court demeurant à Barre (Lozère) est inscrit au folio 212.

1647. Compoix de 1647, folio 49, Daniel Mercier des Salechs confronte à Valbelle Noble André de la Court.

Valbelle est située dans la Vallée et sur le territoire d'Aulas.

Compoix de 1647, folio 40, Noble André de la Cour Sieur de la Belieyere confronte par sa maison l'église; il possède un grand nombre de terres entre autres une vigne, oliviers et muriers au quartier de Las Cours ou la Court portant aujourd'hui le même noms. &c.

Foreign Refugees at Rye.

By W. J. HARDY, F.S.A.

RYE in Sussex—formerly a very important commercial centre, and possessing an excellent harbour—was the port most generally used by French ships coming to England from Dieppe; hence a very large number of the religious refugees who, about the middle of the sixteenth and end of the seventeenth century, fled from that part of France for protection in England naturally landed at Rye, many permanently settling in the town and in its immediate neighbourhood. As a regular passage had been for long established between the two ports, Dieppe and Rye, we naturally find in local records of the latter place a number of foreign names at times anterior to those at which the religious refugees first arrived, and so we must be careful not to set down too hastily every foreigner settled there, after the refugees had come to the town, as *a religious exile*.

I had, perhaps, better state at this point that the entries I have copied from the parish register (all of which will be printed in an appendix to this Paper) are only those distinguished as being owned by Protestant refugees; hence my extracts from the earlier volumes of the register stop about the year 1600, and from the later volumes soon after the year 1700. After these periods respectively refugees remaining in Rye, who had come with either influx, would be no longer specially referred to as 'strangers,' or as persons sojourning there for the sake of their faith.

A great deal of what I am going to say to-night is not altogether new. The late Mr. Durrant-Cooper's Paper, printed in the 13th volume of the *Collections* of the Sussex

Archæological Society, goes over much the same ground as I now propose to travel; but I think it best to embody the facts brought forward by Mr. Cooper, with such additional ones as I have been able to collect, in order that a somewhat connected history of the Rye settlement may be presented to you. I must also observe that Mr. Cooper was evidently not sufficiently careful in revising his Paper, for—as it appears in the *Sussex Archæologia*—mistakes, especially in names of persons and places, are very frequent.

The progress of Protestantism in the parts of France around Dieppe was evidently watched with considerable interest by the good people of Rye. Each day, on the arrival of a vessel from across the Channel, the traveller from France was closely interrogated by the merchants and others whose business or inclination took them down to the quay; and the scraps of information so gathered were hastily carried to the Mayor or some other high officer in the town, who in turn embodied them in news letters to Walsingham, Cecil, or the Council. In January 1562 Cecil learnt in this way that the congregations of Rouen and Dieppe were 'in good hope their religion shall prosper.' News of a 'tumult' between the Catholics and Protestants at Paris was brought to Rye early in May. As the religious war gradually spread, and as it became necessary for Elizabeth's Council to learn the most accurate information of what was happening in France, Cecil seems to have sent a messenger specially to Rye to enquire into the truth by all reports that came there, and to send on to London the news he considered really reliable. As a matter of fact, however, the first intimation of the outbreak of hostilities between the religious factions at Dieppe reached Cecil from another source—from Sir Richard Sackville, who was at Rye with the Commissioners of Sewers looking after the coast defences. He writes under the date of May 27, 1562, and says: 'There came a passenger out of Fraunce from Depe, that declared to us that the day that he came from Depe, being yesterday, there was at Depe a grete conflycte betweene the Protestantes and the Papysts, and cl. of the Protestantes slayne, and the Capten of Depe sore hurte. . . .

Scribled in hast, thys xxvij. of May at Ry, 4 of the clocke at after none, 1562.'¹

In June reports from abroad were 'most conflicting,' although Cecil's messenger talked with English or strangers to serve his purpose the better. 'M. de Fort,' the Captain of Dieppe, had been heard to say 'in case of necessity he had rather the town were in the Queen's than Papists' hands.' A few days later Cecil's correspondent writes: 'The French Protestants are yet in the flower of this war, and have not tasted adversity yet.' He adds that their successes over the Duc d'Aumale make them 'insolent,' and induce them to think themselves strong without foreign aid. A little later news of a religious dispute at Calais reached Rye. The Governor had sent all the Protestants to Becque, whence they went to Dieppe. The Protestants at Calais expressed their desire to be 'again under English rule.' The successive reports that reached Rye were from this time practically the same in effect; they all bore testimony to the fact that the success of the Protestants was general, and that 'in Paris alone the Papists reign.' Nevertheless the influx of French Protestants had already begun—I am speaking of the late summer or early autumn of 1562. Cecil's correspondent writes in August that 'daily many come out of France into England.' The parish register at Rye contains the record of a large number of foreign names amongst the burials just at this period, though none of those buried are distinctly described as religious refugees.

Elizabeth's treaty with the Prince of Condé, which led to our unfortunate occupation of Havre, was signed at Hampton Court on September 10, and steps were at once taken for despatching English troops to France, many from Rye. From want of arms, however, and a variety of other circumstances the departure of these troops was very much delayed, the delay causing great uneasiness to the French Protestants. A considerable portion of the troops to be embarked were waiting at Rye, and whilst they were there, Cecil learnt from his correspondent that the Duc d'Aumale made but light of

¹ *State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* vol. xxiii. No. 30.

the English preparations, and was very sarcastic on the subject of the delay in despatching the English troops. 'Well,' he exclaimed, 'let them make themselves merry for a while; the winter and famine will cause them to pack homewards faster than they come hither!'

Whether or not Cecil's 'special correspondent' was withdrawn from Rye after the English troops had sailed for Havre I do not know; but the news of what was passing abroad, and of the first large arrival of the Protestant refugees at Rye, was subsequently conveyed to Cecil by John Young, the Mayor. His first letter on the subject was written on October 31 at one o'clock in the afternoon. A boat had then just arrived from Dieppe, which brought news of the delivery of the town to the Catholic forces, of the flight of the Captain of the place ('M. de Fort'), of Captain John Rebaude, to Havre, and of the commencement of the general flight of the Protestants to Rye. 'A great number of poor people,' he says, 'is come to this towne this day.' The refugees told him that 'there is iiij thousand of the Guyeses men come from Arques Castell, and ther cometh more after them whiche also cometh to Depe. And more I asked of them what number they supposed were lost at Roan? They say the number was great; but the English men and the Scotts they cutt them all in peces.'

The refugees continued to arrive at Rye, and evidently put the inhabitants of the town in some difficulty as to finding accommodation for them. On November 2, Young again writes to Cecil as follows: 'This daie, about iij of the clock in th'afternone, arryved here in one passag, Monseur De Vele, Lyuetenant unto Monseur de Force of Depe, with divers other concellers of Depe, and many other symple people of that place.' These told him that Montmorency was about to enter the town, 'and taketh order that all the people ther shall lyve after ther onne conseyence; but yet they shall have neither prechers or ministers.' The people had submitted themselves to the King. Young then gives Cecil an account of the capture of Rouen, on October 26, by the French troops. He had heard

¹ *State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* vol. xxv. No. 29.

this account from M. de Vele's servant, who was present during the whole siege. The description, though extremely interesting, I must not, on account of time, repeat here. I will therefore go on to that part of the Mayor's letter which affects the subject of the present Paper: 'It may pleas your honor, there is daily grett resort of French men, in so much as alredy is estemyd to be v^e persons; and we be in gret want of corn for ther and our sustentacon, by reason the country adjoining is barren. That it may pleas your honour some conveyent order may be takyn that the wheat here remeynyng may be sold here to our grett comfort, at reasonabill pryces by the owners thereof.' The purport of the answer given to this, appears from a note on the letter in Cecil's hand—'*Strangers to find the money.*'

Young continues that there had also arrived two boat-loads of Dieppe refugees, one of which was bound for Havre, but being unable to reach that port—presumably owing to contrary winds—had come to Rye. He concludes his letter by asking advice as to what he should do with regard to the refugees and the Dieppe ships that brought them (Cecil's note on the letter reads, '*To stay in good manner the ships of Deepe*'), and states that 'herenclosed Capitaine Rybold hath in humbill maner sent your honour certen articles of agreement made betwyne the French King and the people of Depe.'¹

The next day there was a further arrival of fugitives from Dieppe, and Young wrote at once to Cecil: 'In most humble maner may it please your honour to be advertised, that the thirde daye of this present mounth, at xii of the clock, there aryved a bote from Depe with french men, women, and childrea, to the number of a hundred and fitye, here being a great number also whiche was here before.'²

On November 6, he acknowledged the receipt of a communication dated the 4th, 'for taking order for the French people,' which, he adds, 'God willing, shall be accomplished to the best of his power;' and he informed Cecil that 'M. de Fers, M. Rybaud, and M. de Veles' would 'repair' to Court at once.³

On November 10 another boat arrived from Dieppe. The

¹ *State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* vol. xxv. No. 35.

² *Ibid.* No. 38.

³ *Ibid.* No. 41.

Mayor's letter announcing the fact is as follows: 'In my moost humble maner yt maye please your honor to be advertised, that this present daye, at x of the clocke, came a passenger from Depe, in whome cam over a merchant man of Roan, which is a very honest man, and he was a man of great substance, and now all that ever he hath is spoyled and lost, so that he was conveyed a waye by one of Captaine Ricarfelde's souldiers, and brought to Depe with vj. Scottishe men, which were souldiers there. And one of the Scottish men was at Roan upon Sondaie last past.'¹

Next day, the 11th, at eleven o'clock, came another boat, bringing, as the Mayor tells Cecil, 'a gentleman whose name is Mounser Sancte Marie, in the companye withe one of Mounser Devidam's gentleman.'² Young does not say how many, if any, other fugitives arrived by this boat.

On the 16th a further batch of refugees arrived, some amongst them who had escaped from Rouen. Young writes to Cecil: 'In my moost humble maner yt maie please your honor to be advertised, that this present daye, at iiij of the clocke at after none, came a Frenche bote from Depe withe certen people whiche came from Roan and was there on Thirsday last past.'³

These travellers narrated what was passing in France. The slaughter of those in Rouen was great, 'they put to death all the chieffest of the citie.' Young concludes his letter: 'Besching your honour that yt maie please you I may knowe your funder pleasure for these passengers that daily dothe and will come over; whether I shall make any staye of them or not. Because I have recevyed commandment from my good Lord Warden and your honour that no Frenche shippes nor men shold passe. And the ij shippes of Diepe, whiche your honour and my Lord Warden willed to be sett at lybertie, are gone according to your commaundments, and Mr. John Rybaue's shipp is saffe, and well laid up as he wolde have yt, so that our pore people toke great pannes therein.'

The next news from France, and of the arrival of

¹ *State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* vol. xxv. No. 45.

² *Ibid.* No. 51.

³ *Ibid.* No. 55.

refugees, is communicated by Young on December 10: A boat, he says, has just arrived 'with many pore people, as men, women, and children, which were of Roan and Diepe.' These new comers gave a very vivid picture of what was passing in France. They said that 'the Guises poure is great.' Asked as to Rouen, they said there was within it 'none but Mounser Vileborne, who liethe very sicke within the castell, and Captaine Mase is ruler there, who hathe not of souldiers within the said toun above ij^c, so that the toun is kept by the papists and those souldiers. And all their gates kept shett except one, but at tymes convenyent, for they are in suche fear of the Englyshmen's comyng thither. The pore people come dayly from thence hither, and I send them awaie into the cuntrye, and they goo up to London.'

¹

Again, on December 10, Young writes to Cecil: 'This present daie, at ix of the clocke in the mornynge, came a certen passenger from Depe with iij or iiij Englyshmen and others of that towne.'² These persons told Young of the surprise and capture of the Castle of Dieppe by M. Gaskin, who 'kepeth the castell for the King.'

Two days later Young writes that 'this present daie, at one of the clocke at after none, came a passenger of Deipe to this toun, in whom there came ij merchaunt men of that toun.'³ Young acted as usual towards these, demanding the latest intelligence. They gave him particulars of a great conflict at Chartres between the Prince and the Spaniards, 500 of whom were slain. The letter is a very interesting one in describing the state of the religious parties abroad.

I do not find any further particulars of refugees arriving at Rye just at this time. The battle of Dreux, fought on December 19, terminated, you will remember, for a while the religious war in France.

No doubt the arrival of the refugees at Rye put the townspeople to considerable inconvenience, for, though they might sympathise with the sufferings of the strangers and with their

¹ *State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* vol. xxvi. No. 7.

² *Ibid.* No. 22.

³ *Ibid.* No. 25.

cause, they could not overlook the fact that the presence in their midst of a vast crowd of, for the most part, nearly penniless refugees was a very heavy burden to bear. How many fled to Rye during the months of November and December 1562, we do not precisely know, but Young has mentioned 650, besides on various occasions the arrival of 'many poor people,' or some such phrase. Some of these, he says, he sent on to London or elsewhere; but that divers remained the register of burials pretty plainly shows. I will not allude specially now to any of the names which appear; but I will mention that Mr. Durrant-Cooper has misread some which he gives as being found in the register at this period. For instance, he gives the somewhat peculiar name of *Douthylla*, which is really the very likely name of *Donkyrke*.

Now when you look at the names of refugees buried at this time, you will see that several are described in some such way as this—a Dutchman, or a Frenchman, from So-and-So's house, meaning, probably, that a loft or outbuilding had been set apart by a charitable householder for the reception of the strangers. In all probability Rye was 'overcrowded,' and so, when the plague-stricken soldiers and inhabitants of Havre came thither after our forces had been compelled to abandon that port, the sickness they brought with them spread with terrible rapidity in the little town. The register for June, July, August, September, and October, 1568, bears witness to the enormous mortality which then prevailed there.¹

But all the refugees that came to Rye were not paupers, nor were they all persons in a humble position of life, and some of the better class of the strangers, I think, made a permanent residence in the town. Captain Rybald, a gentleman of position, who, we have seen, was one of the earliest refugees, is found in Rye in 1572; there is, therefore, some probability that he resided there. Before the next general arrival of refugees, which began in October 1568, I find Michael de

¹ It is curious to note in the corporation accounts of this date the numerous fines received for assaults upon 'Dutchmen' and 'Dieppe-men,' as well as fines levied upon the strangers for creating breaches of the peace.

Falloys (sometimes spelled 'Valloys'), a 'Valences' merchant, residing with his family in Rye. On May 8, 1568, his son John was baptised in the parish church by M. St. Paul, 'Minister of the Reformed Church in France,' then 'being resident at Rye.' This is the earliest mention I have found of a minister of the French congregation in the town. Michael de Falloys was also resident at Rye in 1572: his household then consisted of a wife, three children, and a maid-servant. It appears, therefore, that the colony founded by the earliest refugees had not died out when the next general arrival of Protestant fugitives took place in 1568. The Rye 'Hundred Books' from 1564 onwards show the names of several Frenchmen and Flemings as householders in different parts of the town, many of whom were, I expect, religious refugees.

News of a fresh persecution of the Protestants in France reached England early in August 1568. On October 2 Lord Cobham wrote to Cecil informing him of the arrival in Rye of some refugees of distinction.¹ In his letter he says that he has just heard of the arrival there of M. Gamages, his wife, children, and ten servants, Captain Sores, his wife, and eleven servants, 'who are all come out of France, as they saye, for the saufe guard of ther lyves.' Their object in coming to England was to confer with Cardinal Chastillon, and it was Captain Sores' intention to go to Rochelle as soon as he could. Besides these important personages Cobham mentions that 'there are also dyvers marchayntes and handycraftesmeyn come to Rye, wyche do mean to mack ther abode thire;' and he asks to know 'her highnes' plesur,' as well concerning Captain Sores, as 'the abode of thyes meyn yn the toone of Rye.'

We do not find amongst the *State Papers* at this time particulars of the arrival of the successive boat-loads of refugees, as we did in John Young's letters written some half a dozen years previously; but amongst the Cotton MSS. is a list of 'all strangers, French, Flemynges, and Wallonnes, within hir Majestie's town of Rie,' taken before the Mayor, and others, on March 28, 1569. By the edicts published in

¹ *State Papers, Dom.*, Eliz. vol. xlviii. No. 3.

rance in 1568, ministers of the reformed religion were compelled to quit the country, and we find in this list no less than five ministers in Rye: their names are M. St. Paul, of whom we have already spoken, M. Hector Hamon of 'Bacale,' M. Jacob Cardis of 'Ponteau,' M. Nicholas Tellier of Rue,' and M. Tousaintes of 'Pauce.' The refugees at Rye in this year, 1569, came mostly from Rouen and Dieppe; only a few were returned under the heading 'Wallounes and Flemenges,' the total number of strangers, including ministers, being eighty-three.

This list of 1569 has been already printed by Mr. Durrant Cooper, but it will appear in the Appendix to this Paper, with a few corrections I have ventured to make in it, after examining it with the original.

Let us consider a few of the facts on record concerning some of those mentioned in the 1569 return. Taking first of all the ministers, I find Nicholas Tellier still at Rye in 1572 when he is described as having come from Dieppe), married, and with a family of four children; he kept one 'maid-servant.' On August 7, 1574, his son Jeremy was baptised. His name is then spelled *Toller*, and Nicholas, the father, is described as 'minister of the French congregation.' Two other persons of the name of Tellier arrived at Rye in 1572; of the other ministers I have found no further reference.

Another member of the family of Falloyse, 'Christopher de Falloyse,' is mentioned in the 1569 return. He was also at Rye in 1572, with a wife, four children, and a maid-servant. The town rentals show that in 1573 his house was in the 'Bochery.' He was dead, or had removed from that house, in 1577.

One of those under the heading Walloons is called 'Bonaventure.' In 1575 I find Bonaventure Doffell described as having been in Rye two years—probably the same person as referred to as 'Bone-Aventure' in 1569. Other persons of the name of Doffell, or Deffell, occur at Rye in 1572.

Another person whose name appears under the heading 'Walloons' in 1569 is 'John Handson.' I find no more about him, but on February 27, 1570, Hans Hanson and Helena

Sekynt, 'strangers,' were married at the parish church. On March 12, 1576-7, their son John was baptised there.

The name of 'Myffant' does not occur in the 1569 list, but a Charles Myffant, 'gentleman' of Dieppe, seems to have been resident at Rye a very short time before its compilation, as his son Daniel was baptised there on February 18 in the same year.

Whether or not Captain Sores went back, as he intended, to Rouen I do not know; but I find him resident at Rye in 1572.

Between this and the time of the next large influx of foreigners to Rye, which was in the autumn of 1572, occasional refugees probably arrived in Rye, as there are a few marriages and burials¹ recorded of strangers who, according to the 1569 return, do not seem to have been then resident at Rye.

Amongst these I may mention Anthony Cock, who remained in the town for many years. The name is spelt in a variety of ways—Cock, Kock, Kok, and Quok. On May 2, 1570, Anthony Cock married, at Rye, Susan Syre. On January 14, next year, Katherine Cock married Anthony Ramsey. In 1574 I find in the corporation accounts, 'Received of Anthony Cock for a bill made by him to the town' 7*l.* 10*s.* In October 1579 'a French boy' was buried from his house. A son of this Anthony Cock (*no name given*) was buried on September 30, 1581, and in 1596 his son Aaron was buried. In 1588 his wife Susan stood godmother to another refugee's child. His house stood between the Landgate and Strandgate. Anthony Cock was evidently a 'well-to-do' person.

Another refugee who settled in Rye between 1568 and 1572 was Francis Macquary, and about him we learn a good deal. Like Anthony Cock he fled from France as a bachelor, but seems to have quickly found a suitable refugee of the other sex, whom he took to wife. His marriage with Martin (or) Cauchie took place at Rye on December 3, 1570. On June 12, 1574, he paid to the town 'for his fine' 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1573 their son John was baptised. Four years later their child

¹ There is a gap from June 1569 to November 1573 in the register of baptisms.

Davy was buried. In June 1575 Francis Macquary acquired, by recovery, a tenement in 'Middle Street,' where he seems to have dwelt till the day of his death, in September 1586. The entry of his burial describes him as a 'free denizen' of Rye, and mentions that he was 'killed by a pece upon the water.' His widow followed him to the grave about eighteen months afterwards. He, too, must have come to Rye possessed of some wealth, or must have acquired it soon after settling there.

As I mentioned just now, the third large influx of refugees to Rye was in the autumn of 1572. Mr. Durrant-Cooper says the first portion arrived three days after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, but the list he prints of those in the town, which the Mayor sent up to Burleigh on November 22, shows that the arrivals began four-and-twenty days before the massacre, though it was not till August 27 that the refugees arrived in any great numbers. From that date up to October 8 they came almost daily, as many as 161 arriving on one day—September 12. Refugees also came in some numbers on November 4, 7, and 9, at which time they numbered nearly 700 persons. The list of names will be printed in the Appendix to this Paper. I again differ from Mr. Cooper as to some of these names, and I have inserted a few additional dates which occur in the manuscript.

The first arrivals came chiefly from Dieppe, Lilebon, and Rouen. Some few were Walloons, but in the later arrivals were refugees from the more southerly parts of France, amongst them Louis Columber, 'Savoyen,' a 'student of physic' in Paris. The refugees were many of them gentlemen and merchants. There were also doctors, schoolmasters, and representatives of every trade you can think of—tailors, tinkers, pedlars, coopers, shipwrights, cooks, barbers, painters, furbishers, husbandmen, and a host of others besides.

It is a strange fact that though the entries in the parish register after this date indicate the presence of a very largely increased number of refugees in Rye, very few of the names in the register appear in the 1572 return. Presumably the

great bulk of those mentioned in that return made no lengthy stay in the town, but the refugees that came over, perhaps a few at a time, in the following months settled there. There is no indication that this large increase in the number of the population of Rye was attended, as before, with any serious consequences, yet their presence must have been, to say the least, a matter for very serious consideration by the town authorities.

As I have just said, the refugees continued to arrive in considerable numbers throughout the following year, and in February 1574 I find amongst the corporation records a curious order, evidently aimed at stopping the continuous stream from abroad. The order, which will be printed *in extenso* in the Appendix, recites that a previous order had been given to 'common passengers' (i.e. the owners of the packet boats) not to bring pauper refugees to the town; 'contrary to which commaundment given unto them,' that they should not bring over 'any of the Frenche or Flemiche nation,' unless 'they be merchants, gentlemen, common posts, or messengers, or such leik,' they have brought over 'great numbers of the French, being very poor people, both men, women, and children,' to the great grief and 'coye' of the inhabitants of Rye and other places about the same. It was therefore ordered henceforward that none should bring either from France or Flanders any 'of the French or Flemish nation, except merchants, gentlemen, common posts, and messengers, here to continue or dwell,' under a penalty of 40s., which was to go to the use of the town, and no foreigner was to be landed at Rye without due notice being given to those who had 'the search of the passage.' By this means the further influx of refugees was no doubt stopped.

In the 1572 return the names of several new ministers occur; of only one, 'M. Mathew Cartault,' I find subsequent mention. He arrived on November 7, 1572. In 1585 he was one of the ministers of the congregation at Rye, in which capacity I shall have presently to refer to him again. The last I find of him is on February 13, 1588, when he performed the baptism of one of his fellow-ministers' children.

Amongst those refugees who apparently came to Rye after the date of the return of 1572, and made stay there, I find Laurence Bourdin, whose children were baptised in 1573, and on May 29, 1576; Peter Desportes, of Dieppe, who had his children baptised in Rye on Oct. 10, 1585, and Oct. 31, 1588; Paul de Banquemere, of Rouen, who had his son baptised in 1585; he himself stood as godfather in 1588; and John Nelson, of Dieppe, whose children were baptised in 1585 and 1586.

I do not think the annals of the Protestant refugee settlements in England contain many instances of members of the different congregations committing crimes which brought them to the hangman's hands. In this respect the Rye congregation is unfortunately an exception. Among the refugees in the town in 1598 was Marie Gosling, the wife of Philip Williams. On June 2 in that year their daughter Anne was buried. On the 24th the mother was executed 'for murthering her own child'—no doubt the daughter buried a few weeks previously.

Several ministers arrived in Rye subsequent to the date of the return in November 1572. Guiliam Lasne, 'Professor of Physic and preacher in the French Church, bannished for the Gospel,' was at Rye on February 4, 1574, when his son Pierre was baptised. In April 1575 another of his children was baptised, and at this date he is described as 'preacher of the French Church in Rye.' Another was M. Louis Morrell. Burn states that he came from Southampton, and attended the Conference of French Churches held at Norwich on April 12, 1583, as one of the deputies from Rye, when the Church at that place was spoken of as poor, and needing external aid, and that a month later he was married at Canterbury to Ariadne Jourdan. This name occurs at Rye in 1572. In February 1588 their child was baptised at Rye; M. Morrell is then called 'one of the ministers of the French Church at Rye.' He performed the office of baptism in December of the same year. In 1585 'A. de Licques' was one of the French ministers at Rye; and on August 16 in that year 'Jacob Trades, a French minister,' was buried there.

The large number of refugees that arrived at Rye subse-

quent to the return in November 1572 may also be judged from documents I have found amongst the 'State Papers.' We have seen that in this month they numbered about 700, and of these, as I have already said, I think few made stay in the town.

In 1586 the Council were considering how a great part of the strangers in Rye might be removed elsewhere. On March 18 in that year the Mayor and Jurats were able to state to Walsingham that since their 'last advertisement' to 'their honours' so many refugees had departed 'as now there remayneth but 1500 and odd.' The French Church were willing towards the spring to remove 300 of these to such place as the Council should think proper; but the Mayor and Jurats considered 1200 too many to remain, 'divers houses being too much pestered with them.' Yet the townspeople would willingly show them 'all the courtesey' they might, but they thought 1000 as many as they could 'well sustaine,' everything was growing 'so excessive dere.'

This letter will be printed in the Appendix, together with one from two of their then ministers, Monsieur de Licques and Monsieur Cartault, expressing readiness to do all in their power towards the quiet government of the town of Rye, and asking that the offshoot colony, which they propose to despatch, may have the Council's letters to those in authority in the town to which it should be decided to send them. I have not been able to ascertain what place was decided upon, nor have I been able to trace whether more than 1000 refugees remained in Rye, or whither the other 300 went, if they left the town. Burn states that when the Colloque was held in Rye in 1587 the congregation was falling off, and that in 1590 M. Morel reported to the Colloque, held that year at Canterbury, that he must leave Rye from want of funds to support himself and family.

There cannot possibly have been sufficient to do in Rye itself for all the refugees there in 1585 if, indeed, they all sought employment. It seems to me possible that when those in authority said that the town could accommodate 1000 they understood that some of those who were there had private

means of support. One, at least, must have had considerable wealth, as the corporation accounts for 1573-74 show that he gave, no doubt in gratitude to the people of Rye for their attentions to him and his fellow-refugees, the large sum of 150*l.* 'to the use of the town.' The fines paid by other refugees I have mentioned, Macquery, Cocke, and others, also show that in some instances the refugees must have been moneyed people.

But I think it probable that those tarrying in Rye who had to earn their daily bread did not wait to be told to leave. As they began to look around them they probably saw good openings for trade in the towns round about, and for agricultural pursuits in the rich lands that stretched away in the distance. Mr. Durrant-Cooper has shown us that descendants of the refugees who came to Rye wandered to Hastings and Brighton, and spread into places outside Kent and Sussex. I expect the dwindling down in numbers of the colony was gradual; but it was, no doubt, continuous.

A little more than thirty years after the date of which I am speaking, on May 3, 1622, the Mayor and Jurats wrote to the Council stating that according to their 'several letters' they had called before them 'the French and Dutch now residing with us.' They found them to be *not more than between twenty and thirty in numbers*. Their names are given, and so are their professions, and a little of the personal history of some. Nearly all these were 'French men come over from Dieppe by reason of the late troubles, and yet continuing here.' A supplemental list, compiled the following month, gives us one or two additional names, and also the names of the French women then in Rye, and some further particulars as to the families of those mentioned in the previous list. Both documents will be printed in the Appendix.

Of the twenty to thirty persons here mentioned all except two came over by the reason of the '*late troubles*,' a phrase which, I take it, refers to the religious war which commenced in France in May 1621. We must not imagine therefore that all the previous strangers who had arrived from 1562 to, say, 1574, or about that time, had left the town, or that their descend-

ants had vanished from it. Mr. Durrant-Cooper's Paper shows that such was not the case, and that many of these first arrivals of religious refugees left descendants who dwelt in Rye till, comparatively speaking, recent times; but of course these persons would in 1621 no longer be considered or designated as strangers. So this list of twenty or thirty refugees gives us no idea of the strength of the French colony or congregation in Rye in 1622, which, though no doubt much reduced, must have numbered more than twenty or thirty.

Mr. Durrant-Cooper mentions that the congregation at Rye was represented at the conferences till 1660; but he does not give his authority.

After the religious persecutions in France about the year 1680 fresh refugees began again to arrive at Rye in some numbers. I strongly suspect that they augmented a much reduced congregation still remaining there, and that they did not actually found a new congregation. To judge from the evidence which the parish register affords at this date, the influx at the close of the seventeenth century must have been a very extensive one.

I do not know the exact date at which this last influx of strangers began. The first indications of it are two documents preserved amongst our 'Domestic State Papers' for April and May 1682. Both are printed by Mr. Durrant-Cooper; but I will repeat them in the Appendix to my Paper. The first shows that at the date it was written, April 18, 1682, several refugees had already arrived, and that they were regarded—as most foreigners were at that time in England—as 'papists.' The Vicar of Rye and the chief inhabitants of the town therefore certified that the 'French Protestants that are settled inhabitants of this town of Rye are a sober, harmless, innocent people, such as serve God constantly and uniformly according to the usage and custom of the Church of England.' On May 8 the inhabitants of Rye declared their 'willing consent that the French Protestants newly settled in this place may continue their assemblys in our church, from 8 of the clock in the morning unto ten, and afterwards from 12 of the clock until 2 in the afternoon; and that

they may have the use of the pulpit, and of the seats therein, as *heretofore*; which we do fully grant to them, it being requested of us for their benefitt and service when occasion requires.' The revocation of the Edict of Nantes led, of course, to a further landing of religious refugees at Rye.

The parish register has some points of interest in it respecting these refugees. The hastiness of their flight from France and the exposure many of them suffered on their journey may doubtless account for the very large number of burials of refugees, who had evidently just arrived, whose names were not even known to those by whom they were buried, a large portion of these being women and children.

I will not prolong this, I fear, already wearisome Paper by reading any of the extracts I have made from the register relating to this period. They will be printed in the Appendix, and I mean, if I can, to compare them again with the register itself, so as to avoid mistakes as much as possible. The entries in the register relating to the refugees occur very frequently down to the early years of the last century, each entry being marked 'French Protestant,' or 'French parents,' or with words to a similar effect. After this date this practice of especially marking the refugee names seems to have been discontinued.

I have not myself been able to ascertain when the French congregation at Rye finally broke up. In 1695 M. Benech was minister there. During his ministry, in 1699, a collection was specially made in the parish church 'for the Vaudois and other French refugees in Germany,' from which the sum of 6*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* was received. He died in 1700, and was succeeded by M. Bouchett, who was buried in August 1706.

Burn mentions that the last he finds of the Rye congregation is in the year 1728, when they received 35*l.* 2*s.* from the Royal Bounty Fund.

The flagon used by the refugees in the celebration of the Holy Communion is said by Mr. Durrant-Cooper to be the only extant memorial of them. This was presented to the Church of Rye in 1860 by Mr. Holloway.

There is one more observation I should like to make this

evening. To my mind the theory mentioned by Mr. Durrant-Cooper (though not accepted by him), that the 'old chapel of the Augustine Friars in Conduit Street,' Rye, was used by the refugees for their services, is certainly incorrect. The evidence I have brought before you all points to the fact that the refugees *never had a place of worship of their own in Rye.*¹ From quite the early days of the settlement the ceremonies of baptism and marriage were performed in the parish church by their own ministers, and when the last great influx of refugees arrived, who, we find it distinctly stated, worshipped 'according to the usage and custom of the Church of England,' the townsmen agreed that those arriving should '*continue*' to hold their services in the parish church during certain stated hours.

I cannot adequately express my gratitude to the Rev. David Gladstone, Vicar of Rye, for his kindness in giving me access to the parish register on the different occasions when I visited the town for the purposes of this Paper. Each time he gave up his comfortable study to me for the whole day, besides entertaining me most hospitably at his table. I am also greatly indebted to Mr. Walter Dawes, the Town Clerk, for the readiness with which he afforded me every facility for studying the corporation records.

[NOTE.—*The Appendix to this Paper will be printed in the next number of the 'Proceedings.'*]

Remarks upon Mr. Hardy's Paper, 'Foreign Refugees at Rye.'

By W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A.

BURN, in his 'History of the Foreign Refugees,' speaking of the return of strangers at Rye in 1569, says that the information was obtained by a nightly search, and that the list of names on being sent to London was accompanied by a letter from the Mayor stating that 'there is no *continually* dwelling here in Rie above the number of fyftie men, besides ther wives and children, and they verie quietlie and orderlie use themselves.'

¹ In the allusions to 'preachers of the French Church in Rye' the word *church* is used in the sense of community or congregation.

Apparently there should be a similar list compiled in the previous year 1568, as an order was then issued directing the Archbishop of Canterbury to instruct the Bishops to make a return of all strangers found in their several dioceses, stating whence they came, of what trades they were, their religion, whether any were Anabaptists, and so forth. I believe that Archbishop Laud also ordered a return about the year 1682.

The French Church of Rye must then have been conformist, as otherwise there would be some reference to it in the letters and other documents concerning the Archbishop's persecution of the strangers, which are preserved amongst the 'Domestic State Papers.' As Mr. Hardy has stated, it was conformist in 1682, and it probably had been so from at least the time of Laud.

With reference to what Mr. Hardy has said about the refugees having the use of the parish church at Rye, I may mention that at Sandwich the strangers contributed one third of the sum required for the repairs of the churches of St. Clement and St. Peter, where they were allowed to hold their services.

Mr. Hardy tells us that he has found nothing about the 'discipline' of the Church. This question of discipline is a very important one, because, as Sir Henry Peek has observed, the strangers were under the immediate protection and governance of the Established Church of England. Letters patent of 1550 placed them under the control of their own superintendent and four ministers. A building was assigned to them for their services, and they were allowed to draw up their own discipline. In the reign of Queen Mary their congregations were dispersed, and most of the strangers left the country. On the accession of Elizabeth they returned, and endeavoured to obtain a confirmation of the grant of Edward VI. They succeeded in obtaining permission to reassemble for their services, but they were now put under the control of the Bishop of the diocese, who was appointed as their superintendent; and it is in consequence of this that we are enabled to address the Bishop of London at the present time with regard to the disposal of the funds derived from the sale of the French church of St. Martin's-le-Grand.

Mr. Hardy has remarked that the names of several newly arrived ministers occur in the list of strangers in Rye in the autumn of 1572, the year of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. A great many ministers came to England about this time, and we have a list of some sixty or seventy who were in this country in the next year, 1573, which furnishes us with the names of the towns where they officiated. It was with the aid of these ministers that the

French Churches were reorganised in 1578, with the result, a few years later, of one discipline being established for all the foreign congregations.

With regard to the Colloquies it is very unfortunate that the original volume recording the proceedings at these meetings is now missing, although it is said to have been in existence so late as 1846. It is not, however, generally known that a copy of the first portion of it, coming down to the year 1654 or 1655, is preserved amongst the archives of the French Church which lately held its services at St. Martin's-le-Grand.

As Mr. Hardy has told us, the foreign congregation of Rye is mentioned in this volume as having been represented at the third Colloquy, held at Norwich on April 12, 1583. Act 12 of the report of the proceedings there states that it was agreed that it would be inconvenient to deprive Rye Church of its pastor, whose services had been sought for by the Church of Amiens.

The 6th Colloquy was held at Rye itself on Sept. 15 and 16, 1587.

At the 8th Colloquy, which was held at London on Jan. 17-25, 1589, the Church of Rye was represented by its minister, M. Morel, and M. Miphane, an elder.

At the 9th Colloquy, held at Canterbury, on June 27, 1590, M. Morel was, at his own request, relieved of his duties at Rye, the Church having become too poor to support him and his family.

From Act 3 of the proceedings of the 10th Colloquy, which was held at Norwich on April 25, 1593, it appears that M. Denis was sent by the Church of Dieppe to serve as pastor at Rye.

I have not been able to take notes of the later Colloquies, but I have no doubt that Rye was always represented at them as long as the French Church existed there.

Besides the sum which Mr. Hardy mentions as having been received by the Church of Rye from the Royal Bounty Fund in 1728, it was allowed 27*l.* in 1705, and 85*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* in 1721.

Apparently he has found nothing with respect to the custom of the refugees supporting their own poor. This the strangers seem to have done invariably, and a house-to-house collection was made for the purpose every week. From an account book of such collections made at Sandwich, which I am now copying, it appears that some persons gave as much as half-a-crown a week—rather a large sum for those days. Besides keeping their poor, I find that needy strangers going to London from Sandwich were generally allowed a shilling towards the expenses of the journey.

Though the strangers had to support their own ministers they

were charged with a rate varying from twelve to twenty pence in the pound for the maintenance of the Established clergy. They were also assessed at double the ordinary amounts for subsidies—those without goods being charged with a poll-tax—and when they imported foreign wares they had to pay higher customs duties than the natives.

I must now conclude these remarks, but before doing so I wish—and I am sure with the cordial agreement of the Meeting—to express my sense of our great indebtedness to Mr. Hardy for the pains which he has bestowed upon his admirable Paper. He has been good enough to promise us some extracts from the earlier portion of the parish register, and I hope that at some future day he may be able to find time to select the foreign names for the later years of the settlement.

Isaac Minet's Narrative.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A.

THE following 'Relation' was written in 1737 by Isaac Minet, who was born at Calais September 15, 1660, and who died at Dover April 8, 1745, and was buried in the church of St. Mary.

Escaping to England in 1686 he established a business in Dover in 1690, which became well known under the name of Minet and Fector, until in 1842 it merged into the Dover branch of the National and Provincial Bank.

The book containing the 'Relation' had been lost sight of since 1767, and its existence was unknown. It was only brought to light again in 1867, when the Bank, being about to rebuild the old house, looked through the books and papers taken over with the business from the firm of Minet and Fector for the purpose of destroying what was useless. Among these books was found one labelled outside 'Receipt Book,' which had been originally used by Isaac Minet for notes of private expenses; he had apparently torn out the few pages used for this purpose and written in the unused portion the narrative which follows.

The book contains, besides the 'Relation,' many other memoranda, some written by Isaac, and others added by Isaac's son William, who died in 1767: these are, however, of no general interest.

When the real nature of the book was known it was at once placed by the Bank in the hands of the representatives of the family, and is now in the possession of the sixth direct descendant from the writer.

Isaac Minet's father, Ambroise, died in 1675, before the Revocation. He had one brother, James, who had six children, four of whom (daughters) came to England. James's two sons remained in France; whether they changed their religion or not is not known, though it would seem probable that they did. That they were Protestants, however, previous to the Revocation appears from 'L'Estat des familles D(e) L(a) R(eligion) P(rétendue) R(éformée) du Boulleinois,'¹ an official paper containing a list of the Protestant families of the district drawn up, it would seem, in 1679, in which occurs the entry 'Frenq. Minet, tenant la poste, 2 garçons, 1 fille.'

There still stands at the north end of the Place d'Armes in Calais an old house, on the centre gable of which may be seen a stone 'Minet' or puss, and tradition has it that it was in this house that the Minets carried on their business.

In the library of the town of Calais there exists a manuscript history of the town in five volumes written by M. Pigault de l'Épinoy (born 1726), in which the chief events of each year are arranged chronologically. He begins the record of each year by giving a list of the officers of the town, and under the year 1686 occurs the following account of what took place in relation to the Revocation, which confirms the accuracy of the facts stated in the narrative:—

'Revocation de l'edit de Nantes du 22 Octobre, publiée à Calais le 8 Novembre, et suivie de la démolition du temple de Guines fermé par ordre du Roi dès l'année précédente. Par le traité de Nerac (1579) les Calvinistes qui avoient un temple à Marcq, le transféreront, comme je l'ay avancé, à Guines à cause de la situation du lieu plus commode et plus étendue que Marcq. Guines était alors le Genève non seulement du pays, mais encore du Boulonnais, de l'Artois, de la Flandre, et d'une partie de la Picardie: ce temple n'était pas d'une construction magnifique ny apparente, mais il était spacieux et au moyen de galleries ou se mettoient les [*sic*] sexe, il pouvait contenir plus de trois mille personnes: la maison du ministre qui existe encore était contre ce temple, convertie actuellement

¹ Given in *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes dans le Boulonnais*. V. J. Vaillant, Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1885.

en grange et cour de ferme, et dont les matériaux ont servis à la réparation et à l'augmentation de l'église paroissiale de ce bourg.' After speaking of the former glory of Guînes, he concludes: 'la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes, l'émigration qu'elle a causée d'un grand nombre de riches familles protestantes, qui se sont retirés en Hollande a occasionné le depérissement et l'annéantissement de cette ville reduite en bourgade.'

The registers of the Consistory of Guînes from 1663 to 1685 still exist at Boulogne-sur-Mer, and it is to be hoped that they may be at no distant date examined and published.

The spelling has been retained as it is in the original. I am indebted for the notes chiefly to the manuscript mentioned above.

A Relation of our family.

My father M^r Ambroise Minet was born at Cormon¹ in the Boulonois & had a brother James Minet who was postmaster at franc² in the same County, whose Son James succeeded him, and the Son of s^d James succeeded him, who being dead his widow keeps y^e post office there at present 1737.

S^d James Minet y^e first had 4 daughters who all came to England for y^e sake of y^e protestant Religion.

My mother was Mistris Suson Hafrengue born at a farm called La tresory³ neare boulogne, belonging to her father—my father was inhabitant & Bourgeois or freeman at Calais and kept a shop of grocery, druggs etcra, was a distiller, hee sold more tobaco than was sold besides in france within a hundred miles, and was y^e first, and I believe y^e only man in france who had from London an ingin for cutting tobaco square, hee did furnish Boulogne, Etaples, Montreuil & all the country about with grocery goods wch hee had from Zealand, there not being at that time any body in those places y^t understood anything of trade; hee dyed at Calais in 1675,

¹ A small village near Etaples.

² Frencq, close to Cormon.

³ La Trésorerie, ferme à tourelle près de la route Nationale au lieu dit Le Mont de Calais. *Dict. hist. et arch. du dép. du Pas-de-Calais*. Arras, 1882. Tome ii. p. 43. Honninotum, ancien nom du hameau de la Trésorerie, *ibid.* p. 39.

my father was 70 years of age when hee dyed and my mother who fled from Calais to England dyed at London and was buried in S^t Martins Churchyard in the yeare 1688 aged 67 years.

My father had six Sons & 8 daughters (viz) Thomas, Ambroise, Daniel, Elizabeth, Suson, Isaac, Jacob, Stephen, and Mary who all fled out of france for y^e sake of the protestant religion. . . .

Thomas was maryed at Calais to M^{rs} Mary Goubard and did come over to Canterbury where he dyed in y^e yeare 1691 hee left 2 sons and 4 daughters, his eldest son Thomas is now living at London, the other son peter tooke to the sea and dyed yong, 3 of y^e daughters are maryed, and live one in prucia and y^e other at Rotterdam, the eldest Suson maryed one albert and lives at Canterbury as also Elizabeth her sister unmarried and those two are poor, but by gods blessing I Isaac Minet have been able to assist both theire mother and them.

Ambroise came out of Calais to dover in 1685 and in 1686 he and I Isaac went to London hyered a house in newport street and then sett up a small shop of licors and parfumer etera where with dilligence and paines wee gott some practice and customers of persons of quality and in all likelyhood wee would have done well, but being advised y^t our Brother Stephen who keep shop at Dover was sick I Isaac came downe to Dover and found him Dying in 1690 wch occasioned mee to stay at Dover, and hee remained at London and unbecomingly maryed to an irish woman who decived him, both by remaining a Roman Catholick contrary to her promis, and her father in not giving him wt hee had promised, she dyed and left one son who went to sea and dyed, hee being grown poor I was obliged to assist him and I had him come to Dover and payd his bord severall years, he dyed in 1722 I buried him, and I thank god y^t hee made mee capable of maintaining him severall years.

Daniel maryed M^{rs} Ann flahault of arders neare Calais where hee lived severall years and untill y^e percecution in the yeare 1686 when endeavouring to make his escape hee and

his wife and a daughter were obligd wth Ambroise Elizabeth and her husband and child were obliged to refuge in woods neare Boulogne for severall days and nights, during wch time they were robbd of wt they had and at last obliged to go home again and some time after hee and his wife made their escape and got to flessing in Zealand, their child was given to a contry woman who was to cary it as her own child to newport, but was betrayed and caryed back to arders, but by a stratagem to long to relate here, and one hundred crownes pay by me to som magistrats the child was taken away and caryed to Newport out of the dominions of france and from thence to flessingue, hee had a son Daniel Minet and one daughter more, y^e son is a chirurgeon in a small towne neare sd place. The sd Dl minet father having bene to eassey in adventuring wth people that wrongd him hee is not rich, so y^t I have for many years asisted him and hee being now in 1737 very old I do allow him twenty pounds a yeare and writt him y^t soe long as it shall please god to bless me I will not lett him want and that if god takes me away before him, I will order things soe as hee may be assisted, I thank god y^e hath made mee capable of doing it.

(My sd brother dyed at midelburg y^e 15th May 1740 aged 86 years, hee left only on son Daniel who is a surgeon and has no children.¹)

Elizabeth was maryed to Mr John Detriez who lived at Arders, who both were making theire escapes with my brother Daniel as related before in this book and had the same fate of being robbd in y^e woods, and at his coming back to arders was haprehended and putt in prison, during wch time shee was brought to bed of her daughter Mary and by intercession of friend hee was some time after released out of prison, and in order to theire more easily making theire escape, they went to live at mark neare Calais, and by gods grace and my providing a boate to come on y^e french shore from dover etera both her sd husband, herself 2 children and his mother came in y^e night in a wagon y^t I had also provided from mark to y^e sea shore off of petite wall, and on y^e first august 1686 landed at

¹ Added in the margin three years later.

dover wth my mother and my self where they sett up shop keeping, her husband Detriz dyed about two years after and some time after she was maryed to Mr Daniel Gillis of y^e isle of olleron in france she had by her firs husband two daughters Suson and Mary, Suson dyed at dover unmarried abt y^e yeare 1728, Mary is living now 1737 at dover also unmarried and by her second husband shee had Elizabeth Gillis, who was maryed to Mr James de Rousselle in 1721 who is a man of a very good caracter and good estate whom I consider very much, and lives now neare Canterbury, sd Mr Gillis dyed about a year after hee maryed and his widow dyed at Dover in 1731.

Suson who was wth the rest when robdd in y^e wood, did after that make her escape wth Ambroise by way of Newport, did come to dover and was maryed to Mr Gregory Kerr a wine cooper of emmerick in holland, and shee dyed at dover about a yeare and a half after and left no children.

I, ISAAC MINET, was born at Calais y^e 15 Septemb: 1660. In 1674 I was sent to dover to learn English to the house of m^r Will^m Richards, in y^e room of his daughter patience; and sometime after I went to m^r Will^m Eaton then merch^t at dover to copy his letters and did sometime goe to doe buisness for him at y^e Custom house. After having bene at dover about 21 months I went back to my father's house, & after my brother daniel was maryed, & y^e death of our father I did take care of all y^e buisness under my mother till y^e time of percecution wch was at Calais in y^e yeare 1685, our church wch was at gaine¹ 6 miles from Calais being the last protestant church wch was condemd & demolished in france; & soon after the Edict of nantes by wch the protestant of france enjoyed theire liberty was anuled & broken wch was done by y^e president & the others officers of justice by sound of trumpet in y^e market place at Calais & y^e Edict of Cassation Read, by wch it was said y^e althought our grandfather and our father did grant & promis to maintaine s^d Edict of nants, as well as ourself, yet it being done in time of troble when it could not be preventd, wee being now in peace, wee have thought fit to

¹ Guines.

breake & annul y^e same (& saith alsoe) & whereas before y^e making of the s^d Edict of nants, our subjects of y^e pretended Reformed Religion were exposed to mercy of our Roman Catholik Subjects, wee have of our gracious favour taken them under our protection untill such time as it shall have pleased god enlightened them. Some time after our church at gaine was demolisht & puld down to about seven foot of y^e wall left & I am told it is now a garden.

Sometime after I with 4 protestant friends went to gaine & seeing the remainder of our Church it was soe sorowfull a spectacle to us y^t wee all shed teares. Such is the zeal of persons in time of percecution more fervent.

Abt Septemb 1685 y^e Bishop of boulogne¹ came to Calais & with him 3 or 4 of their best prechers in order to instruct & convert y^e protestants, & on a Satterday afternoon the head of every protestant houses were somond to be at y^e presidents house, my mother sent me being left alone with her all the Rest of our family being gone out of y^e Country. There did apeare about 25 of us & having found all the govenors gard in armes at y^e entrey & in y^e yard wee were surprised not knowing w^t was to bee done, wee were caryed in a large roome were y^e govenor,² Lieuftent,³ major⁴ & others came in & told us y^t hee had orders to order us in y^e Kings nam to goe y^e nexte day being Sunday to heare the Sarmon y^t one of the Bishops doctrs was to preach, & noe body making answer hee asked every one in particular if they would go, none did promiss, then hee said if wee did not go wee should repent for he should be obliged to put y^e Kings ordrs in execution wch wee should find to bee sever, & after hee had made a discourse representing y^e Kings goodness in his using such myld meanes to save y^e souls of his subjects etera hee went out & his company then came in, y^e president⁵ and lieutenant of justice y^e Kings proctor etera and made ye same sommation in y^e Kings name & having obtained no promiss hee & compy went out after wch came y^e major⁶ of y^e towne wth y^e vicemajor & echevins

¹ Claude le Tonnellier Breteuil.

² Marquis de Courtebourne.

³ F. Dethoue.

⁴ Armand, duc de Charoît.

⁵ Claude de Busavent.

⁶ Etienne Carrel.

etca & made the same sommation, to which noe promiss being made they went out after wch y^e govenor came in againe & said y^t if wee did not goe the day following to hear y^e sermon hee would putt y^e Kings orders in execution & that wee should have cause too repent and soe wee were suffered to goe each one to his house. The nex day being Sunday wee had resolved not to goe to church & about 10 in y^e morning wee were informed y^t y^e gates of y^e town were shutt, wch did make us feare y^t wee should be molested, but at noon y^e gates were opend & nothing did hapen. In our company at y^e presidents house there was Mr John Hays who behaved like a protestant hero, and spoke with a great deale of prudence and courage Mr James Hays, Mr Adrien Lernoult the father, Mr Abram le Maire, Mr Isaac Sigart, Louis Delebecque, Jonas Duriz, James Sauchel etca.

About y^e begining of October one of y^e govenors gards whose nam was Le Duc was orderd in our house wth orders to take care y^t my mother nor I should not make our escapes; hee was six weekes in y^e house did eat & drink with us & laid on a matras in my mothers room wth his armes & bari-caded our back door & winders; and being informd that dragoons were coming in order to bee quartered at all y^e protestant houses at discretion in order to oblige them to change theire Religion wee, I say my mother & I resolvd to leave y^e house & endeavour our escape & having prevaild wth one fournier a dutch shop keeper to receive & conceale us in his house wee made our gard at super drink plentifully, hee fell a sleep by y^e fire side as did alsoe Jonas Duriz's Wife our relation who wth her husband supt wth us, on wch I told s^d Duriz our design & advised him to take his wife home wth him, but hee said it was noe mater & y^t hee desird to bee sent to prison to shun y^e dragoons, hee went to his house & my mother & I gott out of y^e house & gott to our rendesvous & gott up in a garett, soon after our gard awackt & not seeing us he went in all y^e rooms & having waked M^{rs} Duriz & asked her where wee was, who said shee did not know & indeed she knew nothing of y^e matter, hee went to enquire at y^e neighbouring houses & not finding us he cald for y^e main

gard wch came & sercht y^e nighbouring houses & stopt M^{rs} Duriz pretending shee knew where wee was & her husband being come to fetch her home hee was stopt alsoe as was M^r Isaac Emmery a friend of ours who cald to bid us good night as hee was going home, M^r Duriz's maid servant came to see for her master & m^{rs} shee alsoe was stopt & they were all caryed to prison wch was just over against y^e garet where wee were, soe y^t wee could heare y^e women cry & y^e men excusing themselves, my mother then proposed our going back to our house but I made her sensible y^t if wee did wee should alsoe be sent to y^e prison. The nec day wee did heare it publisht by beate of drum that whosoever shoud declare where wee was should have a hundred Livers reward & a thousand Livers fine to whoever harbourd us at wch our Landlord was a little startled but I assurd him hee should never suffer for us & there being only him & his wife in y^e house hee had nothing to feare. Wee were there thursday, fryday & satterday during wch time wee could neither eat drink nor sleep I then considerd y^t if wee should bee sick it would be very badd, & soe I sent for one Banse who kept a sluice abt $\frac{1}{2}$ mile out of towne neare y^e sea with whom I agreed to bee at his house from where wee could embark & I sent for a porter who brought his wifes clothes wch my mother putt on & took a pitcher in her hands & I putt on an old coate of our landlord founier & an old capp without wigg a leathern apron & a carpenters rule under my arm. My mother went out first abt 5 afternoon & banse y^e sluice man walkt before who was her guide, I went out soon after & when I came to y^e gates where two men were posted to hinder the protestants from going out of y^e towne I rusht close by one of them & got by & gott to y^e sluice house very joyfull expecting my mother was there but to my great sorow shee was not. Banse came soon after & told me that my mother not having followed him fast enough the gate being just shutting hee had time to go through, but she was stopt and known so shee was caryed to the prison & putt in a dungeon. The reason of my mothers coming to late to y^e gates of y^e town was that going along Banse her guide having percevd y^t a woman followed her did

Lead my mother into another street thinking to shun s^d woman but s^d woman perceiving it came up & told my mother y^t shee knew her design & y^t if shee gave her something she would not betray her. Shee gave her four crownes & shee parted but y^e loss of time caused y^e misfortune. I sent y^e next day for James Lingo one of y^e paket boat men & gave him a letter for my brother Stephen at dover desiring him to send over a boat to cary me over wch I expected but y^e day before s^d boat was to come Bance went to Callais got drunk & betrayd me; that same day the dragoons were coming to Calais & I could see them from a garet where I was & looking that way I spyed a Sargant six soldiers & two of y^e governs gard coming to y^e sluice house wch made me conclud y^t I was betrayd, however I buryed myself in hay y^t was there, I heard the s^d soldiers making a great noyse & swearing at y^e woman of y^e house and shee crying. At last they came up in y^e garet & I heard them say—the heretick dog must be here trust yr sword in y^e hay its noe mater if hee bee kild—and they pulling the hay away, found me took me & handed me down & being put between y^e soldiers was caryed to the comandant on y^e market place who sent me to prison, having been followd from y^e towne gate to y^e prison by all y^e mobb. I was putt in a room under that where my mother was & y^e bords being broken wee could speake to one another; shee told me what shee had declar'd on her examination & I declar'd accordingly when I was examined by y^e president etera, after wch y^e president told me I was a heretick & smelt stong of fagots & y^t I should be burnt etera and M^r James de Cashel & his wife having that day bene betrayed & taken going out of towne in a cart under straw were brought to y^e prison & putt in y^e room where I was and I was putt in y^e dungeon wth my mother where we remaind till y^e 28 of Xber soe much neglected by the geoller y^t y^e door of our dungeon was not opened for severall days together but there being a hole in a wall y^t parted y^e dungeon from a publick room where were severall prisoners & amongst them one Jn Buck of Dover who was prisoner for having sold tobaco, hee was of good service to us by procuring us some provission as bread, butter, wine, water, linnen, etera, his making a formal

abjuration of the protest^t religion hee was released & came to dover where hee was a protestant as before.

The 28th of Xber 1685 the Intendant Chauvelin came in y^e prison with y^e govern^r y^e major & ayde major etcra and demanded of y^e prisoners in particulr if they would abjur their religion & become Roman Catholighs & on refusall threatned them very severely & cruelly, among others M^r Samuel D'hoy of Chaussée ¹ neare Calais who was Lieutent of a compy of y^e horse mellitia aged abt 70 years who having bene about 6 weekes in a dungeon under ground from where hee was taken & apearng before y^e Intendant who on first sight said in my hearing 'This is D'hoy for hee lookes like an obstinate Heretick' and having asked him if hee would abjure & M^r D'hoy answering y^t his concience could not permit him to doe it, on wch y^e intendant told him y^t y^e King was to good & y^t wee all deservd to bee destroyed & told s^d d'hoy y^t hee should bee sent to his own house next day wth 12 dragoons & y^t when hee would desire y^e favour of receiving him to abjure hee would leave y^e dragoons a month longer with him for the punishment of his obstinacy wch made D'hoy silent wch was taken for consent,² after wch y^e Intend^t told mee that hee was Informd I was a you [*sic*] Heretick who perswaded my mother not to abjure but y^t I should pay for it for my mother & I should bee sent home y^e next day wth dragoons & hee would give ord y^t I should not want for blowes etcra, & I had on y^e other hand M^r desofre ³ who was y^e Major of y^e towne & who

¹ A small village near Calais, now called Coquelles.

² Mr. Vaillant, in the work cited above (p. 63), gives the following entry of the death of Samuel Doye, taken from the registers of Neuchâtel:—

'L'an 1686 et le vingt cinquième jour de Septembre est décédé en la maison de Pierre Senlecque, un nommé Samuel Douye nouveau converty de la paroisse de la Chaussée-lez-Calais estant arrivé chez ledit Senlecque le vendredy vingtiesme du present mois revenant de Paris lequel Douye n'a receu aucun sacrements pour n'avoir ledit Senlecque ny autre de sa maison donné aucun avertissement de ladite maladie; nous avons pourtant mis le corps en terre dans le cimetière de Neufchâtel, veu le certificat comme (quoi) il avait esté confessé et eommunié es prisons de Calais. En foi de quoy j'ay signé.

'N. Le Roy P^{re}.'

Mr. Vaillant adds: 'Son cadavre, exhumé de son fosse, jeté sur un charrette, fut transporté à Calais et la s'exécuta une sentence d'une incroyable horreur.'

³ Renée de Joffré had been major from 1677 to 1682, when he was succeeded by Etienne Carrel, see above, p. 434, note.

pretended to bee my friend having severall times before bene at our house & conversed with me, who represented to me y^e my mother was sickley & if wee went home and shee saw mee beaten it would cause her Death & y^t it was but trying & if I did not like to bee a Roman Catholick I could at any time git away, so y^t being threatned by y^e Intend^t on one side & flattered or tempted on y^e other I stood mute & said nothing on wch y^e major told y^e Intendant y^t I would signe y^e abjuration, I was then fully convinced of y^e great weakness of man by my own and other persons's woefull experience, & I say lett no man boast of his strenght or constancy for without a particular assistance from god man is altogether vanity.

On y^e 30 of xber abt 9 at night came an officer wth a compy of solders & took out of y^e prison such as had consented to signe wch was about 34 persons & conducted them to y^t great church of wch mumber my mother & I were—in sd church wee mett severall of our protestant friends whose patience being wore out by the hard usage of y^e dragoons came to make also abjuratn. There wee all shedd teares lamenting our sad conditions. Wee were ledd to a Chapell where the form of abjuration was read to uss (as falloweth or to y^t porpos)—Wee whose names are underwritten do acknowledge before God the father etera, the holy virgin mary S^t petter S^t Paul etera The church & the holy father the pope y^t wee were born & have heitherto lived in an Heretickall & Damnable Religion and that by y^e inspiration of y^e holly ghost, without any force or constraint wee do believe the Catholick apostolick & Romish Religion to be the only Religion in wch is Salvation & I do hartly embrace the same & promise to live & dye in the same & do abjure & detest the Religon in wch I was born etera—and although wee protested y^t wee could not in our conciences signe nor approve y^e same & in shedding teare declared it was contrary to our will & inclination, to wch some there present said—'Its no matter, come sign your name'—so y^t wee did all sign y^t were there and after that all our hands were layd on a book & an oath was reade by wch we promised to perform wt had bene signd, after wch wee were conducted to y^e great Altar where the chief prest was in a suplice who

made a discourse giving thanks for our conversion, & y^t as hee was perswaded y^t wee were cincer & harty in w^t wee did hee receivd us into y^e bosom of y^e church & y^t as wee were new born babbes hee would inflict us an easey penance wch was that every one of us should before wee went to bed say three paternosters & y^t such as could not say it in Latin may say it in french & about $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten wee were dismist & came out of church.

When wee came to our house wee found 3 persons who had bene ordd^d there to look after wt was there who had burnt eaten & drinkt all y^t was found there & wee could not come in possession without an order from y^e president wch I went for, but y^e presdt. told mee I must have a certificat from y^e prest of my abjuratn. I went to y^e church again & got a certificat & then an ord. from y^e president & between 12 & one at night y^e 3 men left our house & wee were in possession of wt. little was left, wee did gitt some linen from a neighbour where wee had caryed it before wee left y^e house. Wee were obligd to pay s^d 3 men 30 Sous a day each for ye time they were in our house, from y^t time wee were free at home but on Sundays wee went to Church to y^e sermon but did not stay to hear the latter part of ye mass but came out so soon as ye sermon was done as did also all the old Roman Catholick who had bene at mas y^t morning it not being requird of them to assist at 2 mases in one day. Sunday morning messrs. Isaac Sigart, James Hays, Jn Hays, Adrien Lernoult, Abraham le Maire, Jonas Duriz etera those persons came to my Mothers house and I went with them to heare y^e sermon wch sometimes were very good. I was left alone of y^e family wth my mother and wee continued there till y^e month of Aug^r 1686 when I did order my brother Stephen who was at dover to send a boat to fetch my mother & I and Brother & Sister Destrier & family s^d boat to bee ab^t 2 miles eastward of Calais at midnight Sunday y^e 31 July old stile & to make more sure I agreed to give y^e ryding officers 30 Louis d'or for attending y^t coming of y^e boat, giving us notice of it & seeing us on bord. I had agreed with a man to bee ready to bring from mark about 2 miles distance from y^e seaside my sister Elizabeth & her

Husband Jn Detrier & his mother & 2 children to whom I sent advice to bee ready, all y^e night I did dream y^t I was betrayed & y^t my design was known wch affected me soe much y^t I rose early & about 7 in y^e morning I went to y^e harbour & talked with one of y^e custom officers asking him wt newes & found he knew nothing of my designe and soon after I mett m^r Sollomon Lafarce a protestant wth whom I went to a publick house where wee brakfasted so hearing nothing I was better satisfyed & went home & some time after my mother and I went to church & after sermon wee came home & took our diner, and soon after I desired my mother to go in y^e church by one door & out of it by y^e other & to goe out of y^e town & y^t at y^e Crucifix there would bee a man who shee knew y^t would conduct her to y^e Rendezvous which was done, soon after I went to y^e harbour & there saw a vessell wch was come from dunkirk & was to goe to sea the next tide to cruise for y^e boats y^t caryed over protestant which made me uneasy, and I was more so when I came back to y^e market place where I saw a detachment made of 25 soldiers & an officer to go along the sea side to guard y^e coast & prevent protestants from going away, yett by gods grace I had courage and considering that all things were disposed & my mother gone I took a Resolution to go through, & sent for 4 paket men to whom I gave w^t money I had in y^e house, Bookes & w^t I found more valuable of small volum y^t could go in their great pokets wch they caryed on bord their vessel two severall times & after that I went to a tavern & gave them 2 quarts of wine & took 2 or 3 glaces of it myself & I took wth me James Lingo one of sd paket men and desired him to walk wth me out of town, it was then ab^t 8 o clock when many people y^t had been walking out of town were coming back. I went along carelessly talking with Lingo, taking up smal stones and toasting them in y^e aire, an acquaintance asked me where I was going soe late I told him not far & y^t we should be soon back—being got out of y^t gates we walked softly till we mett but few people & taking towards grauelin¹ rood Lingo asked whether I designed to go further, I then told him my designe & asked if hee thought a

¹ Gravelines.

boat could come from dover as y^e wind was, he said they must row for there was but little wind, I desired him to go back & if anybody enquired for me he may say he left me going for marke to see my sister. Soon after I left him I got to our Rendezvous, a house about a mile further where I found my mother, & abt 11 oclock at night 4 Riding officers came to y^e house, at wch I was some thing started having expected but 2 of them but y^e chief of m̄ told me it was y^e same & y^e I had nothing to fear from m̄ I borrowed a horse of y^e man of y^e house & went with s^d officers by y^e sea side, to look out for y^e boat, till abt 12 & seeing nothing coming, the sd officers advised me to Ride from them & keep behind sand hills about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from y^e sea & y^t so soon as y^e boat appeared they would come & give me a signall with a wissell, wch signall I herd soon after & being mounted againe (for I had lighted) I galloped to y^e sea side & saw y^e boat, & spoake to Jos Dunstan on of y^e seamen, now my sister & brother Detrier not coming I went to mett them, to hasten them & after ridding above a mile I found them & y^e wagoner mending a wheele of y^e wagon with Roaps I desired him to make w^t hast he could & came back to y^e boatmen & told m̄ the wagon was just coming, for they were in hast to be gone it being then past one & they would not stay for fear of daylight, I ridd again to hasten the wagon wch was then at hand & coming back to y^e boate I did see two farmers their wives & six children in y^e boate, I asked y^e boatmen who they were & who ordd^d them there, they answered they did not know & did think them to be of our company & said the boat could not cary us all I asked s^d farmers w^t made them be there with their wives & children & severall bundles of clothes wch they had brought on horses backs, they said y^t they were told y^t a boat was to be there y^t night & they came there in hopes to find room to gitt over to England. I told them I should bee glad if there was room for them but as the s^d boat was come for my mother etc wee must have room first & ordd them to gitt out wch the men did tho much ag^t stomack. My mother gott in y^e boat & also my Sister, her husband, his mother & their 2 children & I. It being faling water y^e boat was aground, the six seam̄ & y^e 2 farmers who

were still on shore got in y^e water to y^e middle & gott y^e boat over 8 sand banks & at last to sea when the 2 farmers begged for god sake to be suffred to git on bord, y^e men told them y^t if any wind did rise they would be obliged to throw them over bord & their wives & all their baggage, to wch they answered that if it was god's will they wold submitt to it, but hoped that god in his mercy would preserve us all, the riding officers had of me 40 crownes that is 20 crownes of each familly & soe by y^e grace of god we set saile & y^e seamen rowed sometimes about 2 houers after we Left y^e shore we spyed a Sloop & fearing y^e dunkirk cruser, they spread a saile over all y^e passengers heads who layd down in y^e boat, & y^e fine wind & wather being favorable we landed at dover on y^e shore about 8 of the clock y^e same morning¹ for wch mercy I shall ever give thanks to God, it being a very great deliveranc. we were mett on y^e shore by brother Ambroise Jacob & Stephen & sisters Suson & Mary full of tears of joy in our eyes & many more of our friend who reed us as bretheren saved from y^e great percecution. It is now fifty years since we landed at dover & I doe find that time doth wear out matters after such a manner y^t all y^t is past is now as a dreame, whereas at y^e time of our being in prison & percecuted by dragoons or otherwise it is a very terrible thing wch makes people promiss y^t if god delivers them they will mend their wayes, & live more like true Christians than ever they did before, but y^e generallity of Christians even y^e reformed ones are like y^e Israelites, noe sooner past y^e sea but they forgett their deliverance and goe a Stray.

It did happen y^t about 15 days before, a gard of y^e govern^r came to be at our house, a rumour being spread that we did designe to make our escape, all our creditors came & demand payment & such as wee had bought goods to pay in two monthes, or given bills payable in a monthe or six weeks came & demanded paym^t or to give them good security of Roman Catholick persons, or else they would obtain sentences to compell us to do it, & my mother not being willing to part wth w^t money we had I was obligd to give them goods for

¹ The landing was effected on the Bull Rock, removed in 1844, when the South-Eastern Railway Company's station was made.

security, such as brandys, hard & soft soap, Lead, oyle, tallov, sugars etc wch they caryed away & I was buysy two days about delivering goods & paying of small debts & I never was more tyered & vexed than during sd two days.

During the time we were in y^e prison severall prists capachins & minismes came severall times to y^e prison & did endeavour to perswade y^e protestant prisonrs to abjure and turn Roman Catholick but to no porpos for even y^e Country people were better instructed in their religion than most of s^t pristes were in theirs.

The manner of being dragoond was thus m^r Pillart a merchant had 8 men & horses at discretion in garison at his house for about a monthe who were soe kind as to suffer him & wife to take rest, but by reason of their being to easey they were discharged 20 foot soldiers putt in their place who being told y^t they should be relived in 24 houres soon gott drunk & abused their Land Lord & Lady who were old persons, did not suffer them to sleep, sent for y^e fidlers, forced them to dance, sold all y^t they found in y^e house, & spoiled all y^e goods, y^e lady made her escape out of y^e garet window & gott to a nighbours house who out of compation conceald her, y^e man was struk on his side by one of y^e souldiers & layd as dead & a surgeon being sent for he was lett blod & recoverd, one need no more than consider w^t a sober person is exposed to when he is left at y^e discretion of 20 drunken souldiers, s^t m^r Pillart being tyered & not being able to suport any longer the cruell usage of the souldiers he submitted to make his abjuration which was in feby 1686 ab^t 8 at night, I was desired by m^r Adrien Lernoult merch^t at Calais (neveu to sd m^r pilart) to go with him to sd m^r pilart's house & I did go in order to prevent y^e souldiers caring goods away, but being there we found nothing worth carying away for every thing was soe broken & cutt & destroyed y^t it was a lamentable sight, in a room up stairs was spread 5 or 6 bedds & blankett in such a dirty condition as if beastes had layen there.

That is y^e methode y^t was made use of by y^e popish church to make converts to their religion by wch meanes they could show the abjuration of many hundred thousand persons under

their hands, I pray god to preserve all people who call themselves Christians from the spirit of persecution wch hath bene so long prevalent among them.

Severall other familyes in Calais were used after y^e same maner (viz) m^r Louis Delebecque a worthy gentleman who had a numerous family who had a daughter maryed to a Captⁿ of a Company of Suisses of 200 men etc.

m^r Isaac Sigart, Abrah^m Le Maire, Adrien Lernoult, James Hays, Jacob Dehane, Jonas durier, all merchant and severall other familyes by wch on may judge w^t a terrible desolation it caused in all parts of france.

Notes and Queries.

I.

THE RECALL OF THE HUGUENOTS TO FRANCE IN 1685-86: TWO IMPORTANT STATE PAPERS.

OUR President has, on more than one occasion, expressed his opinion that the reading and publication of Papers of a diplomatic nature will perhaps do more to make the Society widely known and to promote its interests than can be done by Papers of any other description; and he has offered us an excellent example in the two interesting and valuable communications which he has been good enough to make to our 'Proceedings.'

A Paper on the attempt made in the years 1685 and 1686 to induce the Huguenot refugees to return to France is one of this kind which would well repay the labour expended in writing it; and it is to be hoped that some Fellow of the Society will be found willing to undertake the task.

Extracts from two documents of the greatest importance for the study of this subject are printed below.

Those first quoted contain such points in the instructions given by Louis XIV. to the *Sieur de Bonrepas* with regard to his special mission to England at the close of the year 1685, as relate to the proposed recall of the Huguenots. These instructions, though their chief features are well known, have apparently not yet been printed in England *in extenso*.

The second document, of which the opening portion only is printed, is a letter which, though unsigned and not endorsed, is evidently from its contents written by some one of high position to a correspondent also of some rank. The issue of the *Quo Warranto* against the French Church in the City does not appear to be even alluded to in the more usual text-books of Huguenot history, and yet it is a matter which must have made a great sensation at the time amongst the French exiles, and which seems to be a natural sequence of *Bonrepas'* mission.

*The Instructions given to the *Sieur de Bonrepas* for procuring the return of the French Refugees.¹*

¹ Versailles, 20 Décembre, 1685.

'Instruction pour le *Sieur de Bonrepas*, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Lecteur ordinaire de la Chambre de sa Majesté, et Intendant général de la Justice, Police, et Finances de la Marine et des Armées navales de France.

'Le Roy luy ayant fait sçavoir ses intentions en général sur le sujet du voyage, que sa Majesté veut qu'il fasse en

¹ *Baschet Transcripts*, Bundle 26. The original is at Paris, 'Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Série Angleterre, Registre N° 157, pages 1 à 12.'

Angleterre et en Hollande, elle désire qu'elles luy soient encore plus particulièrement expliquées par cette instruction, et que dès qu'il l'aura reçue il parte pour se rendre à Londres, où il concertera avec le Sieur de Barrillon, son Ambassadeur, les moyens d'exécuter les ordres dont il est chargé, et luy rendra la lettre que sa Majesté luy escrit sur ce sujet.

' La conversion des hérétiques estant une des choses qui tient le plus au cœur de sa Majesté, et désirant avec passion de faire réunir à l'Eglise ceux de ses sujets que le malheur de leur naissance en a séparés, et de rappeler en France ceux qui par un caprice de religion en sont sortis, le dit Sieur de Bonrepaus apportera tous les soins possibles, tant par luy-mesme que par les personnes dont il jugera à propos de se servir, pour connoistre tous les François qui se sont retirez en Angleterre, et après avoir examiné leur conduite, et pénétré leurs intentions, il taschera de les engager avec adresse à revenir dans leurs maisons, en leur facilitant les moyens et proposant à chacun les choses auxquelles ils seront plus sensibles, et qui pourront le plus contribuer à leur faire prendre le party d'escouter avec docilité les raisons qu'il y a à leur dire pour les obliger à se convertir.

' Il doit faire entendre à tous en général que le bruit que l'on a fait courir dans les pays estrangers des prétendues persécutions que l'on fait en France aux religionnaires n'est pas véritable, sa Majesté ne se servant que de la voye des exhortations et des instructions qu'elle leur fait donner pour les réunir à l'Eglise, de laquelle ils ne sçauroient disconvenir qu'ils n'ayent esté séparés sans fondement. Il peut les asseurer aussy de la part de sa Majesté que tous ceux qui reviendront seront favorablement receus et rétablis dans leurs biens, dont ils jouiront paisiblement à l'advenir sans qu'ils puissent estre troublés dans leur commerce.

' Il fera donner de l'argent à ceux qui en auront besoin pour se conduire jusques chez eux, et leur remettre une lettre pour l'intendant de leur généralité, auquel sa Majesté donnera ordre de les rétablir dans leurs biens, et d'en descharger les séquestres s'ils ont esté saisis.

' Ceux qui se convertiront sur les lieux, ou à leur retour en

France, peuvent attendre une protection plus particulière de sa Majesté, et estre assurez qu'elle ne les abandonnera jamais. Elle fera donner des emplois à ceux qui seront en estat de servir, et des pensions à ceux qui en auront besoin pour subsister.

‘ Le dit Sieur de Bonrepaus ayant pris en Angleterre toutes les connoissances qui luy sont ci-dessus prescrites, en sorte qu'il en puisse rendre un compte exact à sa Majesté, il en partira pour se rendre incessamment en Hollande, laissant le Sieur Robert, Commissaire ordinaire de la Marine, à Londres avec les instructions nécessaires pour l'entière exécution de ce qui restera à faire pour faciliter le retour des fugitifs en France.

‘ Estant arrivé à la Haye, il concertera avec le Sieur Comte d'Avaux, Ambassadeur de sa Majesté en Hollande, tout ce qu'il conviendra faire pour l'exécution des ordres qui luy ont esté donnez par sa Majesté, et après avoir pris une exacte connoissance du nombre des Français de la religion prétendue réformée qui se sont retirez en la dite ville de la Haye, et fait un mémoire exact de leurs noms et qualitez, du bien qu'ils peuvent à peu près avoir emporté, des emplois et occupations qu'ils ont, des moyens que les Etats-Généraux ou les particuliers leur donnent d'y subsister, il les exhortera de repasser en France en leur donnant les mesmes assurances et se servant des mesmes raisons qui luy ont esté cy-dessus expliquées.

‘ Il passera de là dans toutes les autres villes de Hollande pour y faire les mesmes choses à l'esgard des dits fugitifs.

‘ Les Hollandois ayant cessé depuis quelque temps d'acheter en France une aussi grande quantité de toiles qu'ils avoient accoustumé d'y acheter pour le commerce qu'ils font aux Indes par Cadix, et sa Majesté estant informée que cela provient de la négligence que l'on a apportée en France dans les manufactures des dites toiles, ce qui a obligé les Hollandois d'en establir chez eux, le dit Sieur de Bonrepaus s'informerá soigneusement de l'estat auquel sont les dites manufactures et des moyens

dont on pourroit se servir pour les destruire, soit en rectifiant ou perfectionnant celles de France ou en taschant de faire revenir dans le royaume les François qui ont passé en Hollande pour les y establir.

‘ Fait à Versailles le 20 Décembre 1685.

(Signé) LOUIS (et plus bas) COLBERT.’

The ‘ Quo Warranto ’ against the French Church of London.¹

‘ Whitehall, June the 1st, 1686.

‘ SIR,—I haue in one of myne hinted to you that one of the methods proposed to rid this kingdome of the French Hugonetts here, who are by the cabalistical counsell represented as dangerous to the Government on foot att present here, was by sending out writts of *Quo Warranto* against the French Hogonett Church in London and other partes of England which did not conforme in ceremony to the Church of England, to oblige them to conforme to the Church of England or to depart the kingdome ; it being supposed by our State M^{rs} that they wou’d chuse the latter. And it seemes their measures were right enough taken, for, haueing begun with the nonconforming Hugonet Church in the Citty, the merchants that maintained it declared thereupon to the Ministers and Elders of the said Church, that, if they conformed, they would withdraw their maintenance ; upon which it’s thought they will be forced to breake up and retire else where, which will not only force away abundance of those Hugonetts, many of which are substantiall merchants and haue great stocks of money and merchandise, but many other of our merchants, dissenters, who resorted to the said Church, and discourage all the rest, who will take this for a forerunner of a greater storme, and will thereupon discontinue their trade and withdraw their money, *which is thought to be att least 6 partes of tenn of the moveing cash that drives the trade of the whole nation ;* which cannot but much deaden our traffick, and extreamly diminish the King’s customes ; but, as it is thought, this, nor no other

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, Wm. & Mary, Bundle 42, p. 340.

emergent obstacle whatever, will be capable to deterr the King from his fixed resolution of pursuing to the utmost the point of relegion.

'My Lord Sunderland did acquaint Mons^r Barrillon with what the King had done relateing to the Hugonetts; which, with relateing the consequences, has sattisfied him, and the same day these matters were ordered an expresse was sent to France.

'The King was, when last here, relateing the Bishop Meux' letter to the Hugonetts about their not being forced to change, and wou'd haue it credited; yett is a bold answer writ upon that subject.

'As to what I was before speakeing, that the King cannot proceed without money, what measures may be taken to procure those supplyes elsewhere his own revenue will not afford him, I, according to the hints given you, shall in its place haue a full account, as likewise of the effects of the generall discontent and heart burning this a[nd] severall other measures conjunctively taken may produce, and how they shall be opposed, &c.

'The French merchants that support the aforementioned Church haue endeavoured all they can to procure the ablest lawers to plead against this *Quo warranto*; but being fearfull to appear in opposition to the Court, and finding the Judges check and insult those that haue pleaded, excuse themselves from so ticklish an employ.'

II.

A BRIEF 'RELATION' OF PASTOR GILBERT PRIM-ROSE'S LIFE: WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN 1626.

The following narrative of the early part of the career of Gilbert Primrose sufficiently explains itself, though the occasion which called it forth would necessitate a search amongst original papers, which must be left for some future occasion.

The manuscript of the 'relation' is preserved amongst the 'Domestic State Papers' (Charles I. vol. xxxvii. No. 75).

'The yeere of Christ 1596, the 8 of August, I was admitted to the ministry in the prouince of Saintonge in France, and

the first of Februarie, the yeere of Christ 1602, was transported to Bordeaux, metropolitaine of the prouince of Guienne, where there is a great repaire of English and Scots, whom I assisted with my counsel, table, and purse, at all occasions, according to their necessities and my habilitie.

‘ I dwelt there til the yeere of Christ 1622, in December, when the Edict of Peace was verified and published by the Parlament of Bordeaux, with foure modifications, whereof the first was that no stranger should docmatise in France.

‘ This modification was applyed to mee only by the sollicitation of the Jesuites, namely, Cotton and Arnoux, saying that in the 21 yeeres I had been a minister at Bordeaux, their Societie had neuer conuerted any English or Scots, neither should conuert any in time to come, if I remained there, by reason of the perpetual caire I had of both nations.

‘ This reason, though true, yet seemed ridiculous to be published, and therefore the Counsellors of the Parlament bethought themselves of a better, taken from a secret information, which they had receiued of a match to be betwix England and Spaine, and therefore of an infallible plot, as thei suspected, against France, and namely, against Guyenne, the ancient patrimonie of the Kings of England, by remouing mee, who was the principal minister in Guienne, and iudged by them too capable to do good seruice to the King of Great Britaine, whose subiect I was by nature, so I had professed my selfe to be in a booke called “la Trompette de Sion,” which I had that same yeere dedicated to his Maiestie.

‘ So I was constrained to leaue the towne, and to remaine at Duras a daye’s iourney from thence, waiting for the issue of the sollicitation which the general deputies of the churches of France made at the Court for my restablishing, which they had obtained, if his Highnesse had not in March following gone to Spaine, the yeere of Christ 1623.

‘ In Junie the Duc d’Esperron, Gouuernour in Guyenne send me word to depart out of the prouince, otherwise he would cast me out of it, yet with this modification that if it pleased the King, his master, to recall the arrest of the Parlament of Bordeaux, he should restablish me in my church.

' So I went to the Court of France, where the Lord Chancellor exhorted me to haue a little patience, because, as I was informed, the Councill did expect the issue of his Highnesse iourney to Spaine.

' In the meane while a Counsellor of State, called Monsieur de Bellebat, died of a pestilential feuer at S. Germaines where the Court was, and therefore the Councel was dismissed for two months.

' I, not daring to returne to Guyenne, to put off that time came to England, where I got at Windsor a kisse of the King's hand, after his coming backe from the progres.

' About the end of October following, seing al difficultie of my restablishing in my church taken away, I went to Hampton Court, and prayed my Lord of Kelly to shew his Maiestie, that not being able to stay longer in England, nor also to liue upon the small condition which the French church offered unto me, I had resolved to returne into France: from his Maiestie my Lord Kelly brought to me a command to send for my family, with his royall promise to refund all the charges of that voiage, and to prouyd for me at the first occasion to my content, whereunto I obeyed.

' His Maiestie being distracted with diuers caires, and for the most part being absent from London from that time til his death, I thought it not fit to be importun, no thing douting but his Maiestie would remember mee, when his royall wisdom should thinke conuenient, and not suffer my obedience to his command to be the vndoing of my familie.

' In December afor his death I went to his Maiestie at White hall and did aske leaue to giue to the Prince a panegyric which I had made in French to his Highnesse. His Maiestie retained me almost an houre, and seing me going away ashamed to aske any thing, send after me my Lord Anandale, to tell me that he would forget me no more.

' But God preuented the effects of his royall promise and good wil towards me by his death. Neither did I since my coming to Ingland receiue any thing of his Maiestie. Contrariwise, since I was put out of Bordeaux unto this day, I

haue spend of the little substance I had reserued for my children six hundred pounds.

‘Thus after I haue beene beneficial to many of both nations of Ingland and Scotland, and the only man of my profession in this island which hath done most good to both, I remaine either unknownen or neglected, wich I would call a most iuste indgement of God, if I had foresaken my church to come to seeke vncertaine preferement where I am not known, or if I had not fallen into this extremitie rather through obedience to my soueraig, then by mine owne election. The 14 of October, 1626.

(Signed) ‘G. PRIMEROSE.

(Endorsed) ‘Mr. PRIMROSE, his relation.’

III.

THE SPITALFIELDS MANUFACTURERS AND THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

Henry Fox, writing in 1745, after the defeat of Sir John Cope by the Young Pretender at Prestonpans, says that ‘if 5,000 French had landed in any part of the island, the conquest would not have cost them a battle,’ so lukewarm did he consider the general feeling which then prevailed. Whether this be true or not, the merchants and traders of London were not backward in their professions of loyalty, and the alarm with which they viewed the landing of Prince Charles, and his subsequent successes, elicited from them several addresses to the Crown, which are to be found printed in the ‘London Gazette.’

As was only to be expected, the Huguenot families settled in the metropolis also came forward at this juncture with offers of support against a prince who had such intimate relations with their former persecutors in France. Some signed the general addresses of merchants, bankers, and others; but the colony of silk manufacturers at Spitalfields waited personally upon the King, and assured him of their unswerving loyalty and readiness to take arms for his cause if need required. The

English manufacturers of the district joined in the deputation, which comprised representatives of 138 firms. Each firm had endeavoured to induce their workpeople to give a like promise, and the total number of men which Spitalfields thus offered to furnish was 2,919.

The notice of the reception of the manufacturers, as it appears in the 'Gazette' of October 5, is given below. The names of thirty-seven firms, however, which are apparently English, are omitted; and as these firms found all together 863 men, the total number of volunteers raised by the remaining firms, whose names have been printed, is thus reduced to 2,056.

'The following Association of the Manufacturers and others inhabiting in or near Spital Fields (who to their several subscribed names have added the numbers of men each manufacturer proposes to raise for his Majesty's service) has been presented to his Majesty by Mr. Alderman Baker, accompanied by a numerous body of gentlemen, being introduced by the Right Honourable the Earl Woldegrave, one of the Lords of his Majesty's Bed Chamber in Waiting: which Association his Majesty was pleased to receive very graciously.

' Christ Church, Middlesex, Sept. 26, 1745.

' We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, Manufacturers and others inhabiting in or near Spitalfields, in the county of Middlesex, duly considering the great and many blessings we enjoy under his most sacred and illustrious Majesty King George, think it our duty (at this time more especially) to manifest our inviolable attachment to his person and government. We do therefore declare our utter detestation and abhorrence of the unnatural rebellion now carried on in favour of a Popish Pretender, or some of his family: And we do, as much as in us lies, solemnly promise and engage ourselves to stand by each other to the utmost of our power and ability, to defend his Majesty's person and government, by inducing our several workmen, servants and dependants, to take up arms, whenever called thereto by his Majesty, against all his enemies, both foreign and domestic.

'A list' of such Manufacturers and others inhabiting in or near Spital Fields, together with the number of their workmen, servants, and dependants, who have been engaged by their masters to take up arms when called thereto by his Majesty in defence of his person and government.

Peter Campart	74	Lewis Desormeaux	19
Captain James Dalbiac	80	Ann Barbutt	14
John Tall	9	Lewis Chevelier	88
Daniel Pilon	49	Simon Dalbiac, jun.	25
Daniel Gobbee	70	Abraham Deheul	47
George Garrett	20	John Campion	2
Peter Nouailles	8	Thomas Triquet	7
Godin and Ogier	60	Judith Sequeret and Bour-	
John Lamy	12	dillion	14
James Roberdeau	17	James Maze	24
George Farnet	11	Francis Chansat	6
John Maze	17	Samuel Savage	86
James Gautier	20	Bigot and De Lavan	80
John Sabatier	84	Nicholas Hebert	25
Samuel Alavoine	80	Gabriel Pomier	8
John Rondeau	57	James Ouvry	19
Rene Turquand	4	Peter Ougier	50
James Maze	25	Peter Ferree	2
James Beuzeville	5	John Ouvry	88
Riviete and Ogier	16	Peter Farques	8
Abraham Dupree	8	Benjamin Champion	50
Jacob Jamet	20	Peter Delamare and Co.	22
Peter Abraham Ogier and		John Defoule	8
Sons	28	Paul Auder	14
John Ogier	16	Gabriel Grillier	12
James Martell	9	Mathurin Rivalin	4
Daniel Pineau	29	Obadiah Agace and Sons	41
Henry Cline	8	John Roy	10
James Auber	16	John Batcheler	19
John Luke Landon	48	Thomas Sandell and Son	10
Ephraim Flammere	2	John Desclaux	10
Chantrey and Co.	85	Thomas Brant	17
Peter Pontie	9	Abraham Ravenel	14
John Frederick Bernard	9	Isaac Dupree	12
Peter Gallott	4	James Lardant	27
Lewis Chauvet	65	James Duthoit	7

¹ This is the list referred to in vol. i. p. 133 of the *Proceedings*. Of course some of the names here printed may not be French.

Peter Duthoit, <i>sen.</i> 12	John Lamaitre 4
Lewis Triquet 4	Daniel Mesman 48
John May 16	Daniel La Vautier 47
John Gilmare 9	Edward Grange 6
Peter Lekeux 18	William Chisim 3
Daniel Cabbinell 30	Samuel August 6
John Hauchecorne 2	John Halbout 5
Stephen Beuzeville 8	Joseph Oram 6
John Ogier 4	Peter Auber and Son 52
Peter Beuzeville 10	John May, <i>jun.</i> 1
James Pigne 17	Simon Julian 22
Peter Maillard 21	John Freemont 20
Peter Bourdon 26	Abraham Jeudiome 60

IV.

DISCIPLINE OF THE FRENCH CHURCH
OF LONDON, 1578.

COMMUNICATED BY W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A.

The discovery of the Discipline of the French Church of London of 1578 in the archives of that Church clears up much of the difficulty regarding the history of those in use since the establishment of the French Churches in England. That of Des Gallars of 1561 was founded on the Discipline of A. Lasco, approved of by Edward VI., and which was printed in Latin, and later in French, 1556. There has not yet been an opportunity of comparing this newly discovered discipline of 1578 with the earlier one of 1561, but it probably follows the same lines. Certain, however, is it that the discipline of 1588, which was used by all the French Churches in England, closely agreed with that of 1578 with the addition of a few more articles, those for Colloquies and general assemblies being necessary, as these were not held until three years after the latter date, the first Colloquy of the French Churches in England being on May 19, 1581.

The following are the titles of the Articles of the Discipline of 1578 :—

'POLICE ET DISCIPLINE ECCLESIASTIQUE OBSERVÉE EN
L'EGLISE DE LA LANGUE FRANCOISE À LONDRES.

ARTICLES

- Des charges ordinaires en leglise.
- 1-16. Des Pasteurs.
17. Les Vices quil ne fault supporter en ung ministre.
18. Aultres Vices plus supportables etc.
- 1-7. Le second ordre qui est des Docteurs.
- 1-25. Le tiers ordre qui est des Anciens ou aussi il est Traiete du gouvernement de leglise. (*The Discipline of 1588 has also Articles 26, 27, and 28.*)
- 1-18. Le 4^e ordre qui est des Diacres. (*The Discipline of 1588 has only 17 Articles.*)
- 1-13. Du temps de l'administration de la Parolle de Dieu et du nombre des Sermons. (*The Discipline of 1588 has only 11 Articles.*)
- 1-7. De la Prophetie.
- 1-5. De la Proposition.
- 1-5. Du Baptisme. (*The Discipline of 1588 has 6 Articles.*)
- 1-5. De la Cene. (*The Discipline of 1588 has 6 Articles.*)
- 1-6. Des Mariages.
- Formulaier des promesses de Mariage. (Note.—*This is 8 in the Discipline of 1588.*)
- De la Visitation des Malades.
- 1-4. De la Sepulture.
- Forme de Descharge.
- Forme de Nomination.
- Forme de Confirmation.
- Pour les Ministres.
- Pour les Anciens.
- Pour les Diacres.
- Prière avec limposition des Mains.
- Conclusion.¹

'Ces articles de discipline ont estes dressez et approuuez par les Ministres Anciens et Diacres de ceste eglise francoise de Londres ausquels il ne sera permis à aucun de rien changer ou innouer de son autorite particuliere, etc. etc.

'Faiet et conclud par les Ministres, Anciens et Diacres de l'Eglise francoise de Londres apres auoir eu sur ce la

¹ There are Articles 1-5 in the Discipline of 1588 concerning *Des Colloques et Assemblées Générales*.

communication et conseil de quelque bon nombre de ministres françois refugiez a Londres et arresté aux jour de Censures en mois de Septembre an quinze cens soissante dixhuict po^r testmoings nous sousignes.

Jn^o BODLEYPi^è DE ROSIGNIEL

JOHAN VANDER HOFSTADT

R. LE MACON, ministre

GILLE BULTEEL (?)

LOIS BISCOP'

' Les Ministres Anciens et Diacres de leglise françoise de Londres estans assemblez au nom de Dieu apres lecture faicte de rechef entre eux des articles ej dessus escrits de la discipline. Ils les ont de chef entierement approuves et pour tesmoignage de ceste leur approbation et vnion en lobseruation et entretenement dicelle Ils ont trouué bon dj soubzscrivre et soubz signee admonestans et prians leurs successeurs de voulloir faire le semblable po^r le bien et vtilité de Leglise faict a Londres le v Daoust 1579.

*Anciens.*Jn^o BodleyPi^è de Rosigniel

Anthoine Cappel

Nicolas Lenard (?)

Johan Vander Hofstadt

Dominique Beaupert

Francois Biscop

Louis Says

Martin Maignon

Hercules Francois

Dan Grengne (?)

Martin Hardinet (?)

Michiel Ant (?)

Jaques Cire (?)

A. Bodinior (?)

Gilles Beernard

Anthoine Bien

Jean Longhet

Jehan Houbelon

Baltazar Sanchet (?)

Nicolas de Lannoy

Jaques Gabry laisne

R. Lemacon, ministre [1574]

J. Castel [1582]

Aaron Cappel [1591]

Samuel le Cheualier [1591]

Diacres.

Gille Bulteel

Lois Biscop

Martin Druet

Jehan van Hulst

Allexandre Manco (?)

Jehan Vevy

Adrien Tor . . .

Jacques du Rieu

Pierre Lanoy (? Canoy)

(illegible)

(illegible)

HIB
X

V. Dothur (?)
 Gilles Ewins
 Roger (*illegible*)
 Jan Leymer (?)
 Ascanias de Renialmy
 Michel Meriev (?)
 (*illegible*)
 Jan le Febure
 (*illegible*)
 (*illegible*)

Michel de le Dalle
 Anthoine Joret
 Loys Ramon
 Allert Foelunaux (?)
 Hierosane Haultus (?)
 Adrien Mulā
 Alixandre de Mellon
 H. Moine
 Pierre Bulteel
 Francois le Brul



Anciens et Diacres.

Richard Tanville
 Francois le Fort
 Richard Estur
 Jaque le Ronm . . (?)
 Diacre Jean Gerare
 „ Gedeon de Laune
 „ Nicolas Lescailliet
 Robert de Lean
 Jan Reussel
 Daniel Corporeau
 Hubert de le Vincquiere
 Lauren Boncasant (?)
 Jehan de la Forterie
 Daniel Ribreysie (?)
 Gerbesine de (*illegible*)
 Jaen Motquy
 Henrey Sor (?)
 Pierre du Bois
 Pierre des fontaine
 Pierre Mermier (?)
 Robert Tiery
 Jaques Ocaupon (?)
 Robart Bartzan
 Marc de Calhome
 Phūs le Herdo (?)
 Ezechias le Roy
 Thomas de la Tombe a° 1606

Diacres et Anciens.

Jean Hacart	Mathieu Mocart
Walleran le Pape	Lous Vallee
Adrien de Blangy	P. Margaes
Martin Mareschal	Pharamond Duflo
Gilbert tout le Monde	Jehan Pascard
Jacque de le Tour	Miche du Crocy
Gillie Boulenger	Nicasius de Glas
Jan du Quesnie	Michel de Kordes
Bon fflatlie (?)	Pierre Boneval
Jan le Poukes	Anthoyne Mallars
Jean des Obry	Nicol Demontorme
Luc Chambre (?)	Phle Biscop
Guillaume le Roy	Anthoine Horenge
Andre le Beaulx	

This concludes the signatures. As the discipline of 1588 was put in force immediately after being drawn up, and it superseded that of 1578, the signatures affixed to the latter document after the year 1588, such as that of Thomas de la Tombe, who, it will be observed, signed in 1606, must have been appended in error.

A passage in Ruytinck's manuscript history of the Dutch strangers refers as follows to the flight of French Protestants to this country after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.—A.D. 1578. 'After the frightful murder of St. Bartholomew many of the teachers of theology and other pious Christians took flight to England, whom the Lord had saved from the mouth and the claws of the lions, and they found here a good shelter; for that wicked deed caused in the hearts of many Princes a Christlike sympathy, but chiefly in that of the Queen Elizabeth, who was a mother in Israel. These teachers practised "Prophecy" [*expounding the Scriptures*] among themselves, and Mons' de Villiers, as Professor, gave latin lessons in Theology, receiving pay from both the Churches.'¹ The French Church, thus increased in numbers, met together monthly in the Dutch church, called Jesus' Temple, to celebrate the holy supper.

¹ Translated from Ruytinck's MS. vol. i. 56, 57. Dutch Church Coll. Guildhall Library.

The names¹ of the ministers as given by Ruytinck are set out below. Amongst them were probably the 'bon nombre de ministres françois refugiez à Londres,' who are said to have assisted in drawing up the discipline of 1578.

Dominicq du Gric, minister of Morlaix.
 Jacob Tardif, minister of Pont-Audemer.
 Cardin Mignot, minister of Licuray.
 Adrian de Saravia, minister of Flanders.
 Pierre L'Oiseleur, dict de Villiers, minister of Rouen.
 Robert Le Maçon, dict de la Fontaine, minister of Orleans.
 Jean Lium (?), dict de Beau-Lieu, minister in Vexin François.
 Jean Cravelle, minister at Dreux.
 Antoine Licques, minister in the house of the Antreux.
 Guillaume Figuerer, minister of Duché-Long^{le}.
 Noël Drouet, minister of Buisson & Ange.
 Jacob des Bordes, minister of Bordeaux.
 François Vrau, dict du Buisson, minister of Buy.
 Matthieu Cartant [? Cartaul], dict du Val, minister of Brisolles.
 Michiel Forest, minister of Duché.
 Jean de Monange, minister of Rosay.
 Jean Cousin, minister of London.
 Jacques Toulliet, dict des Roches, minister of London.
 Pierre d'Ordes, dict de Espoir, minister of Amiens.
 Louis Morel, minister of Blanges.
 Marin le Faur, dict du Faussé, minister of Fallasse.
 Claude Charrier, dict de la Touche, minister of Arfleu.
 Thomas Raquesne, dict de la Pioni . . . , minister at Tours.
 Caspar Taon, minister at Long^{le}.
 Pierre Beue, minister at Consuare.
 Jean Marie, minister near Caen.
 Jean Baptista Aurelius, minister at London.
 Vrsin Bayeux, minister of Columby.
 Noël Riquet, dict de Chameaux, minister of Linray.
 Jean Aubert, minister of Bouloigne.
 Nicolas Banage, minister of Evreux.
 Vincent de Buyssy, minister of Bruchamp.
 Olivier de Molan, minister of Bordeaux.

¹ When 'of' a place is used, it is probable that, according to the custom of the time, the minister was a native of that place, the more so as in some cases they are described as minister 'in' and 'at' certain towns, &c. In all cases the names are given as in the publication of the Marnix Society, 1873, pp. 89-91 of the transcript of Ruytinck's MS.

Bernard de Boaste, minister of Bordeaux.
 Piere Bouillon, minister of Baron.
 Michiel de Montrescot, minister of Anthon.
 Arthur l'Escaly, minister of Haure.
 Robert l'Eschesne, minister of Brissay.
 Claude du Moulin, minister of Fontenay le Conté.
 Matthieu Mesleure, dict du Cigne, minister of Suse.
 Claude Gartier, minister of Pont.
 Jean Marchant, minister of Laval.
 Piere Baron, minister of Orleans.
 Jean Borsiuuil, minister of Guarand.
 Vincent le Bas, dict du Val, minister of Caen.
 André du Cros, minister in Poietou.
 Jean Bondun, minister in Basse Normandie.
 Cleophas Ballot, minister of Esiorche.
 Gillis Auber, minister of Brossay.
 Olivier Rolant, minister of Morlaix.
 Gillis Canterbury, minister of Caen.
 Matthieu de la Faye, dict de la Vigne, minister of S^t Po.
 Jacques Coñet, minister of Avalon in Bourgoigne.
 Dominique de Losse, minister in Poietou.
 Christian Cuillerié, minister of Armentiers.
 Estienne Bastart, minister of Vaudennois.
 Jean Viau, minister in the land of Chatrain.
 Noël Perruquet, minister at Phitriae.
 Jean de la Mollaire, minister in Normandy.
 Bauduin Paris, minister in Normandy.

The following are translations of extracts from the Colloquy Book (or rather the copy of the Colloquy Book,¹ for no original appears to be now in the French Church archives) concerning the Discipline of 1578 and 1588:—

2nd Colloquy, June 15, 1582. It was ordered that a copy of the Discipline of the London Church should be sent to each of the brethren of that Church to each of the other Churches in England.

3rd Colloquy, April 12, 1583, act 9. It was considered good to have a common form of discipline instead of the various ones of London.

4th Colloquy, held at Canterbury, May 8, 1584, act 1.

¹ The copy of the Act Book of the Colloquies appears to be an abstract of the various points of the discipline discussed are not given.

The articles of the common discipline of the Foreign Churches of the French language, 'selon laquelle les dites Eglises seront gouvernies pour cheminer d'un même pied et en union les unes avec les autres,' were considered.

5th Colloquy, held at Southampton, May 13, 1586, act 9. It was ordered that notices should be published in the Churches on Sacrament Sundays concerning the discipline, that no one should be in ignorance of it.

6th Colloquy, held at Rye, September 15, 1587. It was ordered that the discipline was to be considered at the next colloquy and then passed.

7th Colloquy, held in London, September 6, 1588, act 5. The discipline to be considered according to the order of the last colloquy and to be agreed to.

The discipline of 1588 was used until 1641, when it was again revised. At the 24th Colloquy, held in London, April 29, 1625, act 5, the revision of the discipline was adjourned to the next colloquy, but the persecution of the foreign Churches by Laud hindered this, and it does not appear to have been finally revised until the 25th Colloquy, held in London, September 12, 1641, when (fol. 56-57d) it was agreed to, 'selon qu'elle a été revenue en l'an 1641, par le synode des dites Eglises.'

At the 3rd Synod of the French and Dutch Churches in England, held in London, 1641 (the acts of which are written in English), act 9 is as follows: 'This Synod thinks it fitting that both the Disciplines of our Churches be revised to which they intend to keep themselves, each nation revising her own.' It was also agreed that a common discipline should be made from the two for use by the two nations, but the troubles of the time prevented this arrangement. The Norwich Church appears to have kept to their old form of 1588, but the Churches of Canterbury and London have since 1641 used the discipline revised and agreed to in that year.

V.

THE WESTMINSTER FRENCH PROTESTANT
SCHOOL.

The following list of benefactors of the little French Protestant School will be read with interest from the many Huguenot names contained in it.

The school itself was founded in 1747, and is commonly known as 'The French Protestant School of Westminster,' though for the past forty-two years it has been located in Bloomsbury Street, adjoining the French Church of S. Jean la Savoie. It is under the control of a committee of gentlemen claiming Huguenot descent or connection, and the fifteen girls maintained in it are all of Huguenot origin. The girls must not be younger than seven years, nor above eleven years of age at the time that they are registered, and they are elected by ballot, i.e. by a majority of the votes which all subscribers and benefactors are entitled to give. It is expected that they will be removed by their parents or other friends when they attain the age of 14½ years, and they are not lost sight of afterwards if occasions offer in which they can be befriended.

They are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, Bible history and Church catechism both in English and French; for the latter language is a part of the school curriculum, partly as a memorial link between the past and the present, and partly as a possibly useful link between the present and the future, particular attention being paid to their accent and pronunciation. Lastly, as the inmates are likely to become domestic servants, three of the number are told off every week to assist in the discharge of household duties in kitchen, bedrooms, and schoolroom.

The children form the choir and lead the singing at the Church of St. Jean (La Savoy), and receive advice and religious instruction from the incumbent of that church.

The applications for admission to the school on behalf of

girls qualified to enter it are far more numerous than can be considered, the funds at the disposal of the committee only sufficing at present for the maintenance of fifteen children. It is hoped, however, that this small number may be gradually increased by means of the 'Bicentenary Fund,' which was instituted in 1885 in commemoration of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes celebrated in that year. Subscriptions to this and to the general purposes of the school will be gladly received by the Treasurer, Mr. Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu, 10 Lancaster Place, Strand, W.C.

Statement of Benefactions from the year 1750 to the year 1888.

					£	s.	d.
1750.	Mars	28.	Mme. Thompson	. . . legacy	20	0	0
1751.	Mai	9.	Mrs. Orliquet	. . . . .	20	0	0
1754.	Mai	20.	Mr. Molinier	. . . . .	5	5	0
1755.	Mai	7.	Mr. Roussel	. . . . .	40	0	0
1756.	Mai	8.	Mme. Ardesoif.	. . . . .	5	5	0
1756.	Août	4.	Pelr. Delme, Esq.	. . . . .	20	0	0
1757.	Mars	11.	Mr. De Sauniers	. . . . .	5	0	0
1757.	Mars	17.	Mr. Valois	. . . . .	10	10	0
1757.	Mars	18.	Mr. De Blagny	. . . . .	10	10	0
1757.	Mars	18.	Les Demilles. Gibert	. . . . .	5	5	0
1757.	Mars	18.	Mr. Soulegre	. . . . .	5	5	0
1757.	Nov.	6.	Mr. De Chancourt	. . . . .	80	0	0
1758.	Jan.	16.	Mr. Pillon	. . . . .	5	5	0
1758.	Août	26.	Mme. Le Marchant.	. . . . .	50	0	0
1758.	Nov.	6.	Mr. De Missy	. . . . .	5	5	0
1758.	Nov.	6.	Mr. Jean Guide	. . . . .	5	5	0
1759.	Mai	25.	Mr. David Lebas	. . . . .	10	10	0
1760.	Juin	24.	Jne. Delme, Esq.	. . . . .	10	10	0
1763.	Août	10.	Mr. Pierre Hebert	. . . . .	80	0	0
1763.	Oct.	17.	Mr. Philne. Hardel en Anntes. de 8 pr. ct.		800	0	0
1763.	Nov.	22.	Mlle. Marie Dubuisson	. . . . .	80	0	0
1764.	Mai	10.	Mr. Daniel	. . . . .	12	12	0
1764.	Mai	18.	Mme. La Croze	. . . 8 pr. ct. red.	100	0	0
1764.	Juin	7.	Mr. Gardes	. . . . .	50	0	0
1764.	Août	27.	Mme. Galley	. . . . .	20	0	0
1765.	Fév.	4.	Mme. Bourdon	. . . long annes.	17	2	0
1765.	Août	30.	Mr. Cazalar	. . . . .	10	0	0
1765.	Sept.	19.	Charles Davoys, Esq.	. . . . .	200	0	0
1765.	Nov.	24.	Rev. Mr. Henry Pinnyot	. . . . .	10	0	0
1766.	Jan.	13.	Mr. Jaumard	. . . . .	10	0	0
1766.	Jan.	22.	Mme. Chauvet	. . . 8 pr. ct. red.	175	0	0

Statement of Benefactions (continued)—

				£	s.	d.
1766.	Fév.	8.	Mme. Triquet	30	0	0
1766.	Mai	5.	Mr. Jean Barbot	10	10	0
1766.	Août	4.	Charles Durand, Esq.	30	0	0
1766.	Déc.	1.	Mme. Bourdon long annes.	17	2	0
1767.	Fév.	27.	Mlle. Madelaine Tournier	50	0	0
1767.	Mars	7.	Guille. Minet, Esq.	50	0	0
1767.	Juillet	14.	Mr. Daniel Torin	20	0	0
1767.	Août	5.	Mlle. Parquot	10	0	0
1767.	Oct.	14.	Mme. Anne Hebert	25	0	0
1767.	Oct.	24.	Mme. Elisth. Bernard	25	0	0
1767.	Nov.	4.	Mme. Boehm	10	0	0
1767.	Nov.	10.	Mme. Marie Anne Dury	20	0	0
1767.	Nov.	20.	Mme. Tyler	10	0	0
1768.	Fév.	4.	Mlle. De Gennes	50	0	0
1768.	Mars	21.	Mr. Andre Requier	25	0	0
1768.	Juin	1.	Mlle. Anne Gendrault	31	10	0
1768.	Nov.	9.	Mme. Bourdon long annes.	23	4	0
1773.	Mars	17.	Mr. Pierre Buhet	5	0	0
1773.	Juillet	27.	Mr. Jaques Du Bisson	12	0	0
1773.	Août	7.	Mr. Jaques Le Maitre	5	5	0
1773.	Nov.	4.	Mr. Antoine Rossiere	50	0	0
1774.	Jan.	25.	Mlle. Marthe Caillou	10	0	0
1774.	Mars	4.	Mr. Pe. Foulle 3 pr. ct.	100	0	0
1774.	Mars	17.	Mlle. Marguerite Paon	20	0	0
1774.	Mai	4.	Mme. Marianne Phelippon	30	0	0
1774.	Mai	16.	Mr. Antoine Bandan	30	0	0
1774.	Juin	9.	Mme. Girande 3 pr. ct. conf.	50	0	0
1774.	Juillet	7.	Mr. Isaac Thuret	20	0	0
1774.	Sept.	7.	Mr. Jean Combecrose	10	0	0
1774.	Sept.	7.	Mr. Paul Caron 3 pr. ct. red.	50	0	0
1774.	Nov.	20.	Mlle. Marthe Gambier	10	0	0
1774.	Déc.	27.	Mr. Pierre Roussel	100	0	0
1775.	Mars	23.	Mr. Jean Palairat	2	2	0
1775.	Avril	5.	Mme. De Saunieres	20	0	0
1776.	Jan.	26.	Mme La Comte. De Primrose	50	0	0
1776.	Fév.	7.	Mr. Louis Martineau	69	12	0
1776.	Mars	27.	Mr. Etienne Beuzeville	10	0	0
1776.	Avril	3.	Mr. Jaq. De Roussel long annes.	20	0	0
1776.	Avril	30.	Mme. Louise Dalbiac	25	0	0
1776.	Mai	1.	Mr. Jean Deschamps	10	0	0
1776.	Mai	11.	Mr. Thomas Dubisson	30	0	0
1776.	Mai	17.	Mademoiselle Ferré	20	0	0
1776.	Juillet	3.	Mlle. Marie Roussett	10	0	0
1776.	Août	7.	Mme Charlotte Teissier	20	0	0
1776.	Août	15.	Mr. Pe. Bataille 3 pr. ct.	500	0	0
1776.	Oct.	21.	Mr. Denis Chirac	50	0	0

Statement of Benefactions (continued)—

					£	s.	d.
1776.	Nov.	26.	Rev. Pe. Fs. Le Courayer, D.D.	.	100	0	0
1776.	Déc.	4.	Mr. Pe. Bataille	.	10	0	0
1777.	Jan.	26.	Mr. Jeremie Morin	.	10	0	0
1777.	Jan.	29.	Mademoiselle Creuze	.	5	0	0
1777.	Fév.	7.	Mme. Francoise Deliot	.	10	0	0
1784.	Juillet	.	Mme. Marie Serres	.	97	2	2
1784.	Juillet	30.	Mr. Jean Henri Fenoulhet	.	50	0	0
1785.	Juin	.	Mr. Frans. Delabelle	.	50	0	0
1786.	Août	30.	Mr. Claude Bosanquet	.	100	0	0
1787.	Mars	26.	Mrie. Margtte. Guillot	.	10	0	0
1787.	Mai	2.	Mr. Newhouse	8 pr. ct. consols	200	0	0
1787.	Juin	25.	Le Rev. M. Bourdillon	.	20	0	0
1787.	Sept.	8.	Mlle. Marie Fontaine	.	50	0	0
1787.	Nov.	10.	Mr. Grignon	.	10	0	0
1788.	Août	4.	Mr. Jaques La Fitte	.	10	0	0
1789.	Avril	18.	Mme. Arniot	.	50	0	0
1789.	.	.	Mme. Lydie Bocquet	.	20	0	0
1789.	Juin	9.	Mr. Jean Berthon	.	20	0	0
1789.	Juin	20.	Mr. Jean De Blagny	.	50	0	0
1789.	Sept.	15.	Mme. Catherine Roubel	.	10	10	0
1790.	Mars	30.	Mme. Elizth. Dutens	.	50	0	0
1790.	Avril	2.	Mme. Jeanne Lombard	.	20	0	0
1790.	Avril	8.	Mme. Rowlandson	.	20	0	0
1790.	Avril	28.	Mr. Pierre Simond	.	20	0	0
1790.	Juin	11.	Mr. Pierre Calmel	.	50	0	0
1790.	Juillet	.	Mr. Duroy	.	25	0	0
1790.	Juillet	.	Mr. Pynyot	.	10	0	0
1790.	Nov.	22.	Mr. Bourget	.	20	0	0
1790.	Nov.	27.	Mr. Clement	.	10	0	0
1791.	Fév.	.	Mr. Guilme. La Roche	.	15	0	0
1791.	Mai	5.	Mme. Sniders	.	20	0	0
1791.	Mai	.	Mlle. Anne Fraigneau	.	10	10	0
1791.	Mai	24.	Mr. P. Debeze	South Sea annuities	500	0	0
1791.	Nov.	5.	Mlle. Anne Paon	.	20	0	0
1792.	Avril	28.	Mr. Maigre	.	100	0	0
1804.	Fév.	.	Mr. Paul Grisson	.	100	0	0
1804.	Juin	.	Mme. Palairat	.	20	0	0
1806.	Sept.	27.	Mme. Anne Fontaine	.	300	0	0
1806.	Mars	2.	Mme. Marie Brissan	.	81	10	0
1806.	Août	25.	Mme. Anne H. Barnouin	3 pr. ct. red.	100	0	0
1809.	Fév.	13.	Mme. Paon	.	40	0	0
1809.	Mai	25.	Mr. René Briaud	.	20	0	0
1811.	Mars	8.	Mr. Paul Barbot	.	10	0	0
1811.	Juillet	25.	Mlle. Marie Turmeau	.	40	0	0
1811.	Nov.	26.	Mr. Augustin Jacob	.	20	0	0
1812.	Jan.	15.	Mme. Ardouin	.	50	0	0

Statement of Benefactions (continued)—

					£	s	d
1812.	Août	18.	Mme. Anne Battaille	.	200	0	0
1818.	Jan.	12.	Mme. Lemonnier	.	25	0	0
1818.	Août	18.	Mr. Samuel Audinet	.	5	5	0
1814.	Jan.	4.	Mr. Jno. B. Vincent	.	10	0	0
1814.	Mai	21.	Mme. Jaumard	.	10	0	0
1816.	Oct.	5.	Mme. Jaquin	8 pr. ct. consols	100	0	0
1817.	Fév.	27.	Mme. Sheldon	.	100	0	0
1819.	Jan.	.	Rev. Monsr. Edwards	don.	20	0	0
1819.	Août	.	Mme. Billon	.	25	0	0
1819.	Déc.	.	Mme. Dumene	don.	15	0	0
1820.	Déc.	.	Monsr. Cazala	don.	10	0	0
1821.	Déc.	.	Monsr. P. Benezech	.	19	19	0
1823.	Août	.	Mme. Bucquet	.	19	19	0
1823.	Août	.	Monsr. Bouvilla	.	62	0	0
1823.	Déc.	.	Monsr. Stephen Ardesoif	.	50	0	0
1829.	Mars	.	Monsr. Danl. Moore	.	50	0	0
1829.	Sept.	.	Monsr. Panchand	.	10	0	0
1835.	Mai	.	Mme. Flammare	.	108	0	0
1835.	Août	.	Monsr. Chastelier	.	53	0	0
1837.	Avril	.	Monsr. C. Grignon	.	19	19	0
1838.	Fév.	.	Mr. P. Audinet	.	100	0	0
1847.	Fév.	.	Mr. J. F. Regnier	.	100	0	0
1849.	Juin	.	Mr. James Hearn	.	19	19	0
1854.	Fév.	.	Mlle. Guilloneau	don.	315	0	0
1859.	Déc.	.	Monsr. Jno. R. Vincent	legacy	19	19	0
1863.	Avril	.	Earl Radnor	don.	53	0	0
1868.	.	.	Rev. Henry Barez	legacy	500	0	0
1869.	Nov.	.	Wallace v. Atty.-General	legacy	400	0	0
1870.	Mars	.	Rev. Jno. Mudry	legacy	133	0	0
1870.	Mars	.	Mrs. M. Johnson	don.	50	0	0
1870.	Août	.	Wallace v. Atty.-General	legacy	82	0	0
1872.	Avril	.	Wallace v. Atty.-General	legacy	100	0	0
1873.	Juin	.	Wallace v. Atty.-General	legacy	83	0	0
1875.	Avril	.	Mrs. M. Johnson	don.	20	0	0
1875.	Sept.	.	Monsr. F. A. Winsor	legacy	100	0	0
1876.	Juillet	.	Wallace v. Atty.-General	legacy	17	0	0
1878.	Mai	.	Mr. R. H. Giraud	don.	65	0	0
1882.	Mars	.	Mr. J. Le Cappelain	legacy	200	0	0
1883.	Avril	11	Wallace v. Atty.-General	legacy	84	0	0

VI.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Rambles through the Archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700, first series. By the Rev. H. C. V. LEIBBRANDT, Keeper of the Archives, and Librarian of the Parliamentary Library. Cape Town, Juta & Co. 1887. 8vo. pp. xvi. 205.

We heartily welcome this little book, through the pages of which are scattered many interesting particulars relating to the French settlers at the Cape, and we are glad to see that so attractive a contribution to Huguenot history is from the pen of a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. Leibbrandt designates his work by the modest title of 'Rambles,' but the information he has gathered during the course of his wanderings is of a more solid character than such a title might lead us to expect. Though nominally dealing with the administration of Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel, this first series of 'Rambles' is mainly devoted to an account of his father, the celebrated Simon van der Stel, and of the Huguenot settlement, together with some account of several members of the Du Quesne family and incidental mention of the refugees at St. Helena.

Though at times somewhat suspicious of the refugees, and uncertain whether, in the event of war between France and the Netherlands, they might not be disposed to side with their own countrymen instead of with the Dutch, the elder Van der Stel appears to have had a warm liking for the Huguenots, and to have found them very superior to the immigrants in his son's time. Of these latter William van der Stel writes in 1699:—

We shall set upon their legs the French Refugees who have arrived in the 'Westhoven' in order to settle here as agriculturists. But as we have already so many of that sort, and some are conducting themselves so badly, and besides do not possess much knowledge of agriculture, and pay very little attention to it, so that

already much poverty has been caused among them, and the poor-fund will in the end have to provide for some of them, . . . we would rather see that for the future we are no longer burdened with such a class of fugitives, but that some Zealand farmers may be sent, who are of an industrious nature, and well versed in agricultural pursuits. . . . Such people would be much more suitable, serviceable, and useful.

It is, however, difficult to believe that these 'ne'er-do-weels' can have formed more than a very small percentage of the whole Huguenot community, as amongst the most energetic and honoured of the present inhabitants of South Africa are many descendants of the French Protestants who came over in the seventeenth century and initiated, under Simon van der Stel, the wine-growing industry for which Stellenbosch and its neighbourhood have since become so famous. Perhaps the younger Van der Stel's judgment may have been biassed by some collision with the sturdy spirit of independence and liberty of thought so prevalent amongst the Huguenots. When we find it laid down by the Dutch law that no one of lower rank than a junior merchant, or the wives and daughters of persons who had been Members of Council, should venture to use umbrellas, and that all persons driving should stop and alight on meeting the carriage of the Governor, we can easily imagine that compliance with such regulations may not unfrequently have been evaded or absolutely refused by those of so high-spirited a nation as the French. Doubtless such a spirit of levity and insubordination was not agreeable to the punctilious Hollander, and may have had something to do with the bad character given by him to the refugees.

Mr. Leibbrandt's first series of 'Rambles' brings us to the close of the seventeenth century, and we trust it may not be long before he gives us, in a second equally pleasing volume, the benefit of his companionship through another portion of the archives at present under his care. His book (which, though published at Cape Town, is, we observe, printed in London) should find a place in every collection devoted to South African and Huguenot history.

History of South Africa, 1486-1691. By GEORGE MCCALL THEAL. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co. 1888. 8vo, with Maps, pp. xx. 430, 15s.

This is one of the most readable of the many works on colonial history which have appeared during the last few years, and is of special interest to members of the Society for the account it gives of the Huguenot settlement at the Cape, and the very complete list of the original settlers. Mr. Theal has long been known as an authority on South African history, and this his latest work is indeed to some extent a revision of one already published by him ('Chronicles of Cape Commanders. Cape Town, 1882'), but so amended and enlarged as to constitute a practically new book.

Beginning with the discovery of the Cape by Bartholomew Dias at the close of the fifteenth century, Mr. Theal gives a very graphic and interesting sketch of the various expeditions of the early Portuguese voyagers, who, however, seem to have paid but slight attention to the capabilities of the country, being rather tempted onward by the greater wealth of India and the East. The Portuguese were followed in the sixteenth century by the Dutch, and these again by the English, first under Sir Francis Drake in his famous 'Pelican.' The earliest expedition sent out by the English East India Company was in 1601.

An immense number of voyages made by these three nations are chronicled by Mr. Theal, but it was left for the Dutch East India Company to make, in the seventeenth century, the first real attempt at opening out and colonising the whole territory. At the end of 1651 the company despatched a fleet to the Cape, under the command of Jan van Riebeeck, who was also appointed first governor of the new settlement, arriving at its destination on April 7, 1652, after a voyage of 104 days from Texel. Van Riebeeck shares with Simon van der Stel the honour of having been the ablest of all the Dutch governors at the Cape, and a very full account of his rule will be found in Mr. Theal's pages, to which we must refer our readers for all particulars, merely mentioning by the way the

evil odour in which the few English and Scotch settlers were with their Dutch brethren. This was owing to a plot formed by certain of the former, in consequence of which 'the Council resolved to send all the English and Scotch from the Cape to Batavia, so as to rid this place as much as possible of rubbish (omme soo veel doenlijk dese plaetse van alle oncruijt te suijsveren).'

The earliest connection of the Huguenots with the Cape appears to have been in 1660, when the 'Marichal,' a French vessel on her way from Nantes to Madagascar, put into Table Bay. Her captain was one Simon Vesron, who, together with forty-four of the crew, was of the reformed religion; they were not refugees, but, oddly enough, were conveying a Roman Catholic bishop and three priests to the French missions in Madagascar. The 'Marichal' met with bad weather in the Bay and became a wreck, her crew and cargo thus falling into the hands of the Dutch. The majority of them entered the East India Company's service at the Cape, the remainder doing the same at Batavia on their arrival at that place later on. It would be interesting to know what were the ultimate fortunes of these latter, and whether any of their descendants are still existing in Java or other parts of the Dutch possessions in the Indies.

Early in 1686 a Dutch East Indiaman, the 'Stavenisse,' was wrecked near the Bay of Natal, and tidings of her crew having been received at the Cape after a long interval, it was decided to send the 'Centaurus' in search of them. This was not until 1688, and on finally meeting with the survivors from the 'Stavenisse,' a French boy was found in their company whose eventful history gives a lively idea of the strange vicissitudes to which the Huguenots of that period were subject. Mr. Theal narrates it as follows:—

The French boy who was with the sailors of the 'Stavenisse' was a youth who had seen many troubles. His name was Guillaume Chenut. Of a respectable family in Guienne, he had received a good education, but had fled from France with an uncle on account of being a Huguenot. Losing his relative soon afterwards, and being in great distress, he applied for aid to an English

merchant skipper, who conveyed him to New England, and took him next in his ship which was proceeding to the Indies. When off the Kaffir coast it fell calm, and the sea was smooth, which tempted the skipper to land and inspect the country. Guillaume went with him in the boat. Being unsuspecting of danger, the white people were unarmed, and could make no resistance when a party of savages fell upon them. All were murdered except Guillaume, who was badly wounded, but whose life was spared. When he recovered he was taken under the protection of a chief named Sotopa. . . . The youth rapidly acquired some knowledge of the Kaffir language, and being informed that there were white men scattered about in the neighbouring districts, he made his way to a party, whom he found to be seamen of the 'Stavenisse.' From that time he kept with them until the appearance of the 'Centaurus.' . . . Guillaume Chenut was fortunate enough to meet at the Cape a man who knew his family, and who took an interest in him. From this friend the youth learned that his elder brother was then occupying an honourable and influential post in the service of the Stadtholder of Friesland. The directors of the East India Company were communicated with, and instructions were sent out that the youth was to be forwarded to Europe in a becoming manner: this was done, and Chenut was at length restored to his brother.

It was in 1688 that the authorised immigration of Huguenot refugees took place under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company, who provided five ships for their conveyance to the Cape from various ports in the Netherlands. The passenger lists of three of these vessels are still in existence, and are given in Mr. Theal's pages, where will also be found a full account of the settlement and future history of the French colonists. In his Appendix Mr. Theal also gives several hundred entries from the Stellenbosch Baptismal Register, and this part of the work has a special interest for the Society from the help in its compilation rendered by our late valued Fellow at Cape Town, Mr. C. C. de Villiers.

We must not conclude this notice of Mr. Theal's able work without mention of the valuable list (with descriptive notes) of MSS., maps, and printed books illustrative of South African history appended to it, and without expressing a hope that we may soon see his promised volume supplementary of the present highly interesting one.

VII.

MISCELLANEA.

Extracts from the Senior Bursar's Accounts, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1686 to 1705; contributed by Mr. Chas. A. J. Mason.

For the year ending Michaelmas, 1686. £ s. d.

Gratuita Mari. et Sociorum—

Giuen by order to Monsieur Delasco, a French Protestant	1 0 0
Pd. the guift of the College towards y ^e Reliefe of the French Protestants	20 0 0

For the year ending Michaelmas, 1688.

Gratuita Mari. et Sociorum—

Giuen to Mr. Derivo, a Frenchman, by Order of a Meeting	1 10 0
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For the year ending Michaelmas, 1689.

Gratuita Mari. et Sociorum—

The 2nd guift for y ^e reliefe of y ^e French Protestants	30 0 0
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For the year ending Michaelmas, 1694.

Gratuita Mari. et Sociorum—

To Monsieur Chabbert, a Refugee French Minister in Church of England's orders, recommended by y ^e Vice-Chancellour as at other Colleges by Order of a Meeting	2 0 0
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For the year of ending Michaelmas, 1699.

Gratuita Mari. et Sociorum—

To the Exiled Protestant Vaudois by order of y ^e Vice-Mar. et Senr.	40 0 0
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For the year ending Michaelmas, 1701.

Gratuita Mari. et Sociorum—

To Nich. Bosnaud, French Minister at Hackney, by order, towards his loss by fire	1 0 0
--	-------

For the year Michaelmas, 1703.

To Peter de Rourai, a French Refugee, upon a note under the Mar's. hand	0 10 0
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For the year ending Michaelmas, 1704.

Given by Order to y ^e Protestants of Orange	10 0 0
--	--------

In a book of MSS. entitled 'Exit and Redit Book, 1667-1703,' occurs the following memorandum written about 1695-6:

: Lc. Magistri.

'Given to Mr. Papillon, a french refugee, 2s. 6d. who taught French and Italian here about 8 months, returning now to London and go to Holland from whence he came.'¹

Among the archives of the kingdom of Belgium are preserved the records of the goods of the refugees, &c., confiscated at the time of the persecutions, about 1570. I subjoin a copy of the heading of one of the accounts, of which I have a copy.

'Archives de Belgique, Chambre des Comptes, No. 19022, fol. clxxvii. 2°.

'Compte que au Roy nostre Sire fait et rend Bon Franeau commis à la recepte et muniement des biens, terres, seigneuries, revenues et rentes apertenantes à plusieurs gentilhombres, bourgeois, marchans et autres; tant de la Ville de Vallengiennes que d'autre parte, executez et bannez pour cause des troubles passez, situees et gisans tant es chatilleries d'Ath et Braine-le-Comte que es baillages de Hal et Enghien lesquelz biens et revenuz pour cause de leur rebellion et sedition sont presentement confisquees au prouffit de sa Majesté . . . depuis le jour Saint Remy quinze cens soixante et onze jusques au dernier jour de décembre quinze cens soixant et treize.'

Then follows the account of the sale, in July and August 1569, of goods, furniture, &c., belonging to Jean du Quesne, 'fugitif,' and the letting to Martin et Laurent de Watrfont of his 'maison, chambre, estatte et jardin' from July 3, 1569, to July 3, 1575.

Possibly a list or index of the persons whose property was thus confiscated, with a reference to the volume of the archives in which the account is set out, could be obtained from Brussels without any very great cost, and to those who are searching among such records the information would be very valuable. I may say that I had no difficulty in getting access to these records from M. Gachard, who was, I think, then in charge of them, and the charge for copying was very moderate.

E. F. DuCANE.

¹ Additional MSS. 5808, fol. 98, at the British Museum. *Character of Alexandre Morus, a Hugonot Minister*, by M. Chevreau.

Il existe au Greffe civil du tribunal d'Amiens *L'état civil des protestants de 1602-1698, Naissances, Mariages, Décès*. Ces réformés Picards et Flamands étaient rentrés d'Angleterre. Il n'y a pas de table à ce registre.

Il existe aussi aux Archives de la ville de Bailleul (France—Nord) un volume grand in-folio, original; 1566-1614, *Registre*, où se voit la liste de tous les bourgeois de Bailleul demeurant dans cette ville ou dans les environs, et enfin par ordre alphabétique chacune des villes, bourgs et villages où résident des bourgeois de Bailleul, tant en Flandre qu'en Angleterre, Hollande, et autres pays.

M. Ignace de Coussemaker, adjoint au maire, est archiviste de Bailleul.

JULES CORDONNIER.

*List of French settlers at Maldon; contributed by
Mr. H. Marett Godfray.*

Estat des Ministres françois establis depuis le 25 de mars et autres qui sont venus de depuis Le 25 septembre, 1686.¹

		sa femme	filz	filles
	1 Monsieur Benech ministre	1	1	2
	1 Monsieur Lacan Min ^{re}	1	1	2
	1 Monsieur Coyer Ministre	1	2	1
	1 Monsieur Molles M ^{re}	1	1	3
	1 Monsieur Marchand M ^{re}	1	2	0
	1 Monsieur Jouneau M ^{re}	1	2	0
7 7 ^{bre} .	1 Monsieur Motte M ^{re}	1	0	0
25 mars.	1 Monsieur Aueline Marchant	1	3	2
	La veufe de monsieur Berger	1	0	0
	1 Le sieur Charanton Estudiant	0	0	0
	1 Gabriel Bouhet auengle	0	0	0
	1 Le Capitaine Maichin	0	0	1
7 7 ^{bre} .	Mademoiselle de la grace fille	1	0	0
	Mademoiselle Bouhet fille	1	0	0
5 octob ^{re} .	1 Monsieur Desgoulan Primauday Esq ^{re}	1	0	0
	La veufe de Monsieur Jouneau	1	0	0
25 ^e mars.	1 Jean Ambert Cordounie ² garson	0	0	0
	Rebeca Lusse servante	1	0	0
	Charlotte Plaissy servante	1	0	0
	Marie Bauval servante	1	0	0
13		16	12	11

Tottall 52 Personnes.

(Endorsed) Estat des Ministre et autre estably à Maldon, & depuis la separation de ceux qui sont party pour Colchester.

¹ Rawlinson MSS. (Bodleian Library, Oxford), c. 984, fol. 73. ² Cordonnier.

We have received a communication from the Rev. W. Frick, M.A., drawing a comparison between the two famous pictures of Sir John Millais, viz. the 'Huguenot,' and that which in last year's exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts attracted much notice and was entitled 'Mercy.'

Both paintings have interest for all students of refugee history, as they develop points of character and incidents of the St. Bartholomew, which could be only portrayed on canvas. The former picture, 'The Huguenot,' observes Mr. Frick, 'embodies the steadfastness of the Huguenot faith; it also presents to us the tender grace and beauty of a woman's love, which triumphs over the authority of priests and submission to a tyrannous creed, and which, in spite of the anathemas of the Church, seeks the deliverance and safety of her beloved one.'

A poem on this picture appeared in the 'Spectator,' March 11, 1871.

The companion picture of last year presents the other side of history. We have a Roman Catholic nobleman equipped for the execution of the judgment and sentence of the Church and, as he thinks, of Heaven against the heretics. Again a woman appears on the canvas, in the costume of a nun, and appeals to the cavalier not to go out on the errand of blood, her woman's heart telling her it cannot be right thus to sacrifice human life. Her plea is 'Mercy,' and she has fallen on her knees to urge it.

A young monk is on the other side, who asserts the Church's power and authority must be supported; 'law and order' must be maintained. The key to this picture is the title 'Mercy,' and this word explains all. The painter himself thus wrote to me of this work: 'The subject, like "The Huguenot," is not from any historical incident. It very likely occurred, and is intended to show the good side of human nature.'

Art was called in to commemorate the Bartholomew Massacre in the pictures by Vasari in the Vatican, and the beholder scarcely knows which to admire most, the artistic skill of the painter or his success in bringing in a narrow

compass so many of the most revolting incidents of that tragedy.

In the pictures, however, of Sir John E. Millais we have an artist who has thus brought to light the good side of human nature, even in the darkest times; and the moral of his paintings must find a response in all true hearts, and further confirm the old saying that art is the handmaid of history.

Declaration of William III. to the Huguenots.—It is hoped that in course of time the whole of the 'letters patent' granted to the Huguenot refugees, and the royal 'declarations' in their favour, will be printed either in the 'Proceedings' or in the 'Registers' which we are now issuing.

The 'declaration' published by William III. in 1689 is printed by Agnew; but Agnew's book is very difficult to obtain. Moreover he prints the document in English, and does not state where he found it. As it was addressed to the French Protestants, it is here given in their own language, as set out in a copy preserved amongst the 'Domestic State Papers.'

Agnew says it was decided to issue it at a meeting of the Privy Council held on April 25. He does not give the date of the 'declaration' itself, which, it will be seen, was issued on May 5.

'Copie d'une Declaration du Roy d'Angleterre.

'GUILHAUME R.

'Comme il a plu a Dieu de Delivrer Nôtre Royaume d'Angleterre et les Sujets d'iceluy de la persecution dont ils estoient il n'y a pas long tems a cause de leur Religion, comme aussi de l'oppression et de la destruction que le renversement de leurs loix, le pouvoir arbitraire, et la domination qu'en (sic) exercoit sur eux estoit sur le point d'y introduire, et trouvant que nos Sujets en sont veritablement reconnoissans, et sont fort sensibles aux miseres & aux calamites que les Protestans francois souffrent, de Sorte que pour les Secourir et encourager ceux qui voudront venir dans ce Royaume avec leurs familles & leurs biens, Nous Declarons par les presentes que tous les

¹ Wm. & Mary, Bundle 1, No. 99.

Protestans françois qui chercheront icy un azile, et viendront dans ce royaume, y ouront (*sic*) non seulement nôtre protection Royale pour eux leurs familles et leurs biens, Mais que nous ferons aussi notre possible par toutes les voyes raisonnables de les si bien soutenir, les aider, et les assister dans leurs diuers mestiers, professions, et moyens de viure, que leur demeure, et leur vie en ce Royaume soit douce, commode, et aisee. Donn  en notre Cour a Whithall, le cinquieme jour du mois de May, 1689, et de notre Regne le premier.

[*Endorsed*] 'Protest' Strangers.'

The French Church in Long Hedge Field.—Baron de Schickler, who has devoted so much time to the study of the history of the French Churches of London, states in the Paper on the subject which he contributed to our 'Proceedings' in November 1885 that though the list of churches he then printed modified to a great extent those previously published, even that written by himself in the 'Encyclop die des Sciences Religieuses,' yet 'elle doit  tre maintenant consid r e comme tr s d fectueux.'

The incorporation of one church with another, the temporary 'unions,' and the constant removal of congregations cause considerable difficulty in identifying the exact period during which services were held in any particular building. One way of dispelling this obscurity is by printing the royal license for establishing the church, if one exists.

The 'letters patent' for the foundation of the church in Long Hedge Field, in Spitalfields, which appears to have been known under the name of 'l'Eglise de l'H pital,' have not yet been discovered; but the two following official documents furnish the substance of everything of importance that they would contain.

French
Ministers;
Lycence. 'A Lycence or pmission to the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the french Church, to build a Temple or Tabernacle in Long hedge feild, in the Parish of Stepney, to receive pt of their Congrega on therein, to Serve God after their vsuall manner; their Church in Threadneedle Street, by reason of their great Numbers, not being large enough to

conteyne them. *Vt supra* (Subscri by Mr Soll^r Gen^l) ; p^{cu}i by the Earle of Middleton.'¹

'Whereas the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, of the French church in London, have humbly besought us that in regard the church scituated in Thredneedle street, where they meet, cannot contain the multitude of people which cometh to them, We would therefore be graciously pleased to grant, that, beside that church, they may have another place to assemble part of their people therein, to serve God after their usuall manner ; And whereas they have further informed us, that by vertue of an Indenture of Lease they are, for a good term of years yet unexpired, in possession of a certain parcell of ground lying [in] and being part of a Field called Longhedge-field, in the Hamlet of Spittlefields, within the Parish of Stepney at Stebonheath, containing as in the said Indenture is particularly expressed, upon part of which ground they have certain old Almshouses belonging to their said church, which they must pull downe to rebuild anew upon some part of the said ground ; and therefore they have humbly prayed, that we would permit and allow them to erect one Temple or tabernacle upon another part of the said ground, bordering one side upon black-eagle street, and the other upon Gray-eagle street, the whole building of the said temple or Tabernacle to be fifty four foot broad, and 80 foot long, or otherwise as they shall designe for their convenience with regard had to the compass of their ground ; We are graciously pleased to condescend unto that their request, and accordingly it is our will and pleasure, that you prepare a bill for our royall signature, to passe our privy seal, containing our grant and permission unto them, the aforesaid Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, or their Trustees, to build one Temple or Tabernacle upon the ground, and according to the dimensions above specified, to enjoy the same with all requisite immunityes and priviledges to them and their successors, for the service of God after their usuall manner, as is aforesaid ; And you are to insert in the said bill all such clauses, Provisoos, and *Non obstantes*, as may make this, our grant, valid and effectuell, and as are usuall in grants of like

¹ *Signet Office, Docquet Book.*

nature; And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at Windsor, the [] day of July, 1687, in the third year of our Reigne.

‘By his Majestie’s command,

‘MIDDLETON.

‘To our Attorney or Sollicitor General.’¹

Petition of a Huguenot cutler at Southampton.—The following petition tells its own story, and affords, no doubt, a fair example of the annoyance and persecution which the refugees were subject to in many English towns, owing to their practising trades without being admitted as freemen, and the exemption they claimed from poor-rates and other local taxes. It is curious to note that a cutler was prosecuted by the tailors.

‘To the Right Honorable Sir Charles Hedges, Knight, her Majesty’s Principall Secretary of State.

‘The humble petition of Phillip Gariot, of the Towne

‘and County of Southampton, Cutler,

‘Humbly sheweth, That your petitioner and his father, French Protestant refugees, have lived together at the Town of Southampton for the space of five and twenty years last past, and your petitioner hath only worked at his trade under his father, in his father’s house and shop, having no habitation of his owne, endeavoring [] jointly to maintain their great charge by their industr[], having nothing else whereby to maintaine their great famil[], your petitioner and his said father are obliged by the Corporation of Sou[thampton] to pay to Church, and poore, and all other parish duties. And yet notwithstanding, the Taylors of the said Corporation have of late caused your petitioner to be indicted and prosecuted at the Sessions of the said Corporation, and threaten to ruin him and drive him out of the same, for that his wife, who is also a French Protestant refugee useth likewise her industry as a manto maker, for the further maintainance of the said family, which malicious persecution will unavoidably bring your petitioner and his poore father

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, Entry Books, vol. liii. p. 204.

and family, into utter ruin distress and poverty. Your petitioner, therefore, most humbly prays you will be pleased to intercede with her Majesty, that she will graciously grant her royall order or letter to the said Corporation to forbear such proceedings against your petitioner, recommending unto them that your petitioner, his father and family, may be permitted to follow their trades without any further persecution or molestation, and &c. And your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.'¹

A child withheld from its mother by the Huguenots.—One of the points of the complaint drawn up by the Reformed Churches of France in the year 1597 was that children were taken away from their homes and baptized by the priests against the wish of their parents. Accordingly when the Edict of Nantes was published in the following year, one of its most highly prized clauses was that enabling the Huguenots to make their own provision for their children's education. But as time passed the articles of the Edict were infringed one by one, and this clause was formally cancelled by a decree, issued on October 24, 1665, by which 'children were declared capable of embracing Catholicism; boys at fourteen years of age, girls at twelve; and the parents were to pay for their support when away from home.'² Indeed, even this was thought too great a concession, and the priests were practically left at liberty to act as they chose in the matter.

By a second decree of June 17, 1684, the age at which a child was declared legally competent to abjure was reduced to seven years, 'its parents not being allowed to prevent it on any pretext whatsoever, but were required all the same to provide for its maintenance. The slightest act was sufficient as a sign of adhesion. Children were torn from their parents, especially from the rich, who could pay a good sum for board, and were then shut up in a convent or monastery.'² A letter of January 15, 1686, quoted by Agnew, speaks, *inter alia*, of 'how the children are torn from their mothers,' and says of

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, Anne, Bundle 3, No. 155.

² Heath's *Reformation in France*.

³ *Ibid.*

these things, ' 'tis enough to sink the strongest heart to read the accounts sent over.'

Now a great deal has been made of this practice of the priests, and no words are too strong to condemn it; but it is only fair to point out that on one occasion at least—and it is to be hoped there was only one—the Huguenots themselves did not scruple to withhold a child from its mother because she differed, or, as she asserted, was forced by circumstances to feign to differ from them in religious belief.

The story is incomplete; but it is told, as far as it is known, in the two following letters, the originals of which are amongst the 'Domestic State Papers.'

'Feb. 17, 1710/11.

'MY LORD,—In answer to the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 14th, I can only informe you that the wife of Monsieur Du Chail, mention'd in Monsieur Pontchartrain's letter, was in London about two years ago, at which time some of the Ministers of the French Congregation applied to me, and were apprehensive that she was come over with an intention to carry her daughter into France, who, as I am told, was born in England, bred up a Protestant, and now lives here with her aunt, and is maintain'd out of her Majestie's Annual Bounty to the French Protestants. Her mother, upon examination, did then deny having any such design, and gave security that she would not carry away her daughter. Mr. Tilson is able to informe your Lordship more particularly in this matter, having in his hands all the papers relating to it. I am with great respect,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordship's most humble and obedient Servant, .

'H. BOYLE.

[Endorsed] 'Mr. BOYLE. Feb. 17, 1710/11.'¹

'What I know of Mrs. Elizabeth Duchail, wife of James Ginays Duchail, is that some time in October 1708, Monsieur Dubordieu gave in an information that she was come over

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, Anne, Bundle 21, No. 92.

from France without licence, and had a design to carry her daughter away thither, who was born here, and bred up a Protestant. Upon this the woman was taken up and examined, who own'd that she came from France, but with the design only of seeing her relations and her daughter, and not with any intention of returning her self to France, or carrying her daughter thither. She was born at St. Ives in Cornwall, and bred up a Protestant, and professed to have always continued so. She married Monsieur Duchail in London, who was a freeman of the City, and a jeweller by trade; but after the Peace of Ryswick he went to France to endeavour to recover his estate, and she followed. Upon the whole it appeared that the woman was harmless and ignorant, and it was only ordered that she should enter into a recognizance to behave her self for a year, and not depart the kingdome without leave, nor carry away her daughter. When the year was expired the bail petitioned to be discharged, and there appearing no complaint nor objection against that, it was ordered accordingly. Sometime after Mrs. Duchail petitioned for leave to go and live with some friends in Holland, and brought a certificate from the Lord Mayor as usuall, and had a pass. I remember that she often complained that the French Committee were so unkind as not to let her see nor converse with her daughter, and upon speaking with them about it, they seem'd extremly jealous of her being sent to seduce her daughter, who had been left in the hands of her aunt, and always educated a Protestant, and may be now about 13 or 14 year old; but she constantly disowned any design of enticing her to change her religion, or to carry her to France, and, on the contrary, said both she and her husband were really Protestants, tho' obliged to conform in France for the sake of their estate. The child's aunt is one Madame de Montigni, and I think she has a pension from the Committee for her maintenance. Mrs. Duchail has a brother in town, on Mr. Randall, a barber surgeon, in Half Moon Court in Cheap Side, who was one of her bail, and maintained her while in England. Monsieur Dubordieu and the gentlemen of the French

Committee can inform you more particularly of any thing you desire relating to the child.

[*Endorsed*] 'MR. TILSON. Feb. 20, 1710/11.

'Concerning Madle. Genais Du Chail.'¹

Proposed emigration of French Protestants to New York in

Comm^{ns}
Customes;
about some
French
Protestants
that are
going to
New York.

1685.—'My Lord and Gentlemen,—By my Lord Treasurer's command, I send you the inclosed petition of John Calvet, on behalfe of severall French Protestants' famalys, with his Lordship's refference to you ther-upon, which my Lord desires you to consider, and to hasten your report to him upon that petition. I am My Lord and Gentlmen, Your &c. HEN: GUY, 10th Sept^r, 1685.

'Presented to the King's most Excellent Majesty by John Calvet, Deputy of these familys here mentioned, That above fifty familys of French Protestants of severall Provinces, being forced out of tendernesse of conscience to leave their native country, and taking the resolution to goe and settle in New Yorke, one of his Majesty's of Greate Britan's Plantations; that knowing they were obliged to undertake their voyage under the command of English Captains and Masters, did apply themselves to Peter Le Coste, an English Captain, and Master of the ship called the King David, and an other Englishman, Captain Thomas Guilco, Master alsoe of the vessell called the Mary, the first shipp of 70 tuns, and the second of 20, both built in France, but bought by the two Captains above mentioned; that the two Captains, having taken the above mentioned familys aboard of their shipp, with their provisions, tooles, and other things necessary for improving of a Plantation, did arrive at Plymouth the first of August, where they lyed still to their greate charge; that having demanded a pass for New York to the Governor and other officers they could not obtaine it, although that they had the declaration of his last Majesty, given in /82, which mercifull and gracious declaration they did look upon as a law in their favour; that many mariners belonging to the abovenamed vessells are English, as well as the Captains and owners of

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, Anne, Bundle 21, No. 98.

them; Now whereas those familys may encrease the Plantations of New York, being some, merchants, artificers, and plowmen, and that they submitt to the government of the Church of England as is now established by law, his Majesty is humbly prayed to order that they may have a pass, and a letter to the Governor of New Yorke to receive them kindly and give them encouragement.

¹ Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 10th Sept, 1685.

'I doe referre this petition to the Comm^{rs} of his Majesty's Customes, who are to examine the contents thereof, and thereupon to report their opinions to me what they thinke fitt to be done therein. ROCHESTER.'¹

Two notes upon the French refugees at Cork: (1) Order of the Corporation.—'12 July, 1699. Put to the vote, whether the undernamed persons recommended by the Bishop of Cork (being French Refugees) shall be admitted free *gratis* or not: And. Dupond, Joⁿ Dela Croix, Matt. Ardowin, Jun., Peter Guillot, Peter Guillot, Jun., Adam Billon, Joⁿ Billon. Ordered, that in consideration that the above persons are all such as have fled their country on account of the Protestant religion, be admitted free of this Corporation *gratis*, only paying the Town Clerk's fees.'²

(2) *Warrant of George II.*—'1745. We are acquainted by your letter that there are two French Churches in Cork which have conformed to the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland, and that several industrious French Protestant families have lately come over and settled at Cork, induced by the opportunity they have of worshipping God according to their conscience, and desiring a salary of 50*l. per an.* for support of each of said churches. We give you orders for placing same on Civil Establishment. St. James', 25 Nov., 1745.'³

¹ *Treasury Letter Books*, iii. 141.

² *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork*, edited by Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A. p. 274.

³ *Ibid.* Preface, p. xxix. This is abridged from *Treasury Irish Books*, ii. 463. The person to whom the Warrant is addressed is not named, but was probably the Lord Lieutenant.

Order of the Corporation of Youghal relating to the French refugees there.—‘8 Jan. 1758. Whereas application has been made to the Corporation, to consider of ways and means to encourage and assist the French Protestant refugees now come and coming into this kingdom: Ordered, that 20 *li.* a year, at least for three years, for as many families as shall come and settle in this Parish, be paid them yearly towards their support, out of the Corporation rents.’¹

The Annual Meeting of the Huguenot Society of America was held on Friday, April 20, and a full report of it will no doubt be received before the next issue of the ‘Proceedings.’ Meantime we much regret to hear that the Rev. A. V. Wittmeyer, who has acted as Secretary of the American Society from its foundation, has been compelled through press of other work to resign office. He will, however, be worthily succeeded by Mr. Banyer Clarkson, whose name is no doubt well known to many Fellows of our own Society.

Mr. A. G. Browning (3 Victoria Street, Westminster Abbey, S.W.) will be glad to receive communications as to coins of England, France, and other countries, which in any way illustrate events in Huguenot history, specially of the dates (1572 and 1685) of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The scheme proposed to be adopted by the Charity Commissioners for the future management of the revenues of ‘the Society or Congregation known as the French Walloon Church, in the City of Canterbury,’ has been issued. It proposes that the management shall be vested in the hands of nine competent persons as trustees, three *ex officio*, and six co-optative. The three *ex officio* are to be the Archbishop, Dean, and Archdeacon of Canterbury. It is directed that future co-optative trustees shall be persons residing, or carrying on business, in or near Canterbury, and that they shall be provisionally appointed, subject to the approval of the Com-

¹ *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal*, edited by Richard Caulfield, LL.D., F.S.A., p. 454.

missioners, by the trustees, by resolution passed at a special meeting to be held after the lapse of one calendar month from the occurrence of the vacancy to be filled up. The sources of income are divided into two parts, and the proceeds are to be applied to separate purposes. Part I. consists of Mary Liz's Gift of cottages, Nos. 9 and 10, King Street, Canterbury; the Denstrood Estate, a farm of about 25*a.* 0*r.* 39*p.*, let at an annual rent of 50*l.*; and Trust Stock, amounting to 125*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*, invested in the Bank of England Consolidated 3*l.* per cent. annuities. The proceeds of these are to be applied, first, to the payment of expenses connected with the various charities and afterwards to the general purposes of the French Walloon Church. Part II. consists of Abraham Didier's Gift, a rent charge or annual payment of 1*l.* charged upon certain lands at Ickham, and the Burmarsh Estate, a piece of land, containing 37 acres, in Romney Marsh, near Hythe, let at a rental of 111*l.* The revenue from these properties is to be applied to the benefit of deserving and necessitous members of the congregation attending the said church, to be selected by the trustees in such manner as shall be considered by them most advantageous to the recipients and most conducive to provident habits.

APPENDIX.

The last of the Huguenot Churches.

By WILLIAM MORRIS BEAUFORT.

I HOPE that none of you have been misled by the title of this paper into supposing that I am going to interest you with an episode in the history of Huguenot Churches, which I have succeeded in recovering from some little-known source. The Church of which I wish to speak to you to-night—the French Protestant Episcopal Church of the Savoy—is the last of the properly so-called Huguenot Churches of England, the other ones being, speaking accurately, Walloon. It is the wrong which this ill-used little Church has suffered at the hands of the Government, in being deprived of the stipend of its minister, that I am about to bring under your notice. I have endeavoured, as far as I have been as yet able to do so, to send to every Fellow of the Society a ‘condensed statement’ of the Church’s case against the Government; and what I propose to do now is to read to you the fuller account of the history of this case, which I submitted to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in deprecation of their action in refusing to include any longer in the vote presented to Parliament the share of this Church in the interest of the capital in their hands.

I have been moved to bring the case thus before the Society because I wish that every Huguenot among us should know, not merely what I could convey to him in a ‘condensed statement,’ which is all that in these busy days one can expect will be generally read, but the fuller history of the last survivor of the many Huguenot chapels, which commenced their existence two and three centuries ago, in rela-

tion to this national collection for the benefit of the French refugees.

I am most anxious too to place this matter on record in the quasi-public 'Proceedings' of our Society; and thus to procure for it greater and more lasting notoriety than with all my other efforts I have hitherto succeeded in obtaining.

Lastly, I wish to correct specifically the wrong impression which may have been left in your minds by the article at p. 324 of the first volume of the 'Proceedings,' which is headed 'The Royal Bounty.' It suited the King and the Ministry to style it so, and to endeavour to conceal the true origin of this annual payment; but I shall indeed be surprised if, before I finish, you are not fully convinced that the terms 'royal bounty' and 'annual grant' are not only absolutely untrue, but have been used to cover and conceal the moral responsibility of those who, by misappropriating the capital, have constituted themselves trustees for the due payment of the interest.

*Correspondence with the Lords Commissioners of
H.M. Treasury.*

* Treasury Chambers, 9th May, 1884.

'SIR,—I am directed by the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury to acquaint you, with reference to their letter of August 3, 1870, that they have felt it necessary to reconsider, on the death of Mr. Bouverie, the question of the annual grant made towards the Church of La Savoy, and have determined that, from the period of Mr. Bouverie's death, the annual payment must be reduced to 40*l.* 7*s.*, being the sum granted from the Hereditary Revenues of the Crown under Letters Patent of Charles II.

'I am to state that My Lords will be ready to entertain a proposal for the commutation of this sum should that be agreeable to your committee.

'I have the honour, &c.,

* C. G. BARRINGTON.

'The Secretary of the
French Protestant Ecclesiastical Committee,
The Church of La Savoy.'

On May 31 a letter was addressed to the Secretary to the Treasury by the Treasurer of the Church claiming the right of this, the last remaining Church, to a continuance of the annual payment, and giving briefly the history of the case from the year 1687 to the present time. To that letter Mr. Courtney replied as follows:—

‘Treasury Chambers, July 19, 1884.

‘SIR,—I have laid before the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury your letter of May 31 last urging a continuance of the grant hitherto made to the minister of the French Protestant Church in Bloomsbury Street.

‘I am to state that, with the exception of the grant of 40*l.* 7*s.* made by Letters Patent of King Charles II., and now paid by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests out of the Land Revenue, My Lords are unable to admit that the Vestry of the said French Protestant Church has any legal claim to any further assistance from the public funds, and they must therefore adhere to the decision already conveyed to you, that no further payment will henceforth be made on account of the annual grant of 209*l.* 13*s.* hitherto voted by Parliament.

‘I have, &c.,

‘LEONARD COURTNEY.’

The case was subsequently laid before counsel to advise whether by ‘petition of right,’ or in some other way, it might be possible to enforce the claim of the Church. As counsel advised that the Vestry, not being a corporation, could not sue, it was deemed right to make another appeal to the Treasury. Records and documents in the Record Office, the British Museum, Lambeth Palace Library, &c., were consulted; and the following fuller ‘statement of the claim,’ tracing the history of the payments from the time of the collection of the 200,000*l.* in 1687 to the present day, was submitted through the Bishop of London.

Statement of the Claim of the French Protestant Episcopal Church of the Savoy to an 'Annual Grant' in its support 'so long as Divine Service shall continue to be celebrated regularly therein.'

1. An abstract account of the origin, &c., of the French Protestant Episcopal Church of the Savoy, dedicated to St John the Evangelist, can hardly be given better than by transcribing a memorial presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 15th of February, 1747-8, by the Rev. J. J. Majendie, 'one of the preachers of the Church,' and the constant adviser of successive Archbishops in all matters connected with the French refugees and their Churches, as appears from the records at Lambeth. (This will be found as appendix A.)

2. As a second appendix also (B), it seems advantageous to add a copy of the appendix to the report of the 'Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure for 1847-8,' vol. 18, part II. p. 278.

3. In September 1660 the 'French Church, lately meeting in Somerset Chapel,' presented a petition to Charles II. for the grant of a 'competent and convenient portion of the hospital of the Savoy, where they might publicly meet hereafter.'

4. A counter petition was presented by the Walloon Church in the city, praying for the abolition of the Somerset House congregation.

5. It was, I believe, through the interest with the King of Monsieur Durel that the former on March 18, 1661, granted permission to the French congregation to meet in the little chapel of the Savoy, 'provided that they use the Book of Common Prayer and submit to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.' (State Papers, Record Office, 'Domestic,' vols. 16 and 82.) This church and congregation has continued thereafter uninterruptedly down to the present time. It was Monsieur Durel who translated the Prayer Book into French; and who preached the first sermon in the new chapel. He subsequently became Dean of Windsor.

6. As the French immigrants became gradually merged in the English population many of the French churches and chapels ceased to exist for want of support; and many were gradually absorbed (the last, Le Quarré, in 1853) in that of the Savoy, which for various reasons had had successively to migrate to Hog Lane (Crown Street) and Edwards Street, and found its ultimate resting place in the present church, in a building which in Bloomsbury Street the congregation and trustees expended 'their last farthing.' It was consecrated by the Bishop of London in December 1845.

7. It still enjoys, by direct inheritance, the grant in perpetuity made to it by Charles II. in 1675; and it has, until the death of the late minister, Mr. Bouverie, in 1884, uninterruptedly received its share of the sum set apart in 1687 for the French ministers and their churches from the interest of the general sum collected by briefs throughout the kingdom for the support of the French refugees, their churches, and their ministers.

8. The earliest Order in Council for the issue of a brief for a general collection for the Huguenot immigrants is the following:—

At the Court at Whitehall, this 6th day of November, 1685.

Present—The King's Most Excellent Majesty
(and twenty-four Privy Counsellors).

Upon reading this day the Petition of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the French Church in the Savoye, representing the deplorable condition of severall French Protestants late come into England, and humbly praying His Majesty to grant them for a present reliefe a Breife for a Generall collection, His Majesty was pleased in Councill to order, and it is hereby accordingly ordered, that the Right Honourable the Lord Jeffrys, Lord Chancellor of England, do cause a Breife to be prepared for a Generall Collection, as is humbly prayed, but before the same be passed the Great Seale, His Lordship is to offer to His Majesty the names of the Commissioners who shall have the distribution of the money collected upon the same Breife, His Majesty's intention being that the same shall be for the reliefe of such as shall appeare to be conformable to the Church of England.

9. Subsequently other briefs were issued, and the sum collected amounted in round numbers to 200,000*l.* This was paid into the 'Chamber of London,' but was afterwards removed by the Crown, and an order issued to the Paymaster of Pensions to pay 15,000*l.* per annum, of which 12,000*l.* were for the poor people, and 3000*l.* for the ministers and the churches. The administration of these sums was entrusted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of London, the Lord Chief Justices of the King's Bench and the Common Pleas, and the Lord Mayor of London, by whom two working committees were appointed, a '*comité laïc*' for the one sum, and a '*comité ecclésiastique*' for the other. It is with the minor sum only that we are concerned in this statement.

10. In vol. 21 of the 'Treasury Papers' at the Record Office, under date 1692, there is an account of receipts and payments from November 1689 to July 1693, which is followed by a '*mémoire des charges du comité,*' in which the first heading is '*Ministres, leurs femmes et leurs enfans au nombre de 345 personnes, 2,757*l.**'

11. In vol. 35 of the same papers, under date 1695, is to be found '*Liste des ministres français nécessiteux réfugiés en Angleterre,*' mentioning the wives and children, and giving an account of payments for their subsistence from 1686 to 1695 included. On the 28th of July, 1696, William III. made an order for the payment of 15,000*l.*, 'to be applied as followeth, that is to say, 3,000*l.* to be distributed to and for the relief and support of such poor distressed French ministers as are now residing in our kingdom of England; and the sum of 12,000*l.*, which will complete the said 15,000*l.* for and towards the relief and support of the poor French Protestants.'

12. In vol. 83 there is a petition from '*Les ministres P. F. réfugiés*' for the continuation of the '*somme de 15,000*l.*, avec la distinction ordinaire de 3,000*l.* pour les ministres.*' On the margin appears a minute dated '8th December, 1702. The Queen doth intend to continue this 15,000*l.* per annum to the French refugees, and will pay a year when due from the time of its being last paid.'

13. Among the State Papers of the time of George I. there is a 'Mémoire touchant la bénéfice royale,' of which the following is an extract :—

'Des 15,000*l.* de la Bénéfice Royale et Nationale pour les pauvres François Protestants réfugiés en Angleterre, il y en a 3,000*l.* destinées pour les pauvres ministres et leurs familles, cette somme est administrée sur la direction immédiate des Seigneurs Grands Commissaires. Il est vrai que plusieurs des anciens ministres François sont morts ; mais la plupart ont laissé des veuves et des enfans, dont la subsistance dépend entièrement de cette charité publique. Une partie de ces 3,000*l.* est employée pour l'entretien du ministère de plusieurs Eglises Françaises des provinces d'Angleterre, qu'il seroit absolument impossible de maintenir sans ce secours. Cependant ces Eglises Françaises des Provinces ne sont nullement inutiles à l'Etat. Il y en a plusieurs des artisans et des manufacturiers qui se dissiperoient si le ministère François venoit à cesser au milieu d'eux.

'Les 12,000*l.* restantes de la bénéfice sont pour les pauvres Protestants François Laïques.'

14. The payments were continued regularly at the foregoing rates until 1717 (temp. George I.) ; and in vol. 221 of the State Papers, 'Domestic,' there is a petition to the Archbishop to obtain, as speedily as may be, the payment allotted by his Majesty towards the support of the proselytes.

15. On this petition appears an order, July 15, 1719, 'State the allowance of what is due.'

16. The report thereupon follows: 'The whole has been paid to Lady Day, 1717 ; so that from thence to Midsummer, 1719, is two years and one quarter, which amounts to 83,750*l.*'

17. On June 14, 1726, George I. was pleased to issue a warrant (vol. 27) reducing (*hoc volo, sic jubeo*) the arrears due, amounting to 53,750*l.*, to 26,511*l.*, and directing that subsequently the 15,000*l.* per annum should similarly be reduced to 8,591*l.* Of this sum 1,718*l.* 4*s.* was for the support of the French ministers. This order was renewed in the following year by his successor George II.

18. In 1759 the non-conformist French Churches made an attempt to obtain a share of the allowance ; but the question

was decided against them by Archbishop Secker in the month of May of that year.

19. The Church continued to receive its share of the 1,718*l.* 4*s.* without dispute until 1831. On March 5 in that year, Mr. Stewart, Secretary of the Treasury, addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting him and the other Commissioners to 'consider and suggest in what manner and under what arrangements the gradual reduction can be made so as to ensure the entire cessation of it hereafter with the least possible detriment to the individuals who have been hitherto benefited by it.'

20. The Archbishop called upon the Comité Ecclésiastique to reply; and on March 21, 1831, they submitted, through his Grace, 'an historical document' giving an account of the allowance to the Huguenot refugees since its commencement in 1667, and claiming, *totidem verbis*, that it was distinctly not a grant of royal bounty, but the interest of the money collected by a national collection in the 17th century for the relief and support of the poor French Protestants, their churches, and their ministers.

21. On August 11 of the same year Messrs. Sterky and Chirol exhibited their 'document' and claims to Mr. Spring Rice, who examined them; but it was not until February 5, 1833, that Mr. Stewart communicated the pleasure of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

22. Mr. Stewart's letter made no attempt even to show that the claims of the Comité Ecclésiastique were historically untenable, or in any way unsupported. He simply conveyed the summary determination (following the previous action of George I.) not to continue payment of pensions beyond the lives of the then present holders.

23. The fifth paragraph of Mr. Stewart's letter refers to stipends and is most important: 'I am to state further that, although My Lords cannot allow the grant . . . nor of any stipends to any clergy who may hereafter be appointed to any of these churches and chapels; yet, being of opinion that it will be proper that there should be one place of worship in London for the performance of Divine Service for French Pro-

testants, My Lords will continue, when these charges shall otherwise have ceased, to submit to Parliament such estimate as may be necessary to provide for the church in Crown Street (now the one in Bloomsbury Street) beyond the sum which may be raised for that church as at present by subscriptions and by property now in the funds.'

24. The Comité Ecclésiastique replied to this letter on July 23, 1833; and on November 23 following Mr. Stewart communicated an explanatory letter confirming the exception from the proposed reductions 'so far as relates to the French Church in Crown Street, Soho.'

25. In the course of further correspondence, &c. (Mr. Trevelyan's letter of April 27, 1840; Mr. Mallet's letter, May 5, 1840; Treasury minutes of February 21, 1840, and July 16, 1840), 'My Lords' engagement to propose to Parliament an annual grant towards the support of one French Protestant Church in the Metropolis' is repeated and confirmed.

26. The Treasury having called upon the Vestry to produce the proofs of their claim to the perpetuity granted by Charles II., the documents were submitted to the Solicitor to the Treasury; and Mr. Trevelyan, on November 16, 1840, wrote to the Vestry that 'The Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury being of opinion that you have proved your title to the grant made by King Charles II. in perpetuity to the French Protestant Church in the Savoy, so long as divine service shall continue to be celebrated regularly therein, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you that they have granted to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, under the powers of Act 3 and 4 William IV. c. 86, a sum of 40*l.* 7*s.* as a perpetuity out of the produce of the land revenues of the Crown.' And on January 15, 1841, Mr. Trevelyan communicated the decision of the Treasury that the allowance of 250*l.* for this church should include this perpetuity of 40*l.* 7*s.*

27. Further—in the postscript of the letter from the Comité Ecclésiastique of August 24, 1854, my Lords were reminded that 'the sum of 250*l.* per annum is *guaranteed*

to the service of the Church of Savoy, now in Bloomsbury Street,' and no exception to this statement was made in Mr. Trevelyan's reply of October 18 following.

28. Down to the year 1870 the sum received on account of the service of the church had been :—

	£	s.	d.
Stipend of the Minister as such . . .	160	0	0
Ditto as Catechist of the School . . .	50	0	0
Expenses of the Church (this had been 60 <i>l.</i> until 1854)	30	0	0
	240	0	0
Grant in perpetuity	40	7	0
Total	280	7	0

But on the appointment of our lately deceased minister, Mr. Bouverie, in 1870, My Lords thought right to hold (August 3) that the 250*l.* per annum, which was guaranteed in 1840, ought to include the 40*l.* 7*s.* perpetuity given by Charles II.; and, further, that there had not been any intention to contribute towards the expenses of the church. Since that date the church has received simply—

	£	s.	d.
King Charles's gift	40	7	0
From the interest of the 200,000 <i>l.</i> capital sum	209	13	0
Total	250	0	0

29. The Vestry have further to bring prominently to notice that it was upon this *guarantee* by successive Governments, confirmed repeatedly in letters from the Treasury, of this annual payment on account of this church, 'so long as Divine Service shall continue to be celebrated therein,' that, when the removal of the ancient Church of St. Jean, La Savoie, successively from Crown Street and Edwards Street became necessary, the Vestry expended the whole of its funds, 'to the last farthing' (letter of September 1855), in building the present church in Bloomsbury Street, in which the services of the Church of England have ever since been performed twice every Sunday in the French language.

30. During the lifetime of the late Mr. Bouverie the

Government continued to include the so-called 'annual grant' among the sums voted by Parliament ; but on his death in April 1884 the Vestry received, through the Ecclesiastical Committee, a letter from Mr. Barrington (May 9) communicating the intention of the Lords of the Treasury to discontinue this payment of 209*l.* 13*s.* on account of the stipend of the minister. On the 31st idem I submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury, on the part of the Vestry, a remonstrance against this determination of My Lords, pointing out, though in much less detail than in the foregoing statement, that this vote was not in any sense a gift, but simply a very small fraction of the interest of a capital sum, collected two centuries ago for the Huguenot immigrants, and now in the hands of the Government—that its payment had been guaranteed by successive Governments—and that on the faith of that guarantee the whole of the funds in the hands of the Vestry had been expended in building the present church—and that the refusal to continue the payment of the stipend of the minister would seriously injure three old and useful institutions. On July 19 Mr. Courtney communicated 'the inability of My Lords to admit that the Vestry of the French Protestant Church has any legal claim to any further assistance from the public funds' and their determination to 'adhere to their decision.' This letter, totally ignoring the moral claim of this Church to this small portion of the interest of the national collection made for the benefit of this and similar institutions ; and resting the refusal to recall their decision upon the ground of the *legal* inability of the Vestry to *enforce* payment, rendered it advisable to consult counsel as to the possibility of proceeding by 'petition of right' or in any other way. The opinion obtained is to the effect that 'the Comité Ecclésiastique, being an unincorporated body, can maintain no legal claim to the interest on the funds collected under the Brief. The Comité was, in fact, a mere agency for the distribution of the fund among those entitled. But the fact that those entitled were not incorporated is not a defence which a Government ought to set up, if it can be seen that there are persons who have a real title to

the interest on the funds.' It only remains therefore to place the case once more, with an historical statement and much fuller information, before the Lords of the Treasury, in the hope that, abandoning a *technical* defence, they will now acknowledge the undeniable moral claim of this interesting old Church to continued support from the fund gathered for this very purpose from the whole nation two centuries ago.

31. Yet this even is not the whole case which the Vestry desire to represent. The Church itself is not the only institution which will be seriously injured by the refusal to continue the payment of this small annual amount from the interest of the great national collection made for the benefit of poor French Protestants. There are two allied institutions, a Poor Fund, and a School, whose interests are materially involved in the continuance and support of the church. The interest of a sum of 8,500*l.* is distributed to 60 poor descendants of the Huguenots by this Vestry after service on the last Sunday in each month. It would be difficult to find persons better qualified than the Vestry to select worthy recipients of this money; but obviously, if the church ceases to exist, there will be no Vestry to administer this charity. Again, there is an excellent little school adjoining the church for fifteen girls of the same lineage, who are housed, clothed, fed, educated, and prepared to earn their livelihood usefully. These children are the choir of the Church, and sing the psalms and hymns in French very creditably. The minister of the Church has always drawn 50*l.* of his small stipend as catechist and religious teacher in the school. The school possesses small funds, insufficient to pay the necessary expenses, which are aided by persons attending the church, several of whom are annual subscribers. It is also assisted by charity sermons annually preached in the Church on its behalf; and thus, should the Church be closed, this useful little school would suffer serious pecuniary loss and be otherwise much injured.

32. In conclusion, the Vestry would respectfully but strenuously urge that they have abundantly proved that the fund from which the so-called 'annual grant' is made is a

capital sum of 200,000*l.* subscribed for the benefit of the French Protestants and their Churches, but appropriated by the Government, which has thus constituted itself a *trustee* for the due expenditure of whatever sum is required for the furtherance of the object for which this large sum was gathered—that the duty of preserving one French church in the metropolis has been repeatedly recognised by the Lords of the Treasury, and that the necessary payment for the purpose has been *guaranteed* by successive Governments—that it was on this guarantee of the stipend ‘so long as Divine Service shall continue to be celebrated therein’ that the present church was built and consecrated—that if the church, owing to the refusal to pay the stipend of the minister, is closed, the two allied institutions for the benefit of the descendants of those Huguenot refugees, for whom this great sum was collected, the administration of the poor fund and the girls’ school, will be seriously injured—and that a regular consecrated Church, the only one in which the services of the Church of England are performed in the French language in London—an inestimable benefit to Protestant foreigners, as well as our own fellow subjects from the Channel Islands, Canada, and the Mauritius—and all mission work—for which there is a great opening among the French inhabiting the contiguous district of Soho—ought not to be closed merely to save the trivial sum of 209*l.* 18*s.* per annum. The Vestry cannot believe that, with this plain statement and with fuller information before them, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury or Parliament will repudiate the engagements and ‘guarantees’ given by successive Governments for two centuries; and thus seriously injure, where they do not destroy, three useful and sacred institutions.

W. M. BEAUFORT,

Treasurer of the French Protestant Episcopal
Church of the Savoy, dedicated to St. John
the Evangelist.

July 1886.

APPENDIX A.

A Memorial relating to y^e French Church in y^e Savoy, and y^e Chapels annexed to y^e same, drawn up and presented to his Grace y^e Archbishop of Cantorbury, February 15, 1747-8.
By J. J. MAJENDIE, one of y^e Preachers of y^e said Church, and Chaplain of y^e Right Honble., Henry, Earl of Grantham.

SHEWETH, I. That, the French Church of y^e Savoy hath subsisted under that Denomination fourscore years and upwards, as appears by y^e Records of y^e said Church, and y^t the French took possession of it by Vertue of Letters patent, given by King Charles II. at Whitehall, bearing date March 11, 1661, in y^e 18th year of his Reign, soon after his Majesty's happy Restoration to these realms.

II. That, what gave rise to y^e said Church, was as follows: There being at that time several French Families settled in and about Covent-garden, who used to assemble and meet together with one of their Ministers, to worship God in their mother tongue; the Vestry of y^e Walloon Church in y^e city of London, deputed some of their Members to y^e King, giving His Majesty to understand y^t the French, tho' dispersed in different parts of his capital, ought to have but one place of worship, and entreating him to forbid their meeting any more in Covent-garden: Whereupon y^e parties being heard on both sides, and y^e French in and about Covent-garden having informed y^e said King, y^t it was their inclination and desire to submit to y^e Church of England as by law established, and to receive her Liturgy, his Majesty was graciously pleased to consent, y^t the said congregation should, from that time forward, be under y^e immediate jurisdiction of y^e Bishop of London; and y^e Church in y^e Savoy, they now possess, was granted them for a place of worship, by consent of y^e then Master of y^e adjoining Hospital; with this clause, y^t they were allowed to assemble there, or in any other convenient place, and might have as many Ministers as they thought proper, provided their names were first of all given in to his said Majesty, for his approbation; and they received in consequence thereof, their institution and induction from y^e Bishop of London. Dr. Durel was hereupon appointed their first Minister, and the King was pleased to take upon himself to provide for him, as appears by his Letters patent.

Dr. Durel immediately set about translating y^e Book of Common prayer, whereby the Liturgy of y^e Church of England came to be

better known, and of course more universally and more justly admired by Foreigners.

III. That, in the year 1675, King Charles II., by his Letters patent bearing date July 5, did give and grant for himself, his heirs and successors, to y^e Dean and Chapter of y^e Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, an Annuity or yearly summ of 60*l*. out of his Exchequer; in trust never the less, and to be equally divided amongst y^e preaching Ministers of y^e French Church of y^e Savoy for y^e time being, as an addition to what was allowed them from y^e said Church. This Royal pension they have enjoyed since.

IV. That when, on account of y^e persecution in France, the Protestants of that Kingdom were obliged to fly their country, and seek a refuge elsewhere, the number of them encreasing daily within the Liberties of Westminster, the Ministers and Church-wardens of y^e Savoy thought proper to enlarge their Church; and for that purpose applied to King Charles II. for his licence, who was graciously pleased to grant them a warrant under his sign manual to that purpose; by vertue whereof Sir Robert Sawyer, then Attorney-General, drew up a bill dated December 6, 1684; which bill, because of his said Majesty's dying soon after, became useless: but y^t the said Ministers and Church-wardens having petitioned King James II. to y^e same effect, he was pleased for himself, his heirs and successors, by his Letters Patent bearing date February 24 in y^e second year of his Reign, with y^e consent of y^e Master of y^e Savoy, and y^e approbation of his Surveyor-General, to give licence and authority to enlarge y^e said chapel, as being a charitable and pious Foundation.

V. That, soon after this, the Jesuits wanting to turn out y^e French Protestant congregation out of y^e Savoy, in order to settle themselves therein, did offer to y^e said Ministers and Church-wardens (provided they would quit their Church and deliver it over to them) to build in lieu thereof, and at their own charge, a much larger Church in some other place for y^e use of y^e Protestants, and to procure them besides from King James II. an addition of 40*l*. per annum to y^e 60*l*. annuity granted to them by King Charles II.; but that they refused to comply with y^e request of y^e Jesuits, and did at their own expence enlarge y^e said Church.

VI. That, many French families having fixed their habitation in or near Soho, the said Ministers and Church-wardens pitch'd upon a Chapel (that goes commonly by y^e name of y^e Greek Church) in Hog Lane, as lying most convenient for them, and annexed it to y^e Savoy; they likewise built some years after, by y^e approbation and advice of y^e then Bishop of London, a Chapel in Spring

Gardens, y^t y^e French who live near y^e Park might resort to it: and y^t y^e same Chapel, having been unfortunately consumed by fire when it was quite finished, but before Divine Service had been performed in it, they built it again, as it now stands, at their own expence.

VII. That, the Vestry of St. Martin's Orgars in Cannon Street (which was built by an Act of Parliament in y^e beginning of this century, under y^e protection of y^e Archbishop of Canterbury and y^e Bishop of London, and is y^e only French Church within y^t precincts of y^e City of London where Divine Service is performed accordingly to y^e Rites of y^e Church of England) having entreated y^e Vestry of y^e Savoy to consent, y^t y^e Ministers of y^e Savoy should serve their Church likewise, and preach in it alternately; the said proposal having been previously examined, was agreed to, and thereupon articles of union were drawn up and signed by y^e deputies of y^e two respective Vestries. This union subsists to this day.

VIII. That towards y^e close of y^e year 1730 (y^e number of French families y^t had settled near y^e Savoy having decreased considerably, either by death or by removing to other parts of Westminster) it was observed y^t y^e contributions arising from y^e Pews of y^e Savoy, with y^e pension of 60*l*. \textsterling annuum granted to it by King Charles II. fell much short of what was annually expended for y^e maintainance of two Ministers, a Reader, and a Sexton, attached to y^e service of y^e said Church: whereupon application was made by y^e Marquiss of Miremont, y^e Marquiss de Montandre and other distinguished members of y^t Church, to y^e Archbishop of Canterbury, and to y^e Bishop of London, to y^e end y^t an annual pension might be allowed to and settled upon y^e said Church, or any one of y^e Chapels annexed to it, out of y^t part of y^e Royal Bounty, which is appropriated to y^e relief of y^e Poor French Ministers and their families: y^t accordingly this their request was complied with, and 150*l*. per annum were granted out of y^e said fund, and settled upon y^e Chapel commonly called y^e Greek Church in Soho.

IX. That, but a few years after, y^e Ministers and Churchwardens of y^e French Savoy were obliged to shut up y^e said Church, and did it by permission of y^e present Bishop of London, on account of y^e danger whereunto y^e congregation was continually exposed, of being suddenly crushed by y^e falling in of y^e roof. Y^t on y^e first notice y^t was given to y^e said Ministers and Churchwardens of y^e aforesaid danger, they had y^e said roof inspected by y^e ablest builders they could get, who declared it to be their opinion y^t it

was in a very ruinous condition, and y^t thereupon they, y^e said Ministers and Churchwardens, did immediately apply to y^e Lords of His Majesties Treasury, in hopes of obtaining by their means a Sum of money for to repair y^e same: but y^t as yet their petition hath not been answered.

X. That y^e title and privileges of y^e French Savoy are still in being, notwithstanding y^e Mother-Church is become useless for a time; and y^t they are and must be enjoyed by y^e six Ministers y^t serve y^e Chapels annexed to it, and by their respected Churchwardens who continue to be in possession of y^e said Church, and actually receive, as in times past, such legacies as are bequeath'd to them in trust under y^t denomination for y^e maintenance and support of y^e poorer sort of y^e French Refugees.

XI. That the French Church of y^e Savoy hath been in no small repute for near a whole century, not only within this kingdom, but also amongst most of y^e Protestant Churches abroad; insomuch y^t y^e far greatest part of y^e nobility and gentry y^t came over to England at y^e time of y^e persecution under King Louis XIV., resorted to it, and desired to be admitted members of y^e said Church; whilst y^e ignorant and necessitous of y^e same nation applied to her for instruction and relief; and such was y^e confidence y^t was placed in y^e Vestry of y^e Savoy, in y^e year 1722, by y^e Archbishop of Canterbury, y^e Bishop of London, y^e Lord Chancellor, and y^e Lord Chief Justice, y^t when application was made to them by y^e said Vestry, y^t they would be pleased to appoint a Catechist for y^e instruction of y^e children of y^e French Refugees in London and Westminster, with an annual pension of 50*l.* out of y^e 3,000*l.* Royal Bounty granted to y^e French Ministers and their families: they, y^e said Lords, not only gave their approbation to y^e same, but likewise signed an order empowering y^e said Vestry to choose at y^t time, and hereafter whomsoever they should think most fit to discharge y^e said office of Catechist.

XII. That, by means of y^e many pious donations y^t have been made from time to time to y^e said Church, and by what hath been and is collected on Sundays at y^e Church doors, y^e Ministers and Churchwardens of y^e said Church, have been enabled for many years to distribute to their poor between 20*l.* and 30*l.* every week; and y^t they still continue to maintaine and support them to y^e utmost of their power, whereby a great number of families are kept from starving, or from becoming (as must otherwise be y^e case) a considerable burden to y^e parishes they dwell in.

XIII. That as y^e French Protestants in generall who inhabit this kingdom preserve a grateful sense of y^e many favours bestowed

upon them by y^e nation, so y^e members of y^e Savoy in particular have been ever foremost in expressing y^e same upon all occasions, by their hearty and inviolable attachment to our happy Constitution in Church and State: an instance of which they have given very lately, during y^e unnatural rebellion y^t broke out two years ago, when they gave convincing proofs of their steddye zeal and loyalty to his present Majesty's most sacred person and family, for whose preservation they showed themselves ready to sacrifice their fortunes and lives too.

XIV. That, y^e premisses being duely weighed and considered, it is to be hoped y^t His Grace y^e Archbishop of Canterbury and y^e Bishop of London, in conjunction with y^e four other Lords appointed by His Majesty for y^e management of y^e summ y^t has been granted by y^e nation for y^e relief of y^e French Protestants within this kingdom, viz. y^e Lord Chancellor, y^e Lords Chief Justices, and y^e Lord Mayor of London for y^e time being, will be pleased to honour y^e French Church of y^e Savoy, and y^e Chapels annexed to y^e same, with their gracious patronage and protection, as their Lordships' predecessors have condescended to do before them.

N.B.—The facts contain'd in this Memorial are drawn from y^r Records of y^e French Church of y^e Savoy, which are in y^r possession of y^e Vestry of y^e said Church.

J. J. MAJENDIE.

Lambeth MSS. 1222 (Vol. i. Article 13).

APPENDIX B.

Appendix to the report of the 'Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure for 1847-8.' Vol. xviii. pt. 2, p. 278.

ROYAL GRANT TO FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES.

(*From Stowe and Seymour's 'Temporal and Spiritual Government of London.'*)

It appears that at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV., in 1685, 50,000 families emigrated from France to Germany, Holland, Prussia, Switzerland, and Great Britain. For the relief of the said Protestant refugees who came to England, James II., April 15, 1687, published an Order in Council for a general brief throughout his kingdom of England, for

collecting the charity of well-disposed persons for that purpose. The collection then made, in addition to a previous one, is said to have exceeded 200,000*l.*, which money was invested into the Chamber of London, and afterwards placed in the hands of the King.

The application of the money had from the first a threefold object—

1st. Immediate relief was given to about 15,500 poor French Protestant refugees, almost all manufacturers, and who established at once silk and other manufactories in Spitalfields, London, at Norwich, and at Canterbury.

2nd. Fifteen French churches or places of worship were erected in London alone.

3rd. Provision was made for poor French Protestant ministers who came with the refugees.

In 1689, April 26, King William issued a declaration inviting the French Protestants to transport themselves to England, and promising them every assistance and support, in consequence of which thousands more flocked over to England.

In the year 1707, April 2, a deputation of the French Protestant refugees waited on Queen Anne and presented an address in the name of all the refugee Protestant Churches in the kingdom, expressing their gratitude for the protection they did actually enjoy.

In the year 1726, June 14, a warrant was issued under George I.'s sign manual, allowing for the relief of the said Protestant refugees, laity and clergy, 8,591*l.* per annum. In the following year, 1727, December 11, a similar warrant was issued by George II. The same principle was acted upon by his late Majesty George III., and is adhered to by His Most Gracious Majesty George IV.

The proportion attended to in the warrants, in the distribution of the said yearly sum of 8,591*l.*, was at the rate of 1,718*l.* 4*s.* for the relief and support of the French Protestant ministers and converts from the Church of Rome being in Holy Orders, and the remaining 6,782*l.* 16*s.* for and towards the relief of such other French Protestants as shall be judged real objects of charity.

The mode resorted to by His Majesty's Government to ensure a proper application of the said moneys was the nomination of six Grand Commissioners :—

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Lord Chancellor.

The Bishop of London.

The Mayor of London.

The Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and
The Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the
time being, or any four or more of them.

These six Commissioners in their turn appointed two distinct committees, consisting of respectable individuals belonging to the body of French Protestant refugees, one consisting of laymen and called the Lay Committee, the other consisting of clergymen and a lay treasurer, and called the Ecclesiastical Committee, both committees being authorised to make from year to year, or even every six months, the list of persons as come within the description of the warrant.

The lists are regularly presented to the inspection of the Grand Commissioners, who sign the accounts.

The ruling principle of the Ecclesiastical Committee has been throughout to extend the royal bounty, literally designed for the poor French Protestant ministers, to their widows, too often left without any provision at all, and to such of their immediate descendants, chiefly females, who might also be left destitute.

The Ecclesiastical Committee, consisting of six members, meet every three months for dispatch of business and distribution of pensions.

The treasurer's books are regularly stamped, and proper receipts affixed to each name.

Mr. Mowatt's Letter conveying the Treasury Decision.

1380. 87

^a Treasury Chambers, April 7, 1887.

'MY LORD BISHOP,—The First Lord of the Treasury having laid before the Board a printed "Statement of the Claim of the French Protestant Episcopal Church of the Savoy," handed to him by you, their Lordships have given their most respectful consideration to the appeal made in that document for renewed assistance from public funds, and to the reasons brought forward in support of that appeal.

^a The pamphlet in question gives an interesting account of the fund collected in 1685–87 for assisting distressed Huguenot refugees in England, and of the payments which have been made in connection with that purpose down to the present time. Upon this subject much might be said; and if My Lords abstain from referring to it now in any detail, they must not be taken as admitting thereby, without qualifi-

cations, the facts and still less the conclusions contained in Mr. Beaufort's pamphlet. They do not think it necessary for the present purpose, or even possible, to go behind the settlement made in 1833 by your Lordship's predecessor with the then Board of Treasury, the effect of which was to put an end to all payments of this class except to the Church in Crown Street, Soho, to which the Treasury agreed to continue "such moderate grant as may be required in addition to their own fund (then stated to be 150*l.* per annum) for the performance of Divine Service in the French language." The terms of this undertaking have never been extended by the Treasury. The amount deemed sufficient for this purpose between 1840 and 1870 was 250*l.*, including the Land Revenue grant of King Charles II.; and in 1870 this Board warned the authorities of the Church that the question of the continuance of this grant would be considered on a change of incumbency. Those authorities had thus time to provide for the contingency of the withdrawal of the grant, for the change of incumbency did not happen until 1884. At the latter date the Treasury, after considering the matter as announced in 1870, decided to limit the contribution to the Land Revenue allowance of 40*l.* 7*s.* per annum, which amount is still paid.

' Looking at the question from the point of view indicated above, My Lords observe that three reasons are adduced in favour of a reconsideration of the decision of 1884, and they will deal with these reasons *seriatim*.

' *Firstly*, it is said that the reduction of the grant will destroy the Vestry of the Church, which is the body best qualified to administer a dole charity under which the interest of a sum of 8,500*l.* is distributed to sixty poor descendants of the Huguenots. Upon this I am to remark that My Lords are certain that the Charity Commissioners would be able and willing to appoint suitable trustees for it, if called upon to do so.

' *Secondly*, the existence of a girls' school attached to the church is given as a reason for continuing a grant, part of which goes in aid of the school. It may be admitted that a

school in which French children are taught in their ancestral tongue is a legitimate undertaking in London ; but this is no reason why the State should contribute to such a purpose any more than to a school where the language used is German, still more Irish or Welsh—all of which languages are no doubt represented in London, and the last two of which are spoken by the subjects of Her Majesty. Moreover, My Lords have reason to know that there exists in the City of London a fund for a French Protestant school, which enjoys a considerable income, but has no school upon which to expend that income. My Lords would suggest that the income of the City Charity might properly be drawn upon for the maintenance of the Bloomsbury School.

‘*Finally*, the pamphlet urges the importance of maintaining one regularly consecrated Church, “the only one in which the services of the Church of England are performed in the French language in London,” as “an inestimable benefit to Protestant foreigners, as well as to our own fellow subjects from the Channel Islands, Canada, and the Mauritius.” This statement very much weakens the claim of the Church to consideration on historical grounds, because it admits that the forms in use in this Church are not really those which the Huguenot refugees brought over with them from France. There is in fact a real Huguenot Church in London, which has an endowment connected (My Lords believe) with the School Fund already referred to. But on the merits of this argument, My Lords remark, *firstly*, that no serious attempt appears to have been made to support this Church by contributions obtained from the persons to whom it is stated to be an “inestimable benefit”; and, *further*, that no reason is given why these classes of persons should receive benefits from the taxes of this country which are not enjoyed by other visitors to London whose native language is not English.

‘For these reasons My Lords do not feel justified in departing from the decision arrived at in 1884.

‘I am to add that should your Lordship desire to be furnished with the figures of the funds possessed by the City Huguenot charities referred to, My Lords will be happy to

obtain for you any information which the Charity Commissioners may have it in their power to give.

‘I am, my Lord Bishop, your obedient Servant,

‘FRANK MOWATT.’

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.

‘May 18, 1887.

‘MY LORD BISHOP,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Chaplain’s letter of April 22, covering a letter from Mr. Frank Mowatt, under date the 7th idem, conveying the decision of the Lords of the Treasury upon the statement of the claim of this Church to a continuation of what has been called “the annual grant,” which I had the honour to submit through your Lordship.

2. ‘I have called a meeting of the Vestry, and have laid these letters before my colleagues. They have been attentively and respectfully considered; but the grounds of my Lords’ decision, stated by Mr. Mowatt, show so entire a misapprehension of the nature and basis of the claim of this Church, that the Vestry believe it to be their duty to submit through your Lordship, but with all deference and respect to the Lords of the Treasury, some remarks pointing out where the case, laid before them by the Vestry, has been misunderstood by their Lordships.

3. ‘In paragraph 2 of Mr. Mowatt’s letter their Lordships remark that they “do not think it necessary to go behind the settlement made in 1833 by your Lordship’s predecessor with the Board of Treasury.” But the Vestry have not sought even to suggest a re-opening of the arrangement then made—they only ask that my Lords should act up to the Board’s undertaking at that time, and fulfil the agreement which was carried out uninterruptedly from that time until Mr. Bouverie’s death in 1884. (*Vide* paragraphs 23 and 24 of the printed “Statement of Claim,” p. 499.)

4. ‘It is quite true that in the statement which I submitted I traced the history of the matter chronologically from the collection of the money by “brief” in 1685 down to the

present time. I did so because it was necessary and proper to show clearly the historical nature of the claim. Similarly in the course of the correspondence, which resulted in the arrangement of 1833, the Vestry submitted an "historical document" tracing the origin of the annual vote, and claimed specifically that the vote was in no real sense a royal bounty, but distinctly the interest of money collected for a specific purpose, and held by the Crown. No attempt has ever been made to refute or even to deny that statement; nay, more, it has received the imprimatur of acceptance and adoption by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which reported upon miscellaneous expenditure for 1847-48. (*Vide* Appendix B, p. 508.) That history is the basis of the *claim* of this Church to a continuation of the vote for the stipend of the minister. It is not, as we are advised, a legally enforceable one, on account of a mere technical objection that the Vestry is not a corporate body, and cannot therefore sue as such; but it is hardly possible to conceive a stronger moral one to a continuance of this most "moderate" vote as long as the Church continues to fulfil the condition of the performance of Divine Service in French, agreed upon in 1833.

5. 'In paragraph 3 of Mr. Mowatt's letter he says: "My Lords observe that three reasons are adduced in favour of a reconsideration of the decision of 1884," and he then proceeds to answer these reasons *seriatim*—that is to say, he treats these alleged "reasons" as the *basis* of the *claim* of the Vestry. This is an entire misapprehension, and a most serious one. Having set out distinctly in the printed "Statement of Claim" the historic claim of this the last Church to a continuance of the annual vote—a claim supported by the repeated promises of successive Governments—I went on further (paragraph 31 of the printed "Statement of Claim") to show that two other old and useful charitable institutions would suffer injury from any vital damage done to the Church. But the losses which these two institutions would sustain are in no sense whatever the "reasons adduced by the Vestry in favour of a reconsideration of the decision of

1884"—they are simply and solely subsidiary consequences of the injury to the Church from the action of the Treasury.

6. 'The *claim* of the Vestry has a very different foundation. We have traced the funds from which the payments have been made step by step from its origin, two centuries ago, to the present time—we have shown that that origin has been acknowledged by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in its report to Parliament—that the continuance of the payment "so long as Divine Service shall continue to be performed" was recommended by the Bishop of London in the arrangement of 1833, referred to My Lords, and not merely agreed to by the Government, but ratified and guaranteed "to the last surviving Church" four times over in 1840; and, further, tacitly acknowledged in 1854—and that in implicit reliance upon this promised continuance of the stipend for the minister the Vestry built the present Church. It is upon these *facts* that the Vestry rests its *claim* to the continued payment of this small fraction of the interest of the capital sum appropriated by the Crown, and not, in any degree whatever, as assumed in Mr. Mowatt's letter, upon any consequential injury to allied institutions. Your Lordship will observe that these guarantees and promises in 1840 and 1854 were all subsequent to the arrangement of 1833 upon which My Lords rely.

7. 'Mr. Mowatt, referring to the school, says: "But this is no reason why the State should contribute to such a purpose any more than to a school where the language used is German, still more Irish or Welsh." The Vestry desire respectfully to point out that the use of the words "the State should contribute" is, in fact, to "beg the question" at issue. That, under our system of government, all payments of this character have to be included annually in a Parliamentary vote, does not render that a gift which is *de jure* merely the payment of the interest upon money held in trust. Had the Crown absorbed for its own use money collected for German, Irish, or Welsh institutions, then undoubtedly a claim similar to that of the Vestry would exist,

but under the actual circumstances the cases are in no degree parallel.

8. 'It is alleged in Mr. Mowatt's letter that the claim of this Church to a continuance of the vote is "very much weakened historically" by the fact of its conformity to the Church of England. If My Lords will refer to paragraph 5 of the printed "Statement of Claim," they will find that the condition upon which the King in 1661 granted to this congregation the chapel in the Savoy was "that they use the Book of Common Prayer and submit to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London." If, further, My Lords will refer to paragraph 18 of the same statement, they will find that in 1759 the nonconformist Churches applied to obtain a share of the sum voted annually, and that the petition was rejected by Archbishop Secker—leaving the sole enjoyment of the interest upon the 200,000*l.* to the conformist ones.¹

9. 'Towards the end of paragraph 2 of Mr. Mowatt's letter My Lords remark that between 1870 and 1884 "the authorities of the Church had time to provide for the contingency of the withdrawal of the grant." But that is another misapprehension. The amount paid was the stipend of the minister, and it was paid, under a recent special order of the Treasury, direct to himself. From it the Vestry had no power to deduct a single penny towards accumulating a fund to provide for stipends in the future, and manifestly no sum sufficient for such a purpose could possibly be saved out of so poor a stipend as 209*l.* 13*s.*, upon the whole of which small income it was difficult enough for a clergyman even to live.

10. 'Mr. Mowatt further remarks that "no serious attempt appears to have been made to support this Church by contributions obtained from persons to whom it is stated to be an inestimable benefit." Do my Lords suppose that such a Church was built and furnished in 1845 without the aid of considerable collections made for the purpose, or that, referring to the fact that the Vestry in that year spent its funds, "to the last farthing," upon the fabric of the Church, the sum now

¹ *Vide* also the concluding words of the brief, p. 495.

in the hands of the Charity Commissioners, from which the Church receives 72*l.* interest per annum, did not accrue from gifts and benefactions—or that every effort is not made by offertories and in other ways to provide for the necessary wants of the Church and its minister—or that since 1884, when the payment from the Treasury ceased, the Vestry and others have not contributed by subscription and otherwise to support their Church in its so sadly depressed condition?

11. ‘Having thus stated more explicitly the nature of their claim to a continuance of the annual vote for the stipend of the minister of this the last remaining one of those Churches which for two centuries have been aided and supported by the interest of the large sum subscribed for the benefit of the Huguenots by those who sympathised with them in the persecutions which they had so bravely endured, the Vestry entertain a hope that, in view of the incontrovertible justice of their claim, the Lords of Her Majesty’s Treasury will no longer refuse to continue to this little Church, which has, ever since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, been doing a good work among the French-speaking subjects of Her Gracious Majesty, that very “moderate” aid which has enabled it to subsist, and to inculcate among the descendants of those faithful and pious refugees the principles which made their forefathers, in the country of their adoption as of their origin, eminent among the staunchest and most loyal subjects of the Crown.

‘I have the honour to be, my Lord Bishop, your Lordship’s most obedient Servant,

‘W. M. BEAUFORT,

‘*Treasurer of the French Protestant Episcopal
Church of the Savoy.*’

‘Treasury Chambers, 9th September, 1887.

‘MY LORD,—Your Lordship’s letter of the 7th of June and its enclosure, in which the claim of the French Protestant Episcopal Church of the Savoy to a grant of public money was further argued and urged, has received the most careful

consideration of the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, and in reply I am directed to express their Lordships' regret that they do not see their way to being able to modify the decision at which they arrived three years ago, and which they communicated again to your Lordship in April last.

'I am, &c.,

'R. S. WELBY.'

Sketch of the Commercial History of Norwich till the Introduction of the Foreign Refugees in the Time of Queen Elizabeth.

BY THE REV. W. HUDSON, HON. SECRETARY OF THE NORFOLK AND
NORWICH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE city of Norwich owed much of its prosperity for many generations to the skill and industry of the refugees whose name the Huguenot Society has taken for its title. But I need scarcely remind you that they were not the founders of that prosperity. Long before their time a similar service had been performed by other immigrants, the Flemings, who brought their knowledge of the manufacture of wool into the city and neighbourhood in the time of King Edward III. But they also, although they endowed the city with greatly increased vitality, were in no sense the originators of its prosperity.

They settled in a community which had even then inherited from its forefathers a long record of vigorous developement, which ranked among the leading cities of the kingdom in wealth and population, and which had attained to a very fair maturity of personal freedom and of organised municipal self-government.

Norwich is one of those places the origin of which is lost in obscurity. It doubtless owes its existence, like so many other towns, to its geographical position at the extreme head of an estuary of the sea. Where the sand-bank was gradually deposited on which Yarmouth now stands was formerly a great inlet of the sea, which spread over the low lands, giving easy access to roving marauders far up the river courses. At one

head of this estuary in early Saxon times a settlement was formed on the banks of the river Wensum at the foot of the hill on which now stands the Castle Keep. It is probable that some stronghold was established on the hill by some great lord (tradition names some of the kings of the East Angles), for whose protection the settlers paid the price of feudal subjection.

In process of time the rising town became subject to the depredations of the Danes. In 1004 Sweyn, the King of Denmark, sailed up to Norwich and destroyed it. But the Danes soon after, becoming masters of this part of England, settled down with the Saxons, and the growth of the town proceeded with great rapidity. In the time of King Edward the Confessor, as we learn from the 'Domesday Survey,' the number of burgesses was 1,320, a number which was scarcely exceeded by any other town.

About the time of the Norman Conquest a new portion was added to the burgh, which was destined to become the most important of all. A special Norman-French settlement was formed about the locality where we are now assembled, and with that settlement I would connect the original establishment on this spot of the Market, with its Toll-house, which from that day to this have constituted the commercial and official centre of the town.

In the early days of King William Rufus the town of Norwich became a city by the removal hither from Thetford of the seat of the bishopric and the foundation of the Cathedral. This event, though in one way it introduced into the community an element of discord, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities not always seeing things in the same light, yet unquestionably was, on the whole, favourable to its growth by adding to its importance and attaching to it a large amount of ecclesiastical business, which in those days embraced a wide range of affairs.

With the reign of King Henry II., at the close of the twelfth century, begins the strictly municipal history of the city as a chartered borough. From that monarch the citizens obtained a grant of the city in fee-farm. Under his suc-

cessors, during the thirteenth century, Kings John, Henry III., and Edward I., they acquired most of the municipal privileges of the period. They had the right of electing their own governors, four bailiffs; they held their own courts, punished their own offenders, and paid their fines and tolls into their own common chest. They regulated their own internal trade and business according to their own customs, and when their merchants went to other towns they had the King's charter, giving them the right to trade free from local exactions.

In this necessarily brief and imperfect sketch I have not suggested any causes for this great and steady growth. There is, I believe, but one explanation to be given. Up to this date, i.e. previous to the introduction of the woollen manufactures by the Flemings, about 1336, it was simply the natural growth of a free burgh which favouring circumstances had caused to develop to an abnormal extent scarcely attained in any other instance. During all its previous history Norwich had been essentially a community of traders, and their trade had been strictly local, confined to supplying the wants of their own neighbours and the surrounding country. The city was too far from the sea to do any sea-going trade like Bristol; it had no market attended from all parts like Boston in Lincolnshire; it was not a semi-royal city like Winchester or York. Its leading citizens were drapers and spicers, who purchased foreign cloths and spices, and sold them to the citizens and countrymen; and below them, in various grades, came the tanners, sherrers of cloths, saddlers, hosiers, shoemakers, butchers, bakers, fishmongers, and all the rest, who either worked up the goods purchased by the wealthier traders or took from the country folk the provisions and produce which they brought into market. In all cases but one they were apparently dependent upon home consumption. The one exception was wool, which, I suppose, was taken away by the foreign merchants in exchange for their cloth. The dealers in this article are described as 'wolle-mongeres,' and are very few in number, from which I gather that the wool was sold unspun, and not in the form of yarn, and that the foreign merchants obtained it from the country producer, and

not from the city dealers. It would be a curious study in political economy to consider how a trade consisting solely in the supply of local demands, such as in these days would scarcely maintain the vitality of a small country town, was sufficient in those days to raise Norwich to one of the highest positions in the kingdom—yet such was certainly the case. There is abundant evidence to show how flourishing the place was at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. A famous statement has been often quoted that in the Black Death of 1349 there perished in Norwich '57,000 persons, besides religious and beggars.' This statement rests on no sounder foundation than a marginal note in one of the city books, made some 200 years after the event. There are, however, certain materials, which have not yet been properly worked up, from which it seems possible to make a guess at the population about 1310. They seem to account for a population of 12,000 or 15,000, but scarcely much more. Something must be added for certain districts which came under special jurisdiction. This might bring it up to 20,000 within the circuit of the city walls. Though far below the amount mentioned, this would be a large population for that early period.

With the reign of King Edward III. the trade of Norwich ceased to be strictly local, and entered on that more extended sphere of operations which, for several centuries, made Norwich goods known throughout the commercial world. This development was due to the immigration of Flemish artisans, who brought with them the knowledge of the manufacture of wool into various fabrics. There is some doubt about the exact time when the Flemings first established their manufacture in Norfolk. The material called 'worsted,' said to have been spun from wool only produced by Norfolk-bred sheep, derives its name from the village of that name, between Norwich and Cromer, and Blomefield, in his 'History of Norwich,' maintains that, in all probability, a colony of Old Dutch, driven from their own country by an inundation, settled there so early as the reign of King Henry I. The earliest instance, however, he gives of the use of the name of 'worsted'

for a woollen material is in a patent granted by Queen Isabel, the wife of King Edward II., which speaks of 'worsted made in Norwich.' He also says, without referring to any evidence, that 'in Edward II.'s time worsted stuff was famous, and Norwich increased very much by the making of it.' I can give no opinion whether this was so or not. I am sure that up to the end of the reign of Edward I. there were very few weavers in Norwich. And it seems to be admitted that the manufacture of the various woollen fabrics, of which Norwich became the chief seat, was not established in the city till about the year 1336. Soon after this Norwich was made one of the 'staple' towns, so that all cloth manufactured throughout this part of England had to be brought here and certified under the seal of an official called 'the Mayor of the Staple.' A certain Roger Virly held this office in 1363. The sealers of the cloth were termed Alnagers. I fancy the official business of the trade was for a long time transacted in a hall called the Worsted Seld, or Shed. It formed part of a block of buildings in a street leading out of the Market Place on the N. (then called Stongate, now Goat Lane), which the city purchased in 1377, and called the 'Common Hospice.'

Into any details of this manufacture or of the various ordinances which were passed for its regulation or encouragement I cannot now enter, even if I possessed the requisite knowledge. It is sufficient to say that after a lapse of 200 years it had so declined that it would have died out had not the citizens called to their aid the fresh immigration of strangers with which your Society is specially connected, and whose settlement and doings will be described to us by your President this evening.

I will add only a few words about the building in which we are holding this meeting before you proceed to examine the objects of interest contained in it.

The middle of the fourteenth century was marked in Norwich not only by the development of manufacture by the Flemings, but even more by the terrible plagues which swept over all Europe, and which fell with fearful severity on this city and county, this very severity being, no doubt, one proof

of the populousness of both. When the city revived towards the close of the century a thorough reorganisation of its internal affairs took place, some interesting details of which may be studied in the book called the 'City Domesday.' The crowning point of this reorganisation consisted in the substitution of a Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council in place of four bailiffs and 24 elected citizens who had previously formed the governing body. This change was effected by two royal charters—one granted by Henry IV. in 1403, the other by Henry V. in 1416. Immediately after obtaining the first, which gave them a Mayor instead of bailiffs, the citizens set about providing themselves with a more commodious and suitable official building. Up to this time there had been on this spot a small toll-house, which was the Bailiffs' Court. But latterly a good deal of the city business had been transacted in the College of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, which stood at some distance to the south of the Market. The new building was commenced in 1404, and finished in 1413. It was called the Guildhall in imitation of London. The word was not locally appropriate in Norwich, where there was no 'merchant guild' as in some other towns.

The most interesting part of the original building still remaining is the east front facing the Market Place, the flint facing of which is considered a fine specimen of that style of art. The various things to be noticed in the interior may be best described as we come to each.

The Diocese and Cathedral Church of Norwich.

By W. T. BENSLEY, LL.D., DEPUTY-REGISTRAR OF THE DIOCESE.

THE influx of foreigners into our island home has been on many occasions of distinct advantage to this country. When they have come even as conquerors the evil has hitherto not been unmixed with good. In vain did 'the British Warrior Queen' (Boadicea), 'bleeding from the Roman rods,' and at the head of the Iceni in this part of Britain, oppose the Roman legions. The whole island was subjugated by them, and although after their departure, in the early part of the fifth century, the arts, language, and religion of Rome soon perished here, they left evidence of the advantages of discipline and order and of the power which a strong and well-administered Government possesses. Many remains of the Roman military roads and fortifications exist at the present time. In this district their fortified camps may be traced at Caister near Norwich, Burgh Castle near Yarmouth, Brancaster, Castle Rising, Castle Acre, Tasburgh, and other places. Then came the 'English' conquest of Britain, and the foundation there of permanent Teutonic kingdoms. The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes transplanted to our shores won for themselves (as Professor Freeman expresses it) a new name and a new national being, and handed on to us the distinct and glorious inheritance of Englishmen.

The Danes sadly harassed this part of England, and retarded for many years the spread of Christianity; but I think we may recognise in their descendants in Norfolk their spirit of dogged perseverance, courage, and tenacity of purpose in the face of difficulties, which makes our county renowned for its good sailors—such as Nelson—good soldiers, and good agri-

culturists. The last-mentioned class has been sorely tried in recent years, but still struggles bravely against the 'hard times.'

Perhaps some of the traits of character referred to may also be due to the N.E. wind, the wild North-Easter welcomed by Charles Kingsley in his 'Ode,' which ends with these words:—

But the black North-Easter,
Through the snow storm hurled,
Drives our English hearts of oak
Seaward round the world.
Come, as came our fathers,
Heralded by thee,
Conquering from the eastward,
Lords by land and sea.
Come, and strong within us
Stir the Vikings' blood,
Bracing brain and sinew;
Blow, thou wind of God.

Canute, the Danish king of England, founded the Abbey of St. Benet, at Hulme, in Norfolk, the last Abbot of which became Bishop of Norwich. The site of the Abbey and the surrounding estate still form part of the endowment of the bishopric.

The Norman Conquest (I quote again from Professor Freeman on this subject) was 'the great turning point in the history of the English nation. It brought with it a most extensive foreign infusion which affected our blood, our language, our laws, our arts. Still it was only an infusion; the older and stronger elements still survived, and in the long run they again made good their supremacy. In a few generations we led captive our conquerors. England was England once again, and the descendants of the Norman invaders were found to be among the truest of Englishmen.' To the Norman Conquest we owe our Cathedral Church of Norwich, Norman in design, and erected by Herbert Losinga, the first Norman Bishop of the see. The threatened invasion of England by the Spanish Armada (the tercentenary of which has now arrived) intensified the determination of Englishmen,

who had thrown off the control of the Church of Rome, 'that no Italian priest shall tithe or toll in our dominions.'

When we remember the benefits in revival of trade and otherwise which this city has from time to time received from the influx and infusion of the Flemings, the Dutch strangers, the Walloons, and the Huguenots (all more or less allied to each other) we do well to welcome amongst us this day the Huguenot Society of London, whose object is (in the words of their President) 'to preserve and commemorate the memorable history of the refugees, which furnishes splendid examples of steadfastness in suffering for conscience' sake, and of devotion to the great principle of religious liberty.'

And now I will endeavour to give a brief account of the Diocese and Cathedral Church of Norwich. In doing so I at once admit that I have made use to a great extent of what has already been ably written on the subject by Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk, by Mr. Harrod, in his 'Castles and Convents of Norfolk,' Professor Willis, the Rev. D. J. Stewart, Dr. Jessopp, Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, and others, and last but not least by that accomplished scholar and divine the present Dean of Norwich (Dr. E. Meyrick Goulburn).

The diocese of East Anglia was originally founded at Dunwich, then a flourishing seaport in Suffolk, Felix being the first Bishop. In the year 673 it was divided into two sees—one at North Elmham, in Norfolk, and the other at Dunwich. In 1078 the East Anglian bishopric was transferred to Thetford, where it continued nearly twenty years, till Herbert Losinga finally translated it to Norwich and laid the foundation stone of this cathedral in the year 1096, just at the time when the nations of Europe, stirred with enthusiasm and excitement, were sending 800,000 armed men on the First Crusade to rescue the holy sepulchre from the Saracens. The greed and rapacity of William Rufus led him to retain great offices in the Church and State in his own hands, to keep them vacant and to appropriate their endowments until some one could be found ready to offer a fee sufficiently large to induce the King to exercise his patronage. Under such untoward circumstances Herbert became Bishop. Which is most to be blamed,

the King or the Bishop? Penitent for having entered on his office disgracefully, Herbert, determining if possible to pass out of it with credit, resigned his see to the Pope, but was reinstated. The surname Losinga was for centuries supposed to refer to the corrupt means by which Herbert became Bishop, but in recent times it has been shown—and I think conclusively—by Mr. Beloe, of Lynn, to be equivalent to Lorraine, the country from which his family sprang. He himself was, according to the *Registrum Primum* of the cathedral, a native of the *Pagus Oximensis* in Normandy. He had been Prior of Fécamp in that country, and one of the chaplains of William Rufus, who brought him to England and made him Abbot of Ramsay. In the same register the chronicler tells us of Bishop Herbert's great literary ability in matters secular as well as divine, of his handsome person, his wisdom, and his modesty. His letters and sermons, which are extant, show him to have been a man of no ordinary ability. He founded a Benedictine priory for 60 monks in connexion with, and on the south side of, the cathedral; on the north side he built the Bishop's Palace. According to the register he completed the church as far as the altar of St. William the Boy-martyr (which was situate on the west side of the present screen), beginning the church in the place where, when the register was written, was the Lady Chapel, almost in the middle of the same chapel, and laying the foundation-stone in the name of the Trinity. There was a trefoil of apsidal chapels at the east end of the church. Mr. Gunn, an eminent local antiquary, sees symbolised throughout the original design of the building an expression of the founder's belief in the Holy Trinity. Bishop Herbert was buried in the choir before the high altar. Bishop Eborard, who succeeded him, and had been one of his chaplains, probably completed the nave and built the room in which we are now assembled, which was the locutory, or parlour, of the Norman convent. These noble arches are Norman, but the western portion and window are Early English. Bishop John, of Oxford, is said to have built the infirmary, to have remitted the tax imposed by Bishop Herbert on the diocese for the building of the church,

and, in fact, to have wound up the building affairs of the Norman church. Describing the building of the cathedral, Dr. Jessopp, in his history of this diocese, says, 'In the absence of any serviceable quarry in East Anglia the stone required was imported from Normandy, and a canal was cut from the Wensum, enabling vessels to unload their burden where now stands the Lower Close. The works went on with amazing rapidity, and the cathedral rose up as if by magic, its extreme length attaining to 407 feet, without reckoning the Lady Chapel, which has disappeared.' In your walk through the cathedral please observe the remains *in situ* of the old episcopal seat behind the altar. Besides the west part of this room there is very little of Early English work in the cathedral. Bishop Suffield (or Calthorpe), in the middle of the 13th century, built a rectangular lady chapel in lieu of the original circular chapel, but this was pulled down in Queen Elizabeth's time. The two entrance arches of it may still be seen at the east end of the church. The detached belfry or clocher was probably built in this style; it was burnt in the riot in 1272, when a quarrel took place between the citizens and the priory.

We may point to the cloister, on the south side of the cathedral (begun in 1297 and finished 133 years afterwards), for examples of the Decorated style of Gothic architecture, which prevailed throughout the greater part of the 14th century; which style exhibits the most complete and perfect development of Gothic architecture, characterised by mullioned windows with tracery in the window heads and the ball-flower ornament. This cloister is, with the exception of that of Salisbury, the largest of our English cloisters. The east side is geometrical in style, the south and west flowing, and the north perpendicular. The refectory was a fine room on the south side of the cloister. The upper part of the external walls of the cloister exhibit internally many traces of Norman work on the east and west sides, and on the west side Mr. Gunn sees evidences in the double-splayed circular windows there of the Saxon work of some building of earlier date than the cathedral. All that was combustible of the Norman cloister seems to have perished in the fire of 1272. On the east side of the

cloister stood the chapter-house, built in the 13th century, and also no doubt the dormitory of the monastery, as well as the slype or covered passage from the cloister to the cemetery of the monks—all since destroyed. The deanery-house on this side contains much of the old residence of the priors of the convent. The bosses in the vaulting of the cloister contain in the eastern walks subjects from the Gospels. Those of the south and west walks illustrate for the most part the Revelation of St. John. The bosses of the north walk represent legends of various saints, with a few subjects from the New Testament. The Bauchun Chapel of the Virgin (about 1320) is also in the Decorated style, but the walls were afterwards raised, and the groined roof, which in its sculptured bosses represents the legendary history of the Virgin, seems to have been erected in the 15th century. One of the most interesting portions of the cathedral is the confessio or relic chapel, on the north side of the presbytery. In 1362 a furious hurricane, said by Holinshed to have lasted six or seven days, blew down the wooden spire and greatly damaged the Norman clerestory in the east part of the church, so as to make a thorough repair necessary during the episcopate of Bishop Percy, to whom we owe the present magnificent clerestory, which has replaced the original Norman one, and has features both of the Decorated and Perpendicular about it. Of the Perpendicular style we see examples in the alterations made in the porch and window of the west front, at the expense of Bishop Alnwick; in the lower part of the present stone screen of the choir, as well as in the magnificent lierne vaulting of the nave with its series of 328 sculptures at the intersections of the groining, exhibiting the course of Scripture history from the Creation to the final Judgment (omitting the period from Solomon to the year of our Lord). Bishop Goldwell, 1472-99, repaired the damage done in the eastern part of the church by another fire which took place in 1463, and, with the aid of an indulgence from the Pope, raised funds to erect the lower stage of the presbytery, the stone vaulting of the roof, the bosses of which exhibit his rebus (a gold well at the intersections of the groin-

ing), and the magnificent flying buttresses of the Apostles' roof, which were required to resist the thrust of the vaulting. The effigy of Bishop Goldwell on the south side of the presbytery is one of the few fine monuments in this cathedral, and furnishes an excellent study of mediæval vestments. His successor, Bishop Nix, erected a stone vaulting to the transept. His chantry and tomb on the south side of the nave are interesting specimens of late Perpendicular style. The stalls are 62 in number, each with its subsellium, or Miserere. They are believed to have been erected at two periods, 24 of them at the close of the fourteenth century, and the rest not later than the middle of the fifteenth century. Some of the carvings beneath the seats of the stalls are of a very grotesque character. Since the Reformation works of repair and attempted restoration of portions of the edifice have from time to time been made, unfortunately not always in the best taste. Through the munificence of the present Dean restorations have been made with great care in the presbytery, Jesus Chapel, west front, and sculptured roofs of the nave, presbytery, and Bauchun Chapel; and recently the Dean and Chapter have carried out most important works in strengthening and beautifying the tower and lantern beneath at a cost of about 4,000*l*.

The precinct of the Cathedral is entered by two gates. The upper one (St. Ethelbert's) was built by the citizens after the fire of 1272. The lower one, opposite the west front of the Cathedral, called the Erpingham Gate, was erected by Sir Thomas Erpingham (one of the heroes of Agincourt) about 1420. His effigy appears on the west side above the arch. The arms of Sir Thomas and his two wives and his family motto, 'Thenk,' are sculptured in many places on the west side of the gate. The whole of the space on the west and north sides of the Cathedral was originally appropriated as a cemetery up to the walls of the Palace on the north side, and to those of the strangers' hall, cellarers' lodging, and domestic offices on the south. In the midst Bishop Salmon, about 1316, built a charnel-house, with the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist above it (now King Edward VI.

Grammar School). In the greenyard to the west of the Bishop's Palace open-air sermons were formerly preached. I may perhaps be allowed to quote part of Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's concise account of some of the Bishops of Norwich:—
 'Norwich numbers among her bishops Losinga, the Simonist, the sorrowful penitent in his age; John de Grey, the benevolent viceroy who divided Ireland into counties and brought in English laws, the brave soldier who took French castles and the rich prelate to whom the King pawned his regalia; Pandulph, who excommunicated John Lackland; William de Middleton, guardian of the realm; John Salmon and William Ayermin, Lord Chancellors, the latter with the prelates of York and Ely present with an army of clerks, in the "White Battle" by the Swale, routed by the Scots; Bateman, founder of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, who made Lord Morley, for poaching on his grounds, walk bareheaded and barefooted, with a burning taper in his hand, through the streets of Norwich, and do penance in the Cathedral; Henry Despencer, the Bishop, with helm on head and hilt in hand fighting for the Pope on shore, and as an English admiral at sea easing the heavy, Flemings of their good wine; Richard Courtenay, who died so sadly at the siege of Harfleur; John de Wakering, Lord Privy Seal; Nykke, the "blind Bishop," the discovery of whose traitorous correspondence with the Pope caused the fine of 10,000 marks, which the King spent on the glorious glazing of King's College Chapel; bad William Rugg, who deprived the see of its barony, so that his successors in Parliament sit as mitred abbots of Hulme; Parkhurst, who loved to entertain Oxford scholars and dismiss them with light hearts and heavy purses;¹ scandalous Scambler; John Jegon, the wag; learned Overall; merry Corbet, the wit,

¹ Bishop Parkhurst, whose tomb is in the Cathedral, gave in 1565 the Walloons the use of his own chapel. In that year, on the representation of the Duke of Norfolk, Archbishop Parker desired the Bishop to grant them a vacant church. At p. 136 of the 42 Articles Book in the Diocesan Registry is a registered copy of a letter from the Archbishop, written by command of the Queen, to Bishop Parkhurst, to enquire into the number of strangers within the diocese, and whether there be any of them infected with heresie, and for replies to other articles concerning them, which he then set down. The letter is dated 16th May (1568).

and yet kind-hearted withal, so that being without money and seeing a poor maimed scholar at Abingdon, he disguised his face and sang so sweetly in the market-place as to gather for the lad a bountiful alms; excellent Montague; saintly Hall; Puritan Reynolds¹ (he objected to the word "worship" in the marriage service, and was sharply rebuked by King James: "Had you a good wife you would think all *worship* and all you could do well bestowed on her"); the learned Sparrow; George Horne, the commentator on the Psalms; and Bathurst, long the only bishop who spoke in favour of Roman Catholic emancipation, and said as he left the House of Lords, "I have lost Winchester, but I have saved my conscience."

Bishop Bathurst was succeeded by Bishop Stanley, the father of the late Dean of Westminster. Being appointed about the time the Pluralities and Residence Act was passed, he acted vigorously in the spirit of the Act—requiring his clergy to reside or resign. He died much lamented, and you may read on his monumental slab in the nave of the Cathedral that he was 'buried amidst the mourning of the diocese which he had animated, the city which he had served, the poor whom he had visited, the schools which he had fostered, the family which he had loved, and of all Christian people with whom, howsoever divided, he had joined in whatsoever things were true and honest and just and pure and lovely and of good report.' The devotion and zeal which have characterised his successors, Bishop Hinds and the present revered Bishop Pelham, in the administration of this large diocese are well known and appreciated.

¹ Bishop Reynolds composed the 'General Thanksgiving.'

Sermon preached in Norwich Cathedral on the occasion of the Visit of the Huguenot Society of London to Norwich, July 24, 1838.

BY THE REV. J. L. LE PELLEY, VICAR OF RINGLAND.

Car c'est par elle que les anciens ont obtenu un bon témoignage.—
HÉBREUX xi. 2.

CE serait avec une très-grande timidité que j'entreprendrais le devoir qu'on m'a fait l'honneur de me demander de remplir aujourd'hui si ce n'était la commande du Sauveur de prêcher l'évangile à toute créature et sa promesse qu'il serait avec nous jusqu'à la fin, et aussi que je me ressouviens que la plupart des membres de cette auguste assemblée sont les descendants de ceux qui ont souffert pour le nom de notre Sauveur Jésus-Christ et pour cette foi dont il nous est parlé dans ce chapitre ; de ceux qui, par les souffrances qu'ils ont eu à subir, pourraient être ajoutés au nombre de ceux qui sont ici mentionnés comme ayant la foi, 'cette foi qui rend présentes les choses qu'on espère, et qui est une démonstration des choses qu'on ne voit point ; car c'est par elle que les anciens ont obtenu un bon témoignage.'

Puisse donc le Saint-Esprit être avec nous à présent, afin d'ouvrir notre entendement pour ouïr et recevoir sa parole.

C'était donc par la foi que tous les anciens saints mentionnés dans le Vieux Testament ont obtenu un bon témoignage, et cette foi il nous est dit dans le premier verset était une foi telle qu'elle rendait présentes les choses qu'ils espéraient, étant pour eux une vive représentation de ces choses.

Ils regardaient pour l'accomplissement de la promesse de Dieu que le jour s'approchait en lequel la promesse serait

accomplie que 'la semence de la femme écraserait la tête du serpent,' et ils avaient ceci toujours rappelé à leur mémoire par de nombreux sacrifices, lesquels leur démontraient aussi, bien clairement, qu'ils ne pouvaient avoir la rémission de leurs péchés sans effusion de sang. Le monde en général étant trop orgueilleux pour recevoir une telle vérité, n'aime pas ceux qui la reçoivent et qui en la recevant se disent amis de ce qui est bon et louable et condamnent en même temps ce qui est mal et faux. Ainsi vient l'inimitié qui existe entre ceux qui ont la foi et ceux qui ne l'ont pas. Cette inimitié nous est démontrée dans ce chapitre lorsqu'il nous est dit que ceux qui ont eu la foi 'ont été éprouvés par des moqueries et par des coups, par des liens et par la prison. Ils ont été lapidés; ils ont été sciés'; ils ont souffert de rudes épreuves; ils ont été mis à mort par le tranchant de l'épée; ils ont été errants çà et là, vêtus de peaux de brebis et de chèvres, réduits à la misère, affligés, tourmentés, desquels le monde n'était pas digne; errant dans les déserts et dans les montagnes, 'dans les cavernes et dans les trous de la terre,' et ceci ils ont souffert de la part de ceux qui n'ont point la foi. Plusieurs exemples sont donnés; considérons en un seul, celui de Moïse, qui ayant au premier abord échappé à l'édit du roi et ayant été sauvé par la fille du roi, fut alors élevé comme le fils de la fille du roi, et alors avait devant lui une vie que le monde aurait estimé désirable proche le roi, honoré avec l'honneur du monde. Mais à la place de tout cela il choisit 'plutôt d'être affligé avec le peuple de Dieu, que de jouir pour un peu de temps des délices du péché,' et à la place de vivre dans un palais il devint fugitif errant dans les déserts d'Horeb. Et la raison c'était parce qu'il regardait 'l'opprobre de Christ comme des richesses plus grandes que les trésors de l'Egypte, parce qu'il avait en vue la rémunération.'

Et dans ces derniers temps les Huguenots ayant mis leur foi et leur espérance en Jésus-Christ, ont préféré la perte de toutes choses plutôt que de renier leur Sauveur. Les saints du Vieux Testament regardaient pour l'accomplissement de la promesse, et lorsque les temps ont été accomplis Dieu a envoyé son Fils, son Fils unique, au monde. On aurait cru que

le monde l'aurait reçu et aurait fait son possible pour le recevoir avec respect et avec crainte, le reconnaissant par ses œuvres et par ses paroles. Mais non, le Fils unique de Dieu lui-même, tout le temps qu'il fut sur cette terre, fut le méprisé et le dernier des hommes, un homme de douleurs et qui sait ce que c'est que la langueur.' A la place donc d'être reçu des hommes il fut traité de la même manière que ses disciples avant sa venue avaient été traités, et à la fin, quoiqu'il n'eût commis aucun péché, il fut condamné par le monde et crucifié, et il dit à ses disciples qu'ils auraient à endurer le même sort qu'il avait eu à souffrir des mains de ses créatures. 'Il suffit,' leur dit-il, 'au disciple d'être comme son maître, et au serviteur comme son seigneur; s'ils ont appelé le père de famille Béalzebul combien plus appelleront-ils ainsi ses domestiques. Mais en même temps il leur donne cet encouragement: 'Ne les craignez point et ne craignez point ceux qui ôtent la vie du corps et qui ne peuvent faire mourir l'âme, mais craignez plutôt celui qui peut perdre et l'âme et le corps dans la géhenne.' L'histoire nous démontre qu'en plusieurs temps les disciples du Sauveur ont eu à souffrir des mains du monde les mêmes souffrances, ou des souffrances pareilles à celles que les anciens saints du Vieux Testament ont eu à souffrir parce qu'ils étaient les disciples de Dieu, et ceci avant même la venue du Sauveur.

Mais l'existence de la Société qui nous a fait nous assembler aujourd'hui, la Société dite 'The Huguenot Society of London,' laquelle nous accueillons avec joie dans notre ancienne cité, une cité qui a été l'asile de beaucoup des Huguenots lorsqu'ils se sont échappés de leurs pays, je dis que l'existence d'une telle Société nous démontre bien clairement que le temps des persécutions a continué presque jusqu'à ce temps, et nous dit aussi qu'il n'est pas encore passé, mais qu'il est à concevoir que les persécutions continueront jusqu'à la fin. Mais quand le Sauveur vint au monde ceux qui désiraient sa mort le plus ardemment c'étaient ceux qui se disaient à ce temps-là être les disciples de Dieu, et ainsi dans ces dernières persécutions ceux qui ont persécuté les Huguenots ont été ceux qui se disaient disciples du Sauveur; et comme St. Paul

avant sa conversion pensait plaire à Dieu en mettant à mort ceux qui se disaient disciples de Jésus, ainsi aussi ces persécuteurs-ci croyaient plaire à Dieu en mettant à mort ceux qui s'appelaient Huguenots et qui s'efforçaient de servir Dieu en esprit et en vérité.

Et l'histoire de ces temps-là nous démontre combien ils ont eu à souffrir pour leur Sauveur, et avec quelle patience ils se sont soumis à l'affliction. Néanmoins les cruautés dont ils ont été les sujets, leur patience et leur attachement au Sauveur n'ont eu d'autre résultat que d'augmenter la haine de leurs ennemis. La plupart souffraient avec résignation ; il n'y en eut guerre qui offrirent aucune résistance, quoique leurs églises fussent rasées à terre, leurs pasteurs mis à mort, leurs enfants enlevés, leurs biens confisqués et tout essai de s'échapper puni avec une extrême rigueur. Mais néanmoins toutes ces persécutions et toute la rigueur avec laquelle ils ont été traités, leurs descendants s'assemblent aujourd'hui dans cette ancienne cathédrale pour célébrer les louanges de l'Eternel et lui rendre grâces de tous ses bienfaits par le passé, qu'il ne s'est jamais détourné des siens mais a toujours fait plus qu'ils ne pensaient et qu'ils ne méritaient.

Mais quand nous regardons ainsi à l'histoire du monde et considérons que le peuple de Dieu en tous les âges a été persécuté par le monde, nous voyons que le témoignage dont le texte parle ne peut être le témoignage du monde ni de personne dans le monde, car le monde n'a jamais donné qu'un faux témoignage des disciples du Sauveur.

Ce témoignage donc est le témoignage de Dieu lui-même, ainsi qu'il nous est démontré dans les versets 4 et 5, où il nous est dit qu'Abel et Enoch obtinrent ce bon témoignage : Abel en ce qu'il 'offrit à Dieu un plus excellent sacrifice que Caïn, et ainsi obtint le témoignage d'être juste, Dieu rendant un bon témoignage à ses offrandes, et quoique mort il parle encore par elles'; Enoch en ce qu'il 'marcha avec Dieu,' et ainsi 'fut enlevé pour ne point mourir, et il ne parut plus, parce que Dieu l'avait enlevé, car avant que d'être enlevé il avait obtenu le témoignage d'être agréable à Dieu.' Et il me semble qu'on peut dire que les Huguenots ont aussi obtenu le témoignage,

parce qu'en regardant le monde d'à présent nous voyons que la nation qui les a accueillis lorsqu'ils se sont échappés de leur pays par rapport à la persécution, la nation, dis-je, qui les a accueillis a prospéré, a eu la bénédiction de l'Eternel et est devenue grande et puissante, et eux aussi sont devenus riches au milieu d'elle.

Mais la nation qui les a persécutés n'a pu prospérer, mais est toujours en troubles ; elle n'a pas eu la bénédiction de l'Eternel, et maintenant nous croyons que la plupart des hommes de cette nation-là n'ont aucune religion. Je crois donc que ceci nous donne le témoignage de Dieu à l'égard des Huguenots, le témoignage qu'ils ont obtenu par leur foi. Ils ont souffert des persécutions semblables à celles qui sont mentionnées dans ce chapitre, et ont démontré que ce que le Sauveur avait dit par son Apôtre St. Paul à Timothée demeure encore vrai et véritable, que 'tous ceux qui veulent vivre dans la piété selon Jésus-Christ seront persécutés.' Il nous dit de plus que les hommes méchants et les 'imposteurs' iront en empirant, séduisant les autres et étant séduits eux-mêmes.' Jésus aussi demande : 'Quand le Fils de l'homme viendra, pensez-vous qu'il trouve de la foi sur la terre ?' Il est à supposer que la réponse à cette question est qu'il ne trouvera que peu de foi sur la terre à sa venue ; car il nous dit autre part que le monde d'alors sera comme dans les jours avant le Déluge. 'Les hommes mangeaient et buvaient, se mariaient et donnaient en mariage,' ne faisant aucune attention aux paroles de Noé, qui les avait appelés à se détourner de leurs mauvaises voies pour échapper ce déluge d'eaux qui allait venir. Mais ils ne voulurent en aucune manière le croire jusqu'au jour que Noé entra dans l'arche et le déluge vint et les emporta tous. Il en sera ainsi de même, nous dit le Sauveur, à l'avènement du Fils de l'homme.

Or nous croyons que tous ceux qui ont le témoignage dont nous avons parlé et qui l'ont acquit par leur foi seront du nombre de ceux qui à ce jour-là seront mis à la droite du Sauveur et seront reçus de lui en ces termes : 'Venez, vous qui êtes les bénis de mon Père, possédez en héritage le royaume qui vous a été préparé dès la création du monde,' et alors ils

formeront à toute éternité partie de cette 'grande multitude de gens que personne ne peut compter, de toutes nations, tribus, peuples et langues, lesquels se tenaient devant le trône et en la présence de l'Agneau, vêtus de longues robes blanches et ayant des palmes en leurs mains.'

Désirons-nous donc, mes très-chers frères, atteindre ce bien-heureux sort et joindre nos ancêtres devant le trône du Tout-Puissant, il nous faut avoir la même foi qu'ils ont eu, cette foi dont notre Sauveur Jésus-Christ est l'auteur et le consommateur, cette foi laquelle porta St. Paul à oublier les choses qui étaient derrière lui et à s'avancer vers celles qui étaient devant lui et courir vers le but, vers le prix de la vocation céleste de Dieu en Jésus-Christ.

Cette foi nous fortifiera pour le voyage que nous avons encore à accomplir en passant à travers le désert de ce monde, soit que nous passons notre vie en sûreté ou soit que nous ayons à souffrir la persécution. Cette foi nous donnera le pouvoir de demeurer fermes, toujours regardant vers Jésus, nous ressouvenant de son amour pour nos âmes et qu'il a promis d'aider tous ceux qui se confient en lui. Elle nous portera à oublier les choses de ce bas monde et à regarder vers le ciel et les choses d'en haut, et elle nous donnera une vive représentation de ces choses et nous portera à réaliser en partie la gloire qui doit un jour être révélée en nous. Elle nous porte donc à courir non à l'aventure, mais comme celui qui court dans la lice, à courir de manière à remporter le prix. 'Nous aussi, puisque nous sommes environnés d'une si grande nuée de témoins,' qui ont ainsi suivi leur Sauveur et souffert pour la foi, 'rejetant tout fardeau et le péché qui nous enveloppe si aisément, poursuivons constamment la course qui nous est proposée.'

C'est cette foi qui nous est recommandée dans le chapitre dont le texte est prit, et telles furent les opérations de cette foi (données dans les versets qui suivent le texte) dans les temps du Vieux Testament; telles furent les opérations de cette foi dans les temps des persécutions pour la foi, dans les temps de l'Evangile, dans les temps des Huguenots; telles elles sont maintenant et telles elles seront jusqu'à la fin.

Si donc nous croyons le témoignage que Dieu nous a donné de son Fils notre foi sera mise en évidence par notre vie et notre conversation ; elle nous portera à suivre l'exemple des saints et à nous efforcer d'atteindre cette foi par laquelle nous pouvons obtenir le témoignage que nous sommes les enfants de Dieu, et que nous aurons part à la fin à cet héritage glorieux, ces demeures dans la maison de son Père desquelles Jésus dit à ses disciples : ' Je m'en vais préparer le lieu. Et quand je m'en serai allé, et que je vous aurai préparé le lieu, je reviendrai et vous prendrai avec moi, afin qu'où je serai vous y soyez aussi.'

The History of St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON PEROWNE.

It needs but a glance at this noble building in which we are assembled to be convinced that its present furniture and appliances, and the uses to which it is now put, however decorous and commendable in themselves, are out of keeping with its original object and design. It is well that the citizens of this ancient city should preserve in their common hall the memory of those illustrious Norwich and Norfolk men who, like the great naval hero whose portrait looks down upon us here, have served with fidelity and distinction their sovereign and their country. It is well that they should adorn its walls with the long roll of citizens who, by their diligence, their integrity, their ability, have won the confidence and respect of their fellows, and earned for themselves the highest honours which it is in their power to confer. In a free country it is well that there should be a hall like this, open to all without distinction of party, for the fair and honourable discussion of questions of local or imperial policy. In a Christian country it is well that there should be such a meeting-place in which our highest duties and responsibilities to our home population, to our colonies and dependencies, and to the world at large may be advocated and enforced. Who but rejoices that at our triennial festivals and on other occasions these walls re-echo the notes of the pealing organ and the strains of the gifted masters of melody and song? Who but a cynic would look askance upon the spreading here of the festal board, at which, sooth to say, some of these civic dignitaries appear not un-

willingly to have presided, or grudge the cheerful pleasantness of the hospitable entertainment!

And yet as the observant eye travels upward along the path of towering pillar and lofty clerestory and high-arching roof; as the attentive ear hearkens to the parable that is here addressed to it in the architect's design and the builder's labour, a nobler legend is plainly inscribed in all around us. *Excelsior!* the stone cries out of the wall, and the beams out of the timber answer it. Not for the honour of man, but for the glory of God, they plainly say to us; not for assemblies, festive or political, scientific or even religious in that wider sense, but for worship were we set up on high.

And so it really is. We are standing, as many of those whom I am addressing are well aware, in one of the most perfect extant examples of the nave and aisles of a conventual church, of which the building to the east—now commonly called the Dutch Church—was the choir or chancel, while between the two, giving a stately aspect to the whole structure, there stood till the year 1712, when it fell down, an octagon steeple adorned with crocketed pinnacles and rising two storeys above the roof of the church. Blomefield says of the steeple:—

‘It was a neat pile, and sexangular at top, as the plate of it taken by Mr. Daniel King, which is to be met with in some copies of the “*Monasticon*,” shows me, and was a great ornament to the city. It had three large bells in it and a clock before the Dissolution.’¹

But how came this grand building here? Whose was the busy brain that designed it? Whose were the active hands that reared it? Whose was the liberality or the piety that defrayed its cost? The answer to these questions, as it has been elaborated for us by the skill and patience of the archaeologist, opens up a very interesting chapter in the history of the past. The architecture of this building tells us that some 400 years have elapsed since it was erected. But its origin really goes back 200 years and more beyond that date.

¹ Blomefield, iv. 725.

It was in the year 1226 that a company of friars, 'called preachers from their office, black friars from their habit, and Dominicans from St. Dominic, their founder, who died in 1221, and was canonised by the Pope in 1233,' first came to Norwich. They settled on the north or opposite side of the river to that on which we are now standing, and appear to have first used and then acquired the now long-demolished church of St. John the Baptist, the parish of which when the friars took the church was united to what is still known as St. George's at Colegate. Their vow of poverty notwithstanding, the brethren were not slow to discover that the place where they dwelt was too strait for them, and they presently possessed themselves of no inconsiderable area on that northern side of the stream which they surrounded with a precinct wall in the year 1280. Among their acquisitions was a garden and right of way which reached down to the river's bank. As they looked from this fair pleasaunce across what now, pent between dingy wharves and warehouses, is little better than a dark ditch, of which, as Mrs. Beecher Stowe would say,

The quality is not strained,

but what then may well have been a clear and sparkling stream,

Stealing by lawns and grassy plots,
Sliding by hazel coverts;
With many a silver water-break
Above the golden gravel,

they would see on the opposite bank another convent. It was the house of the minor order of Sack Friars, as they were called from their wearing sackcloth, or Friars de Pœnitentia Jesu, who had established themselves here in the middle of the thirteenth century. Their convent stood on the plot of ground—roughly speaking a square—of which this building forms the southern and the river the northern boundary. Whether as the brethren looked they longed we do not know; but certain it is that when the order of Sack Friars was dissolved in 1307 the Dominicans obtained a grant of the site and buildings of their convent, on condition that they would

provide for 'William de Ho, the last prior of the brethren of the Sac, who was then living, but decrepit with old age, his dwelling and maintenance during life,'¹ and they removed to it two years later, in 1309. Blomefield says that their old site on the north of the river still remained in their possession, and was till the Dissolution their 'great garden.' But river, no more than sea, changes the disposition of those who cross it, and here as there the *amor habendi* was the prevailing characteristic of the friars. A great barrier to their advance to the south presented itself in a lane, about twelve feet wide, a public thoroughfare flanked by houses, which ran at that time almost down the centre of what is now this hall from east to west. It was not till the year 1345 that the possession of this coveted lane with several houses abutting upon it was after much litigation with the citizens, who resisted their encroachments, confirmed to them by Edward III. Meanwhile they had erected on the site between the lane and the river, which was already their own, a convent, of which Blomefield, writing in the middle of last century, says:—

'I much question whether there be so much remaining of any convent of friars in England.'

Unhappily, not only has the hand of Time not been arrested, but the hand of man has actively and ruthlessly busied itself since then in the work of demolition. Still, considerable and highly interesting remains of the ancient buildings are yet extant, and the general plan and structure of the convent has been traced out and described with a high degree of accuracy and probability by Mr. Harrod and other writers, to whose labours I am indebted for the sketch which I am endeavouring to place before you to-day.

Of the cloister, which, like all the buildings north of this hall, is of the decorated period, three sides—the east, west, and south—are still standing, and parts of them are in good preservation. Of the north side no vestige remains. The groining is of brickwork covered with hard cement. The central inclosure, originally a burial-place but now used as a playground, is a square of 85 or 86 feet.

¹ Blomefield, iv. 725.

On the east side of the cloister was the *dormitory*, and of this too a considerable portion, including one of the original windows, is still in existence.

The position of the *refectory* has not been conclusively ascertained. Authorities differ in the situation which they assign to it. That the resources of the convent for exercising hospitality were ample is apparent from the fact that not only nobles but in 1470 the queen of Edward IV. with her daughters and suite were the guests of the fraternity. For the royal visit great festivities were prepared, though unroyal weather marred the glory of the pageant, and the death of her father and brother in the political struggles of the period brought the queen's visit and its attendant celebration to an abrupt termination.

It should be mentioned that the friars did not continue in uninterrupted enjoyment of their possessions on this side the river. In 1413 a fire accidentally broke out, in which two of the brothers perished, and which so seriously injured the convent that the friars were fain to retreat for a time to their old quarters on the other side of the river. Curiously enough they were driven back again to their southern territory by another fire which burnt them out of their place of refuge in 1449.

About that time it was in all probability that this grand conventual church was erected. The friars would appear to have used previously the church of the Sack Friars, enlarged or rebuilt, of which the very interesting fragment now known as Becket's Chapel is thought to have been the crypt. Now, however, largely subsidised from the Erpingham property—for Robert de Erpingham was a friar of the house, and the arms of the family are between the clerestory windows outside—they carried out their long-cherished design of building a worthier fane.

But the mendicant system was already doomed. The discord and discrepancy between profession and practice, between what is promised and what is performed, which is fatal in the issue to any institution, of whatever kind, were working its annihilation. 'Too soon had the primitive zeal

of its founders burnt itself out, and then its censer was no longer lighted with fire from the altar.' The vigorous onslaught of Wickliffe had long before this shaken the system to its foundations. Less than a century after this church was completed the friars, fearing that the people would withhold their alms from them as the authors of his death, entreated Bilney at the stake to assure the spectators that they were guiltless of his blood. But though the noble martyr, who perished in the Lollards' pit beyond our Bishop's Bridge, and whose memory Norwich has all too tardily and, alas! ineffectually attempted to honour, generously responded to their appeal—'I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as, though they were the authors of my death, it was not they'—yet popular opinion by no means acquitted them of complicity in the crime.

At the dissolution of the monasteries the citizens obtained from Henry VIII. for a pecuniary consideration a grant of the church and convent. Since that time the buildings, or such as remained of them, have been used for a variety of purposes, for the most part secular. Once, and now again after the lapse of centuries, a school has been held in a portion of the convent. At one time some of the premises were converted into a public granary in which corn, either purchased by the city or given by charitable persons, was kept in store to be sold to the poor at a cheap rate in times of scarcity.

This great hall has witnessed in the strange vicissitudes of its chequered existence during the last three centuries the august procedure of the courts of judges of assize, the busy din and trafficking of merchants on 'Change, the merry farce and pageantry of festive guilds and corporations.

And now, as was remarked at the commencement of this paper, it is used for such public purposes, social, political, or religious, as the mayor and corporation see fit to allow.

The history of the building has not, however, been exclusively secular since the Dissolution. When first it came into their possession the citizens made use of the choir as a chapel, the priest who served it having his lodgings over an earlier south porch than that which has recently been erected on

its site. Subsequently, when other Protestant refugees like ourselves came in considerable numbers to Norwich, both nave and choir were at different times placed at their disposal for worship. The modern name of the choir, the Dutch Church, is due to the fact that in 1713—a year after the steeple fell—a lease of it for two hundred years was granted to the Dutch.

But the history which we have been tracing has for us as Huguenots a deeper interest and higher significance than a mere study in archæology, however captivating, can in itself lay claim to; an interest and a significance which the proofs of sympathy and toleration extended to us and our brethren in misfortune by the good citizens of Norwich may serve to recall.

The history we have been glancing at to-day is but a fragment of a great whole. We have been watching, so to speak, the rising of one little wave in the great flood-tide which was to rise and burst and fertilise. If some things we fain would have preserved have been borne away by the swelling of the waters, our gain in the issue has immeasurably transcended our loss. England has gained for herself, by her kindly welcome of the persecuted and oppressed, sons who yield to none in loyalty to her Queen, in respect for her institutions, in earnest endeavour for her welfare and prosperity; sons who have now become so completely her own that it rarely occurs to them to reflect that the land of their adoption is not the cradle of their race.

But more and better far than this, she has gained for herself and for them that in which all other liberty is included, liberty of conscience, the highest liberty in the truest subservience—‘freedom to worship God.’

The French Church, or St. Norwich.

BY THE REV. W. F. GREEN

At a recent meeting of the Norfolk
logical Society I was asked to read a
my having done so seems to have b
I have been honoured by the Huguer
appear before them at their Summer

There is one thought that gives n
that is that at this distance of time f
300 years ago, and living in an age w
and fairer ideas of the rights of men
investigation of the archæological ar
of the Huguenot Society with calmne

The cruelty of the persecutor will
tion of mankind, while for the perse-
kindest sympathy in generous hearts

When this Church was first founde
determining. It was attached to the
was served by a priest from that great house.

In 1492 the parish of St. Cuthbert was united to it. The
church of St. Cuthbert was destroyed in 1530. Again, these
united parishes were united to the parish of St. George of
Tombland, which union exists at the present day.

Henry VIII. reigned from 1509 to 1547.

Dissolution we know was a favourite idea in the reign of
that amorous monarch. He dissolved other things as well as
Churches.

The attachment of this church to the monastery was dis-

, and the church with all that belonged to it was let on for 500 years to the city on a payment of 20*l.* and a rent of 4*d.*

the City Chamberlain's accounts, still to be seen in the hall, there is, under the date 1543, the following entry, has kindly been supplied to me by Mr. Tallack :—

Chamberlain's accounts, Guildhall, Norwich.

Paid for the lease of the church, sometime called Little St. with y^e churchyard, the advyson of the same with all other thereto belonging, and for it paid to the dean and prebends cathedral church of Norwich, for the purchase of a lease of years without impeachment of waste, as it appeareth more at the writings made for the assurance of the same to the alty, 20*l.*

to Balls, Mr. Corbett's clerk, for writing the drafts of the dres and engrossing the same, 2*s.*, and to the brethren of the for y^e seale, 6*s.* 8*d.*

in earnest when it was first brought, 1*d.*

to Mr. Drake and Mr. Mannell, prebends there, for the desks g in the choir which were reserved at the first bargain, 15*s.* to John Gaywood, glasswright, for new repairing and mending the windows in the church and chancel, which were sore l, he finding all manner of stuff, 4*s.* 8*d.*

use to which the city put their newly acquired property let it out in lots and sell any loose and useless furniture and the moneys they received for the various items are d in the Chamberlain's accounts.

is 1543 : 'Received of Crane for a broken marble stone that y upon one Preston's grave, his wive's husband, in the Churchyard of S^t Mary Little xii^d.'

They spent a good sum in repairs of the adjoining tenements, probably enclosed the churchyard, and then let it out in parcels, as we find by the receipts recorded in the Chamberlain's accounts.

From these we learn that William Waller had a lease of the whole body of the church for 20 years at a rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* a year ; that John Derne had the west end of the churchyard newly enclosed with stone walls at a rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* a

year; and that John Jowel had all the south and east parts of the churchyard with the tenement thereto annexed at a yearly rent of 26s. 8d., the whole yearly rent being 2l. 6s. 8d.: not a great income, but there were a few loose trifles about that were of no use to their tenants, so they turned them into money with that anxious care for the interest of the rate-payers for which city authorities are renowned.

They received

Of John Thyrcill, shoemaker, for 7 old forms that stood in St. Mary's Church, 7s.

Of Thomas Farrou, for the font that stood in the same church, with a little marble stone that lay thereby, 6s. 8d.

Of the churchwardens of St. George, at Tombland, for the rood loft and the desks of the quere in St. Mary's Church, 80s.

Of Thomas Barcham, for the altar and an old tabernacle in the same church, 3s. 4d.

This seems to have been all accomplished in 1544, the first year of the possession of the property by the city.

Ten years after, in 1554, the lead was taken down on May 10, 'being in the hool 52 C. 3 quarters and 22l. . . . and the Church tyled. . . . Two loads of lead carryed to Mr. Stywardes, which he had towards the satisfaction of his Debt, for other leade bestowed by him upon the Charnel house.' The Chapel which went by the name of the Charnel house is now the Grammar School.

Ten years later, in 1564, when William Waller's lease of 20 years expired, the 'City laid out 43l. in fitting it up for a Hall, for the Strangers to search and seal their baize in, and they let it, and the *hallage* thereto belonging at about 13l. per annum.'

This was a great advance upon the former rent of 2l. 6s. 8d.

It continued to be used by searchers and sealers of baize and other goods for 59 years, till 1623.

In that year the yarn sellers got it for their hall, and 'an officer was appointed for ordering the business there, according to the orders of the King's Privy Council in that behalf.' That king was James I. Two years later, in 1625, on May 4, the King's proclamation was read to the Suffolk yarn

and wool sellers, and on June 15 the country yarn-men held their first market for yarn at this hall and were prohibited selling elsewhere within the city.

Six years after this, in 1631, the yarn-men found the place too small and refused to come to it. And so in the following year they were granted a larger place in the new hall, to which they removed their yarn-presses and there held their market. The new hall is St. Andrew's Hall.

Thus far I have traced the history of the uses to which this church was put from the year 1543, when it ceased to be used as a place of worship [and came into the leasehold possession of the city], till 1632, a period of 89 years.

I must go back some years, just to remind you of some of the disturbing causes that tended to drive the foreigners into exile.

In 1517 the trumpet of the Reformation sounded. It was heard everywhere. The Netherlanders liked it. To suppress this liking the Emperor Charles V. established the Inquisition in their country in 1521—the first time this cruel power had travelled beyond the land of Spain.

In 1555, on October 24, in Brussels, the Emperor abdicated in favour of his small, meagre-bodied, and gloomy-hearted son Philip, who immediately strengthened the hands of the Inquisitors, and they soon made it very uncomfortable for the Netherlanders who had received the teaching of the Reformation.

In 1566 was first heard the cry, 'Vivent les gueux !' In the summer of that year the churches of Antwerp were ruthlessly desecrated, their statues, pictures, and other art treasures broken to fragments. Nearly every church in the land suffered in like manner. Commerce was paralysed and a feeling of insecurity was general.

When Philip heard of these riots he said, 'It shall cost them dear—I swear it by the soul of my father.' He kept his oath by sending, in the next year, 1567, the Duke of Alva with 10,000 picked troops. The dread horrors of that man's rule are recounted in Motley's 'Rise of the Dutch Republic.'

In 1572 the dark tragedy of St. Bartholomew occurred.

Now these 50 years of terror were full of disturbing elements, so that commerce and freedom were both prostrated, and merchants and workmen fled and became exiles. Many thousands came from time to time to these shores.

They possibly had heard of the poet's fable of

A certain island
Set apart by Fate,
The sea its frontier
And the shore its gate,
Where every stranger
With free foot may stand.

And these men, bruised in fortune and bleeding at heart, came and found the fabled land of the poet here, and they prayed, with all their souls' and bodies' strength, the prayer of the poet, and their descendants have ever prayed the same prayer:

May time ne'er shake
The columns of that land.

It is recorded that in 1564 our city was in great distress. The manufacture to which the town of Worsted gave its name had decayed. Many houses in the city were unlet; people were wanting bread.

It was then that the Mayor and Sheriffs induced Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to use his influence to get divers strangers, from the Low Countries, who were then in London and Sandwich, to come and live and work in the city.

Queen Elizabeth granted to the Duke letters patent by which 30 master-workmen and their households, consisting altogether of 300 Dutch and Walloons, were permitted to come.

In seven years their numbers had increased to 3,993. Of these 868 were Dutchmen and 203 were Walloonmen; the rest were women and children of both nations.

Now from their first coming their desire for a place of public worship was a prominent anxiety.

There are two interesting letters of the year 1565 still preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which point to this anxiety: they are printed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for October 1834, p. 374.

The Duke of Norfolk writes to Archbishop Parker, himself a Norwich man :—

‘ MY VERY GOOD LORD,—After my hearty Commendations, since my coming home, the Strangers hath been suters to me for my l’res to you, for having of a church, whereupon I talked with my Lord Bishop and others of the City, by whom I hear as well of their good order in religion as also of their honest conversation, which, I think, my Lord Bishop has certified you as well of that as of their desire of having a church, wherein I pray you stand their good Lord ; for here be churches eno’ that be voyd, that upon your l’res to the Bp. and the Mayor they will take present order ; and so wishing to your Grace as to myself, I bid you most heartily farewell.

‘ From my house at Norwich this 28th of December, 1565.

‘ Your Grace’s assuredly,

‘ T. NORFOLK.’

To this the Archbishop replied :—

‘ After my hearty Commendations to your good Grace, this is to signify to the same, that I have of late written my l’res to my Lord Bishop of Norwich to grant unto the Strangers a vacant church within the City, wherein I think they have some store, and have further requested his Lordship to know y^r pleasure and advice whereby the citizens may be the sooner induced to their desire, and then his ordinary authority shall suffice to take order with them as well for the form of their public prayers as otherwise for the state of Religion.’

The Bishop of Norwich was then John Parkhurst, who had himself endured the sorrows of exile in Switzerland during the reign of Queen Mary, and who would therefore have kindly sympathies with the Strangers ; so he granted to the Walloons, as being the smaller body, the use of his own chapel in the Palace grounds ; and to the Dutch was granted the large choir of the church of the Black Friars.

The Walloons had the use of the Bishop’s chapel for 71 years—from 1566 till 1637. In that year Bishop Matthew Wren, uncle of the great Sir Christopher, required them to seek another place for their worship, and they are reported by cer-

tain commissioners to have left his chapel in a state of great dilapidation; but that has nothing to do with this church, a lease of which they obtained from the Corporation, as the following order shows, dated May 3, 1637: 'That forasmuch as the Walloon Company had undertaken to repair and make fit the Church of Little St. Mary's, to be used for God's worship by that congregation, and to make fit for use the yard thereto adjoining, . . . to be used by them for 40 years if so long the same shall continue a congregation, by payment yearly at St. Michael and our Lady of 10s. for the ground aforesaid and no rent for the church itself, and keeping the steeple and church aforesaid and the walls of the yard in good repair.'

The church, after having been used as a hall for merchants for 89 years, had been deserted by them in 1632 and had remained unused for the next five years, till the above lease was granted, when it was cleared of all remaining evidences of the yarnsellers' occupation and made fit for the Walloon congregation to worship in by June 11, 1637. This year is recorded on the door of the vestry in bold figures cut in relief.

We might now enter upon the consideration of the causes that led to the decay of the congregation, which was evidently thought possible within forty years, as the words of the lease suggest.

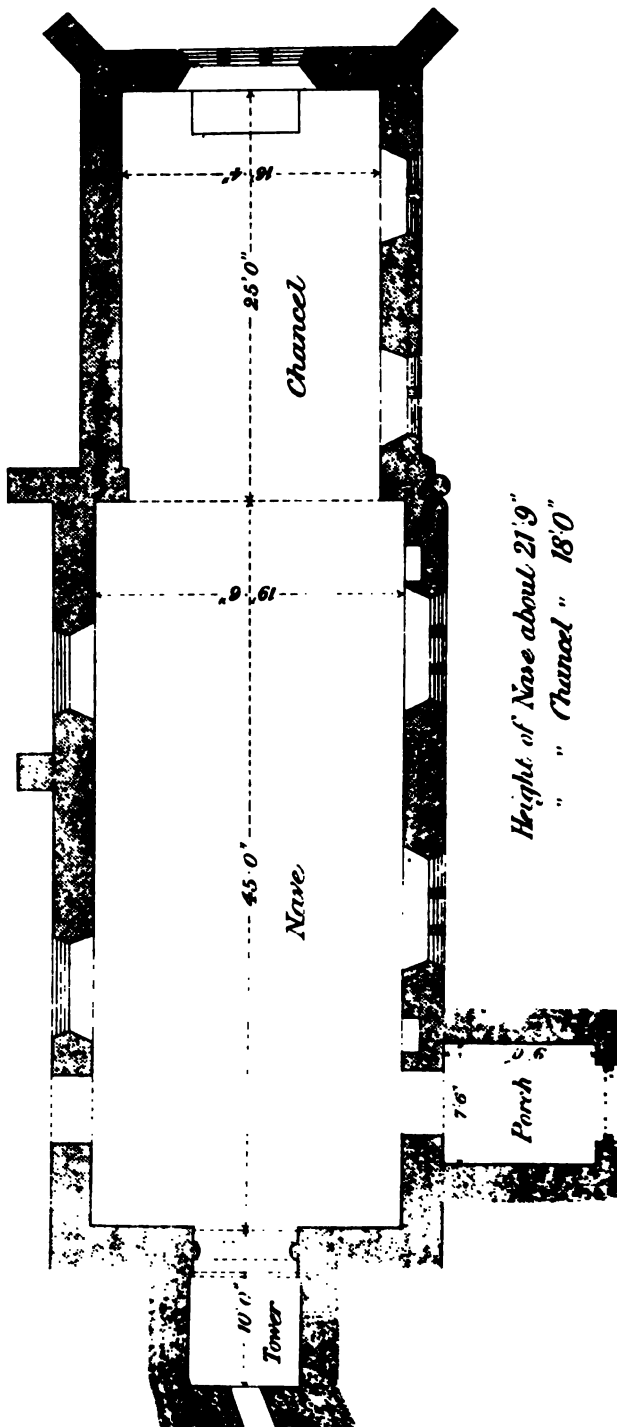
The young people would grow to be a little out of sympathy with the strict discipline of their church and would go off and get married in a parish church. The children would grow up to know English better than French.

Some of the fathers grew 'rich in means and disorderly in condition,' and would have some displeasure against their minister and would worship in the parish churches.

Several ministers became ordained clergy of the Church of England.

Pierre de Laune got his degree of D.D. at Cambridge; Jacques le Franc was ordained and became rector of St. Clement, and afterwards of St. John, Madders Market, in this city; and Pierre Chauvin was ordained by Bishop Lloyd, of

FRENCH CHURCH, NORWICH.



Norwich. He lies buried in the Church of St. Michael at Thorn, of which I am now vicar. The register of his burial is 'Mister Petter Chauvin, a Minester, was buried in the Chancel, July 3^d, 1698.'

Perhaps another cause of the decay of the congregation may be found in the trust deed under which they hold this edifice, in which is a clause to the effect that it shall not be used by any who impugn the doctrine of the Trinity. The members of the congregation gradually drifted to other churches, but mainly to Unitarianism, and honestly never made any attempt to override this clause in their trust deed.

They became possessed of several properties, the income from which was intended originally for division between the minister and the poor; but as a time came when there was neither poor nor minister it was necessary to determine what might legally be done with the income of the estates.

In 1832 a friendly suit was brought in Chancery, the result of which was that the Master of the Rolls ordered that the funds be given to the governor and directors of the French Hospital in London.

When the present tenants, namely a congregation of Catholic Apostolic Irvingites, came into possession about 30 years ago, they found it full of high pews, with a western gallery in which was some lumber, part of which was a roll of canvas having the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments painted on it in the Walloon language. This roll is unfortunately lost. The dimensions of the church are not so great as were those of the Bishop's chapel. They are in total length 80 feet, of which the tower is 10 feet, the nave 45, and the chancel 25. The nave is 19 ft. 6 in. broad, and the chancel 16 ft. 4 in. The dimensions of the Bishop's chapel were 140 feet long by 27 broad. Of the architecture, it may be said to be mixed. The windows in the chancel are decorated, and at the base of the tower there are perpendicular mouldings.

The present tenants may be congratulated on the restorations by which they have made the church so well fitted for worship.

I cannot but feel grateful to the Huguenot Society for having shaken the dust from slumbering records, and out of the dead past presenting us with a picture of the reception of the peaceful invaders, which in its main features is creditable to all then in our land, and especially so to all in authority.

If there existed no kindly Christian feeling—but I believe there did—it was at least wise policy to give the right hand of welcome to men whose diligence and skill had made the land they deserted the commercial centre of the world.

What the Netherlands and Walloon country then lost they have never recovered. What England then gained it has never lost; and Norwich must gratefully acknowledge it was partaker of the gain.

Note.—When reading this paper, several original documents and letters were exhibited and read, but as they are all printed at length in Mr. Moens' book—'The Walloons and their Church at Norwich,' Part II. pp. 253-269, 270, 277—it has been thought well not to print them here.

On the connection of the French Church at Norwich with the French Hospital in London.

By ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, VICE-PRESIDENT.

I HAVE been invited to read a short paper on the connection which exists between the French Church at Norwich and the French Hospital in London. The connection would perhaps be more accurately described as that existing between the Trustees of the Norwich French Church Charities, acting as executors to the defunct church, and the French Hospital standing in the position of residuary legatee under the administration of the estate.

The masterly and exhaustive history of the Dutch, Walloon, and French Churches of Norwich which has been prepared for our Society by Mr. Moens, V.P., renders it unnecessary for me to preface my paper with any long account of the origin and history of this French Church. All that the most diligent research in England and on the Continent has been able to discover—all, in fact, that is at present known on the subject of the origin, the history, the ritual, and the discipline of the foreign Protestant Churches of Norwich—will be found in Mr. Moens' interesting pages.

It is chiefly of the material property of the French Church that I have to speak.

The documents in the hands of the trustees of the Norwich French Church Charities date back to a charter or letters patent under the great seal of Queen Elizabeth, dated November 1, 1564, granting licence to the mayor, citizens, and commonalty of the city of Norwich to admit 30 Dutchmen, aliens, with their servants and families (not exceeding altogether

300 persons), to inhabit within the said city and there exercise the faculties of making certain outlandish commodities not before used to be made in England without molestation or information under any statute. Then follow certificates in 1606 and 1611 by the corporation of Norwich of the orderly and dutiful behaviour of the Walloons, an order of James I. dated 1612 for protection and toleration, a grant dated 1637 by the corporation of Norwich to the Walloons of the Church of Little St. Mary at a nominal rent, and an order in council of Oliver Cromwell dated 1656 confirming certain privileges to the Walloons. All these documents, it may be said, refer to the earlier Dutch and Walloon settlements, and not to the French, which was of later date; but it must be remembered that the Protestants who were driven from France by the persecutions which followed upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were naturally attracted to those settlements which had been already formed either by their own countrymen, or by their coreligionists from Holland and the Low Countries, and that in Norwich, as in many other places, the new arrivals became grafted as it were upon the older communities, continuing their churches, schools, and social institutions, but stamping their own character upon them. In this way the Dutch and Walloon Churches of Norwich merged towards the end of the 17th century into the French Church, as that in its turn, about a century later, became absorbed by the established and various nonconformist Churches of England.

It is worth while even in this slight sketch to watch as it were for a moment the sweep of this French colony across the page of your local history, and to note the still visible traces of its passage. With the slightest effort of the imagination we can picture to ourselves the arrival of the poor stricken fugitives into whose very souls the iron of persecution had entered, men, and women too, literally bearing about in their bodies the marks of sufferings endured for Christ's sake. We can almost catch the play of their features as they hear in their own expressive language words of sympathy and welcome, and assurances of help from those who had passed through the same sufferings, and had found in this free land

of England both the means of subsistence and that priceless liberty of conscience, the elder sister of all other liberties, which was well-nigh stamped out in France. The very words of their thanksgiving come echoing down to our ears:—
'Thanks be to the Lord, for he hath shewed me marvellous loving-kindness in a strong city.'

It is said that travellers from the sacred East looking upon Norwich are reminded of the holiest of cities, and I can well imagine that when the poor exiles from La Belle France first beheld the fruitful gardens and the luxuriant foliage for which the city of Norwich has for centuries been famous, they must have fancied that a vision of their own glorious land bathed in the golden light of religious freedom had risen up before them.

The first immigrants must naturally have been thrown very much upon themselves, and upon their own countrymen, whose language and habits of thought and life were familiar to them. They had given up position, wealth, friends, and all that is comprehended in the one word *home* in order that they might worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. We know from history that though with marvellous adaptability and industry these exiles found a hundred ways of subsistence in England, yet their eyes were ever strained towards their native land; they held firmly to the belief, which death alone could quench, that freedom of religious worship would speedily be restored to France, their Protestant churches rebuilt, their scattered families reunited. Thus were the strangers especially drawn together in their religious services; their religious life was very real, and the maintenance and discipline of their churches occupied a very large share of their time and thought.

The immediate influence of the Refugees and their descendants upon the commerce and upon the social life of your city hardly comes within the scope of my paper, yet I may here quote Southey's testimony: 'Wherever the Refugees from the French persecution fled a blessing followed them; wherever they found a refuge they amply repaid the generous hospitality with which they were received by their public

usefulness, their intelligence, skill, and industry.' Is not this especially true of those who came to Norwich, where they both carried on the industries which the Dutch had planted in your midst, and added others to them? The fame of some of their textile manufactures appears to have outlasted the manufactures themselves, for I regret to learn that the shawls for which Norwich was formerly so renowned are now principally produced at Paisley.

But to recur to the French Church, we must all be prepared to find that, as time passed on, and the strangers and their children became more and more naturalised in the country of their adoption, the hold of the French Church upon them became relaxed, and that of the English Church strengthened. It is remarkable that so many of the French Protestant Churches throughout England should have lapsed during the few closing years of the last and the few opening years of the present century. Among the many causes which contributed to this result, the principal, and that indeed which in a sense was the sum of all the others, was the gradual absorption of the 'children of the stranger' into the body of the English nation. Preferment in the English Church had been offered to and accepted by most of the Refugee pastors. Their sons, who were educated for the ministry, were ordained into the same Church, and there was no body of Protestant clergy left in France as a recruiting ground from which the vacancies occurring in the pastorate of the English Refugee congregations could be filled.

Then, too, in the case of the laity we have abundant testimony to the mutual regard which in course of time sprung up between them and the people of this country. The qualities of heart and mind which characterised the children of each nation were felt to be complementary to those of the other. The French instinctively leant upon the sturdy strength of the English—the English as naturally yearned after the ease, the grace, the brightness of the French. Inter-marriages could not fail under such conditions to become frequent, and it was equally inevitable that the children of such marriages born and educated in England should grada-

ally assimilate more and more closely to English political, social, and religious habits of life. This we know, in effect, did happen wherever French Refugee settlements were made in England. Yet now, after the lapse of two centuries, the impress formed by the Huguenots upon those localities is still visible in many surviving industries—in the abundance of French names more or less Anglicised—but above all in the physique and in the refined tastes of the people. I lately read that ‘a portion of the inhabitants of Canterbury are noted and distinguished from the surrounding population by their graceful forms and politeness of manner—and this because they are descendants of the French Refugees who fled to that city at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.’ Similarly, it has been said of Norfolk, ‘Beauty had once in this county a native home, and Beauty’s daughters still abound. They are as stately and graceful as the swans which still flourish more stately and graceful in the waters near Norwich than elsewhere.’ This statement too is, I am sure, abundantly justified, and in both cases the explanation is the same. The swan-like daughters of this fair city of gardens and the graceful maidens of Canterbury are alike indebted for many of their best physical and mental qualities to their Huguenot ancestors.

And so it happened about the beginning of the present century, that, in common with other French Churches in England, the Norwich French Church had by the lapse of time and the force of circumstances almost dried up, its congregation having become absorbed into those of the surrounding English Churches. The surviving members of the governing body, therefore, found themselves in the position of trustees for property that had been bequeathed for the maintenance of a Church which had practically ceased to exist, and for the benefit of a certain group of poor persons who could no longer be found. In these circumstances application was made to the Court of Chancery for direction. Many schemes for the appropriation of the trust funds were successively proposed, examined, and rejected. Enquiries were held, and at least two or three elaborate reports were made by Masters in Chancery,

all of which occupied several years and doubtless made a sensible diminution in the amount of the fund. With these rejected schemes I need not trouble you, but out of them apparently grew one which was put forward by the late Mr. Henry Martineau, the then surviving Deacon of the Church, which, after much further delay and some slight alteration, was ultimately sanctioned by the Court, and is still in force. In drawing up his scheme Mr. Martineau was guided by the consideration that under it the objects of the original trust could be almost identically followed up and adhered to. He noticed the great intercourse and exchange of domicile between the manufacturing population of Norwich (to which the French Protestants chiefly belonged) and that of Spitalfields in London, which had the same origin, and was engaged in similar manufactures. Reviewing the several charities existing in London for the spiritual and temporal benefit of the descendants of the Refugees, he found that the French Protestant Hospital in Bath Street, St. Luke's, which had been founded early in the last century, was by its constitution specially applicable to the descendants of French Protestants residing *anywhere* in Great Britain (consequently embracing those of the city of Norwich), and that the governing body, among whom were two members of the Martineau family who had formerly lived in Norwich, were willing and ready to concur in giving effect to his proposals.

The property of the Norwich French Church consisted of:—

1. *The French Church formerly called Little St. Mary*, which was granted to the Walloons in 1637.

2. *A bequest in 1678 by Elisha Phillippo*. This has since by arrangement been transferred to the Norwich Great Hospital in consideration of an annual payment to the French Church Trustees of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

3. *The St. George's Colegate Estate*. Fifteen small tenements in various parts of the city conveyed to the French Church in 1686.

4. *The St. Saviour's Estate*; a property conveyed in 1691.

5. *Caister and Stoke Estate*; a farm and certain detached lands aggregating about 43 acres in the parishes of Caister

and Stoke, about four miles south of Norwich. This property was bequeathed to the French Church in 1730 by Thomas Blondell, a woolcomber of Norwich. His will provides that a sermon shall be preached in the French Church on January 11 between the hours of two and four of the clock, and at the same time his will shall be publicly read for ever. The testator also leaves 50*l.* to be in part applied towards the payment of copyhold fines, the balance in buying 'a service of the plate for the Lord's Table to be used in the French Church.' (I may mention in passing that I have been unable to learn the date at which the reading of Blondell's will ceased, or whether the service of Communion Plate was ever bought, and if so, what has become of it.) The farm at Caister is still known by the name of French Farm.

The gross income derived from this property is now, I believe, about 150*l.* per annum. Mr. Martineau's scheme, as amended by the Court of Chancery, provides that after the payment of necessary expenses the income shall be applied—

a. To the careful maintenance of the Church, its tombs, monuments, and graves, in decent and suitable state, and in no wise injured or defaced.

b. To the extent of 50*l.* per annum in apprenticing poor boys of Norwich, giving a preference to children of Dutch, Walloon, or French origin.

c. The balance to be paid to the French Hospital in London conditionally that the Trustees of the Norwich French Church Charity should have the perpetual right of nomination of two inmates to be maintained therein.

The scheme further provides for the appointment of fifteen trustees, of whom twelve shall be resident in Norwich and three in London, all vacancies arising to be filled up on the nomination of the Directors of the Hospital. There are various other provisions for the holding and management of the estates by the trustees, and for the general administration of the trust. But even these friendly negotiations were at the outset threatened with a deadlock, for the trustees claimed to interpret in its widest sense their right to nominate inmates for admission to the French Hospital, while the directors of that corporation pointed out that under the charter the power of

admitting inmates was confided solely to themselves, that they could not delegate that power to others, consequently they could not assent to any arrangement which would bind themselves or their successors to *accept* the nominations of the Norwich French Church Trustees, though they would at all times be ready to pay the greatest attention to such nominations.

The force and the reasonableness of this objection was happily felt by the trustees, who on November 4, 1842, wrote the following letter, which I give in full, as it both exhibits the good sense of the trustees and will serve as a reminder to those interested in the poor of Norwich of the claim which the Norwich descendants of the French Refugees have upon the splendid institution which was founded in London by their Huguenot ancestors for the benefit of the poor and aged among themselves and their descendants. The letter of the trustees addressed to the Governor and Directors of the French Hospital is as follows:—

* Norwich, November 4, 1842.

‘MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—We the undersigned trustees of the Norwich French Church Charity this day assembled at a special meeting summoned for the purpose of taking into consideration a letter of the 22nd ultimo from your Secretary communicating the result of your last Quarterly Court, hereby agree to pay over the surplus income appropriated to you from this Charity without binding you to accept our nomination of any inmates of the Hospital, but trusting that you will pay that attention to the recommendations of our body of trustees which your Secretary’s letter so fairly promises.

‘With best wishes for the continuance of the good understanding at which we have arrived, we remain, my Lord and Gentlemen, yours very respectfully,

(Signed by)

‘James Mills.

‘J. W. Robberds.

‘John De Vear.

‘J. N. Mottram, jnr.

‘Jno. Young.

‘Thomas Starling.

‘H. Bolingbroke.’

In forwarding this letter the Clerk to the Trustees (the late Mr. J. W. Dowson) wrote to the Secretary of the French Hospital:—

‘I trust that the enclosed will be quite satisfactory to your directors, and the balance of our last year’s account, 77*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*, is now made payable to your treasurer, Mr. George Guillonneau, at Barclay’s Bank, for which we will trouble him to send us his official receipt.

‘R. H. Giraud, Esq.’

At the succeeding General Court, held at the French Hospital, it was unanimously resolved that the best and warmest thanks of the Court were due to the Trustees of the Norwich French Church Charities for the very kind and ready manner in which they had met the views of the Governor and Directors, and for the satisfactory way in which they had brought the business to a conclusion.

And it was also resolved that the Secretary be requested to communicate the foregoing resolution to the trustees, and to send to them some forms of petition for admission into the Hospital, to be used by them in the event of their finding any persons eligible to be admitted as inmates.

The figures 77*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* take one back to the good old times. Such an annual balance has not, I think, been paid over to the French Hospital during the many years I have been a Director. On the other hand, we have been invited (and have accepted the invitation) to advance on loan some 450*l.* for the erection of new farm buildings on the French Farm at Caister. But whether the annual balances have been more or less, the cordial understanding initiated forty-six years ago by the letters and resolutions I have just read has been maintained between the Trustees of the Norwich French Church Charity and the Directors of the French Hospital in London, and I cannot perhaps better conclude my paper than by saying that the directors of the present day are as ready as those of 1842 to pay the greatest attention to all applications

from French Protestant descendants, qualified as to age and character, who come recommended by the Norwich Trustees for admission to the Hospital, and that I, as Honorary Secretary, shall find it a pleasing duty to give every information and assistance in my power towards that end.

Foreign Refugees at Rye.

By W. J. HARDY, F.S.A.

(Continued from page 424.)

APPENDIX.

LIST OF STRANGERS IN RYE, MARCH 28, 1569.¹

THE names of all strangers [French], Flemynges, and Wallownes, within her Majestie's toun of Rie, taken before John Sharpe, Maior of the said [town], Edward Middleton, Maior of her Majestie's toun of Winchelsey, and Thomas Wilford, Esquier, Captain of her Castill of the Camber, in the Toun Hall of Rie aforesaid, the xxvijth daie of Marche, in the eleventh yere of her highnes' reign, *Anno Domini* 1569.

Ministers.

Mons ^r St Pawle of Depe.	Mons ^r Hector Hamon of Bacavile.
Mons ^r Jacob Cardis of Ponteau.	Mons ^r Nic. Tellier of Rue.
Mons ^r Tousaintes of Pauce.	

Of Roan.

Mons ^r Duvermeall.	William Synnchon.
Mons ^r Delaplace.	Anthoine Dehayes.
Nic. Dansye.	John Torsie.

Of Depe.

Nic. Denoies.	Miles Desgrayne.
Mons ^r Deverger.	Peter Guerin.
Jaques Thomas.	Peter de Seisans.
Lewes de Mompelle.	Allen Harrie.
Thomas Goven.	James le Vile.
Nic. Moyte.	Capen Marten.

¹ Cotton MSS., Galba, C. III. fol. 258.

Gilliam Adam.	John le Round.
Davie Boynyn.	Dennis Chamiell.
Jaques Poyson.	Gannam Duvit.
John Chamoyne.	Jalzarie lee Cannonnyer.
James Harell.	John le Fevure.
Gavan Duvall.	Gillam de Fevure.
William Butcher.	Gillam Bymene.
Roger Requit.	George Beuse.
James Barbor.	Nicholas Demoye.
Charles Infant.	Piers Lament.
John Symon.	John David.
Robert Marten.	Vincent Masslin.
William Adam.	Lewes de Stantomen [? Stantmen].
Alex Legraund.	Gilliam Acman.
John Cayme.	Cap ^{en} Sore.
John Debellou.	Glawde Clerk.
William Acman.	Marten de Braba[n].
Lawrence Mare.	Nicholas Caylot.
Mathew Former.	Roger Morryn.
Nicholas Massling.	Anthoine Bellyn.
Piures [<i>sic</i>] de Fraïres (?).	Pierer Behoulet.
Loys Valloys.	John Beuse.
Rob ^t Dufore.	Adrian le Cotcot.
Gilliam Rymers.	John Jiwn [? or Juon].
Vniën Ladvenaunt.	Jaques le Fevure.

Wallounes and Flemynges.

Christopher de Valloys.	Ambrose de Mayne.
Michill de Valloyes.	John Handson.
Frauncis Mercer.	Bone Aventure.
Cornelis Suier.	Peter de Boyes.
James Jellere.	John Marrie.

LIST OF STRANGERS IN RYE, NOVEMBER 1572.¹

A viewe taken of the Frenche and other strangers within the towne of Rye, the fourth daie of November, 1572, the *xiiiij* yere of the rayne of our Sovereigne Lady Queen Elizabeth, by the appointment of Henry Geymer, Maior of the said towne, and the Jurats there, as followeth :

¹ *Lansdowne MSS.* vol. xv. No. 70.

*Dieppe.*House-
holds.

1. Jane Hugone, widowe, and one childe; Jane Delmede, widow, and two children; Jane Galiarde, widow, and two children. They came to Rye the 27th of August. (8.)¹
2. Jaques Nontinge, his wyf, and one child. He hath been in Ry 4 yeres.
John Herson, tailor, and one maide. Came over 27th August. (5.)
3. Angustine de Bewlewe, marchant, his wyf, his mother, one maide, and four children. Came over 17th of October. (8.)
4. Jaques Rybawde, gent.; Nicholas Govon, merchant; Guillme. Masson, merchant. Came over the 27th of August. (3.)
5. John de Courte, merchant, and one child. Came with the fyrst. (2.)
6. John Malleir, shoemaker, his mother, one child. The 27th of August. (3.)
7. Jaques Vasad, merchant, his wife, and a woman servant; Michael Tallamie, mariner, his wife. Came with the fyrst. (5.)
8. Francis Goddinge, merchant, his wife; Michael Tellier, merchant; Nicholas Dablowe, merchant; Charles Banner, merchant, his wife, one maide. The last of August. (7.)
9. Jeffery Fenchone, merchant draper; Nicholas Debeucatt, merchant; Jaques Growte, mercer; Nicholas Delowue (?) tailor; Jaques Powket, merchant; Edmond Defall, merchant. The 29th of August. (8.)
10. Robert Pyne, merchant, one man servant. Came with the fyrst. (2.)
11. John Pyne, merchant, his wife, three children, and a maide servant. The 27th of August. (6.)
12. John Rolte, merchant; Nicholas Depres, merchant; Peter Qynyrd, jerken maker; Nycholas Trowde, merchant. The last of August. (4.)
13. Vincent Betwyn, mariner, his wife; Guilliam Gorden, tinker; Guilliam De Bene, mariner, his wife; Nicholas Jorden, tailor. The 28th of August. (6.)
14. Thomas Tessnes, merchant; Robert Marshe, merchant, his wife, and four children. The 28th of August. (7.)
15. Peter Pesher, merchant, one child; Peter Le Rowse, merchant, his wife; Gabriel Debres, merchant, and a man servant. The last of August. (6.)
16. John Galion, shoemaker; John Deshame, a breder of nets; Collet Hawz, widow; Mariet Sane, widow. The first of September. (4.)
17. Marion De Bouses, widow; Jane Soyer, widow; Mr. John De Focule, minister, his son and daughter. The last of August. (5.)
18. Mr. Michell, a minister; John Showe, merchant, three children, and one man servant. The last of August. (6.)

¹ The figures within brackets at the end of each entry indicate the number of persons forming the household.

House-
holds.

19. John Robone, schoolmaster, his wife, two children; Peter Lemon, shipwright, his wife, one child; Peter Gordon, mariner, his wife, one child; John Bowdwin, shoemaker, his wife, three children; Robert Mounten, mariner. The second of Sept. (16.)
20. John Desfraudes (?), cobbler, his wife, and one child; Morgaine Hynfret, cobbler. The first of September. (4.)
21. Robert Marten, oremaker, his wife, and child; Margaret Lelbowlot. The fourth of September. (4.)
22. Roger Hotts, capper; Peter Amoines, capper; Glaude Stenard, [? Steuard], mariner. The 6th of October. (8.)
23. Peter Somler, clockmaker; his wife and two children, his sister; Michael Boytowte, clockmaker, and his wife. With the fyrst. (7.)
24. Nicholas Le Tellier,¹ minister, his wife, four children, and a maide servant. Hath been at Rye iiij^{or} yeares.
Marien Vicard, three children, and one maide. The 28th of August. (12.)
25. Francis Parris, with a woman, and two children; Rabbenet Dexamer; two children. The first of September. (6.)
26. Guilliam Suicall, tailor, one child; Katherin Loungfert, his daughter. The third of September. (3.)
27. Robert Dordaine, clerk, his wife, and one child; Jaques Grotier, clerk, Mathew Bennet, cowper; Jaques de Labe [?], cowper, and a boye. The last of August. (7.)
28. Rowland Ronne, goldsmith, his wife, a child, and a maide servant. The 8th of September. (4.)
29. John Lyon, chandler; Michael Bowffeid (?), bocher. The last of August. (2.)
30. Robert Foritier, shipwright, his wife, 3 children; Nicholas Doffell, shipwright; Christopher Gosse, his wife, a child, a woman. The last of August. (10.)
31. Arthur Bowin, shoemaker, and his wife. The last of August. (2.)

Wallonders.

32. Nicholas Bowdin, merchant; John Bowdin, merchant; and a maide. The 28th of August. (3.)
33. Christopher Falloys, merchant, his wife, iiij children, and a maide servant; Michael Falloys, his wife, 3 children, a maide servant. These iiij yeares. (18.)
34. Mons^r De Place, his wife, a child, a boy, a maid. The 5th of September. (5.)
35. John Demarbeuff, gent., his wife, his mother, his sister, gentlewoman, a maide, ij women. The 6th of September. (7.)
36. Richard Marter, clerk, his wife, and a boye; Richard Mayhier, merchant, and a boy. The 8th of September. (5.)

¹ He was of 'Rue.'

House-
holds.

37. Maher Troberd, mason; John Delaine (? Dextraine or Deplaine), mercer; and one old man, a minister. The last of August. (3.)
38. John Paymer, a pedler, and his wife; an old man of Arkes, a glover. The 24th of August. (3.)

Of Lyllbonn.

39. Nicholas Marie, mariner; Richard Cannell (?), Chandler; John Leane, tailor; Mathew Polliott, botcher; John Foe (?), Chandler. The 10th of October. (5.)

Dieppe.

40. Guiliam Donerndell, marchant; Robert Sotor, merchant. 20th of September. (2.)
41. Robert Browne, shoemaker; John Verray (?), merchant, and his wife; Mathew Furiner, clerk, his wife, one child. The 10th of September. (6.)
42. John Douie, Tiboll Forse, Noie Defeu, furbusshers. 12th of September. (3.)
43. Nicholas Allin, tailor, his wife, one child; John Devele, James Begresse, John Clerke, John Fotrell, shoemakers; two women and three children; Michil Menvell, shoemaker. 12th of September. (13.)
44. Nicholas Gilpin, his wife, and 2 children; Martin Giey, mariner, his wife, and one child. 14th of September.
45. Augustine Townson, painter, his wife, and 2 children; Jose Sadler, joiner; John Mollen, a cook; their wives and 10 children. 15th of September. (18.)
46. Robert Castle, a cobbler, his wife, and 2 children; Mathew Shavin, searcher of Dieppe; John Preston, John Preston, barbers, 1 wife, 3 children. 12th of September. (11.)
47. Guiliam Navar and John Very, tailors, their wives, and 3 children; John Ryvers, mariner, 2 women. 20th of September. (10.)
48. Noele Depound and his wife; Christopher Dosencourt, tailor; John Plasterer, shoemaker; two women and 4 children. 14th of September. (10.)
49. Nicholas Maslynge,¹ Johnson Maslynge, clerks; James Edi (?), tailor; 4 women and 2 children. 12th of September. (9.)
50. Guillme. Debarges, merchant, his wife, and 3 children; Guillme. Gyden, joiner, his wife, and one child; John Ryver, mercer, his wife, and 3 children. 16th of September. (13.)
51. John Joseph, a Walloon merchant, his wife, a maide, and 5 children; Nicholas Moyter, Andrew Breyode, tailors; 1 woman and 2 children. 12th September. (13.)

¹ He had also been in Rye in 1569.

House-
holds-

52. Mihil Clerke, merchant, his wife, and 1 woman; John Neve, merchant, his wife, and one child. 10th September. (6.)
53. John Maslynge, mariner; one widow and 2 children; Nicholas Shane, merchant; John Barten, goldsmith. 12th of September. (6.)
54. Nicholas de Chesne, merchant; John Bertin, merchant. 12th Sep. (2.)
55. Louis De Stonen (? Sonen). 12th September. (1.)
55. Peter Forner, mariner, his wife, and 1 child; Jacob Johnson, joiner; Nicholas Curlew, schoolmaster; John Velet, cobbler; 4 women and 4 children. 12th September. (14.)
57. Monaden Pecket, of Gainges, husbandman. 1st October.
Gloder Gravel, mariner, of Dieppe, his wife, and 1 maid. 20th of September. (4.)
58. Peter Gyrre, poticarie, his wife, and 4 children; M^r Guillme. Trener, minister, his wife, and 1 child; John Pare, shipwright. 12th Sept. (10.)
59. Mihil Shaven, merchant, his wife, 4 children, and a maide. 12th September. (7.)
60. Peter Porvet, baker; Guillme. de Veatamarre, merchant; Noel la Male, merchant; Denis Forner, cook, his wife, and 1 child; John Sayer, merchant, his wife, and 6 children; Roger Browne, shoemaker, his wife, and one child; two widows and 2 children. 12th September. (21.)
61. Alexander de la Gande, merchant, and one child. 26th Sept.
Nicholas de Lorser, cobbler, his wife, and three children; one widow, and two children. 12th September. (10.)
62. Bonave[n]ture Doffell, a bokebynder, his wife, and two children. Two years. (4.)
63. John Dyvell, Nicho. Heberd, merchants, their wives, five children, and two maide-servants; John Mephant, gent. 12th September. (12.)
64. Five widows, and 2 children; John Johnson, Dotehman, sailer, of Flushing, his wife, and 2 children. 12 Sep.
Bowe Martin, merchant, of Flushing, his wife, and 2 children. 5th October. (15.)
65. John Symon, mariner, his wife, and 5 children; Simon Danet, Guillme. Danet, chandlers, their wives, and 2 children. 27th September. (13.)
66. Mart. Martin, schoolmaster, of Gamay (? Gamag). Second of October.
Gabriel Halry, button-maker, his wife, and one child; two women and one child. 12th September. (7.)
67. M^r Peter Jeles, of Tankerdild, gent. 5 Oct.
John Lacore, merchant, of Rochelle. 12 Oct.
Ralin Larderne, husbandman. Third of October. (3.)

*Roan.*House-
holds.

68. Richard Bover, merchant, his wife, 2 children. 26th October.
Andro Mayen, Nouel Prôvot, Guillme. Roblat, and Nicho. Vules
(? Unles), merchants. 12th September. (8.)
69. John Baillerd, Nicho. Baillerd, Guillme. Dutales, Pieter Dosmen, and
Pierre Margas, merchants. 26th September. (5.)
70. James Deboke, Piere Deboke, Nicho. Deboke, gentlemen; and Nicho.
Malaveir, labourer. 28th September. (4.)
71. James Cockerell, merchant, his wife, and 2 children. 12th September.
(4.)
72. Piere Bunell and Nicholas Bunell, card makers. 17th September.
(2.)
73. John Dehaies, his wife, 5 children, a shipwright; Davy Mesom, his
wife, 4 children, merchant; John Berry, his wife, one child, a mariner;
Jacet Ferro, widow, and one child. The 11th September. (18.)
74. John Fownten, Nicho. Fownten, merchants. 18th September. (2.)
75. Richard John, merchant, his wife, one boy; Guillme. Mynard, and
one mayde; Piere Valler, his wife, 2 children, basket maker.
23rd September. (8.)
76. Glaude le Clerke, merchant; John Cocquell, 3 children, and 1 woman
servant; Jaques Lamenture and one child, merchant; Davie de
Coyshue, gent.; Mons. Seurrepen, gent., and 4 children; Mary
Bonet, widow, 2 children, and one maide; with the fyrst. (18.)
77. Etian Boyle, mariner, his wife; Guillme. Raynold, mariner; Mador
Morevant, mariner; Nicholas Surret, mariner; Ric. Money,
mariner; John Companie, mariner; Claude Money, mariner; Piers
Doue, mariner, and his wife. The 4th September. (9.)
78. Loyes Saies, his wife, 3 children, 1 maide; John Vise, carpenter;
Guillme. Shouell, Mathew Shouell, coopers; Dennis Shouell,
chandler. The 2nd October. (9.)
79. Nicho. Angell, mercer, and his wife; Nicholas Angell, mariner, 2
children; Nicholas Blanges, mercer, and his wife; John Huston,
his wife, 2 children, shipwright. 14 Sep.
Guillme. Teirnie, mercer, and his wife; Piere Callet, his wife, 2 children.
The 19th September. (17.)
80. Francis Trepon, William Taillor, Martin Dasires, William Dody,
merchants; Henry Stonered, Skotte, merchant; Pierre Comerie,
merchant. The 2nd Sept. (6.)
81. John Abuse, merchant. 10 Oct.
Thoms Fyllesonne, mariner, his wife, and maide; John Mathie,
mariner, his wife, 2 children, and one maide servant. The 10th of
October. (9.)
82. John Growte, captain, his wife, 2 children, 2 men servants. 2 Oct.
One woman, 2 children. The 8th of August. (9.)
83. Nicho. Bolengere, merchant, 3 children, one maide servant; Mr.
Gebon, preacher, and his man; James Drowte and Miles Drowte,

House-
holds.

- tailors, their 2 wives, 2 children; Francis Clerke, his wife, one child; Jaques Capron, baker. The 2nd of September.
 Jeffery Defore, poticary, his wife, 5 children. 2 Sep. (22.)
 82. Anthony Pavy, shipwright, his wife, two children; Jervis Pinson, cook, his wife, one child; Jaques Mefant, his wife, three children. The 1st September. (12.)
 85. Monsr. Poole, draper, his wife, three children. First of August.
 Mr. Honfre, mariner; John Wilson, his wife, three children. 18th August. (11.)

The whole number of the strangers, men, women, and children, besides the passages since the fourth of November, whereof few or none are remaining in Rye, 641 persons. Whereof are men, 242; whereof are women, 167; whereof are children, 232—641 persons.

Passengers coming in the 4th of November, 1572, in which were passengers of the French as followeth:

Guillame de Bongras, de Orleans, merchant; Godfrey de Hey, Fleming, of Antwerp; Guill. de Peicate, de Marcelles; Anthonis Spinell, de Macelles; Luke Harrison, of Marcelles. Come for recovery of their goods; discharged at Dartmouth.
 Louis Columber, Savoyen, student of Physic in Paris. Come for religion.
 Francis de Buission, minister; Peter John Flemynge; Charles Yan, of Roan, gent.; Jehan Leinen, minister. For religion.
 Vincent Primont; John Absolas, merchant, of Rouen; Jaques de Mount, of Rouen; Roman de Psecheure, of Rouen, merchant; Gues de Debdair, of Rouen, his wife. For religion.
 Pierre Ganson, de St. Valeris; John Burden, of Blackville, farmer; Paule Gairant, of Overina, Doctor of Physic; Louis Hustyr, of Rouen, gold foyner; Ardiana Forkey, of Overina; John Le Noir, of Parris, glasse maker. For religion.
 Guillian de Perry, gentleman; Achell Van Droiet, of Antwerp.

Passage the 7th of November.

Frauncis Fowpeynt, master of a bark of Newhaven; Mr. Mathew Cartaunt, minister; Mr. John Grancell, minister; Robert Paisant, merchant; Jhon Enc and his sonne and his wife.

Passage the 9th of November, 1572, from Dieppe.

Richard Eden; Guillame Telliart; Anthony Godmeir; Alban Edes; Gilbert Yttersson, a German; Michel Soimer, Peter Flemynge, servants to Mons. Vidam de Charters; Florentine de Sancier (? Saucier); John de Roy, de Fackham, mariner; John Nanselle, de Benneville (?), merchant; Richard Thoms, merchant; John

Canne, sonne of Jeffrey Canne, of Dieppe; John le Valles, of Dieppe, merchant; Jaques le Baillier; Pierre Collet, of Amsterdam, mariner; Petter Bartier, cooper, of Rouen; John Tellier, of Dieppe, brasier.

In another passage the same day.

Dennis de Newberiotre, brewer; Philip Dorre, of Annas (?); Anne le Vermier; Jerrome Hotyer, painter; John Symon, of Rouen, draper; John Valier, of Rouen, draper; Jaques le Tendeir, of Rouen, grocer; Martyne Helowte, of Poitiers, tinker; John Morrye (?), of Howdan; Jasper de Villers, of Antwerp; John Armyster, gent., of Shotland, and one servant; Jacques Belliart, of Rouen, Innholder, and his wife; Baptist Dangroynne, of Piedmont, gent.

ORDERS AGAINST THE LANDING OF POOR FRENCH REFUGEES
IN RYE, FEBRUARY, 1573-4.¹

'A Decree
that the
common
passengers
shall not set
any pas-
sengers on
land with-
out the
order here
prescribed.

At a common assembly holden in the Court Hall at Rye, before Mr George Raynolds, deputy to John Donnyng, Mayor, and the Jurats and Commons then and there assembled, it was ordered, decreed, and fully agreed, by the full and whole assent of the said Deputy, Jurats, and Commons, that whereas the common passengers before this day hath, contrary to the commandment given unto them generally that they, nor any of them, should bring, or cause to be brought, any manner of person, or persons, unless they be merchants, gentlemen, common posts, or messengers, or any such like, of any the French or Flemish nation.'

This, the order continues, they 'have little regarded,' and have brought over 'great numbers of the French, being very poor people, both men, women, and children, to the great coy and grief of the inhabitants of Rye and other places about the same. In consideration whereof, to the end the same may be restrained from coming hither, It is ordered by the whole assent and consent of the said Deputy, Mayor, Jurats, and Commons, that from henceforth no common passenger of the town, or fisherman which shall fortune to come from Deippe or any the parts from beyond the seas, as well out of the parts of France or Flanders, as any other place, shall bring, nor suffer to be put on land, any of the French or Flemish nation, (except merchants, gentlemen, common posts, and messengers,) here to continue or dwell, upon pain that every common passenger, or fisherman, or other, wheresoever he dwell, shall forfeit for every offence 40s. to the use of the town, to be taken and levied on his goods.

¹ *Rye Corporation Records, 'Hundred Books,' 1567-1582, fol. 158.*

The order continues: 'And further, that none of the said common passengers, fishermen, nor others, shall set, nor put on land, any passenger which they shall fortune to bring out of the parts aforesaid, before he or they shall have signified the same' to the persons chosen by the Mayor, &c., for the 'search of the passage.'

A similar order is drawn up for the Keeper of the 'pettie passage,' offences against it being punished by a fine of 5*l*.

LETTER FROM THE MAYOR AND JURATS OF RYE TO THE LORD
WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS TO SECRETARY WALSINGHAM,
MARCH 1, 1585-6.¹

It may please your honours to be advertised that according to your lettres to us directed, for conference by us to be had with suche of the frenche church at London as shuld be sent doune to them of the frenche church here and to us, of the means how a great parte of the strangers here might conviently be removed, we have conferrid, and fyndinge that sithens our last advertisment to their honors of the nomber, there are departed so many as nowe there remayneth but xv^e and odd, whereof the frenche church are willinge (as they saye) towardes the springe to remove $\frac{1}{2}$ of them to suche places as their honours shall thinke good, but yet we thinke the reste are somewhat too great a nomber to remayne with us, divers houses beinge too much pestered with them. Notwithstandinge we wold willingly shewe them all the courtesey wee might without dangeringe our selves, and do thinke that one thousand of them are as many as we may well sustaine, every thinge groweth so excessive dere. Thus expectinge your honours' order for our farther proceedinge herein, we humbly leve your honours to the custodie of th' Almightye. From Rye, this first of Marche, 1585.

Your honours moost humbly at commandment,

The MAIOR and JURATES of RIE.

LETTER FROM THE MINISTERS OF THE FRENCH CHURCH AT RYE
TO WALSINGHAM, MARCH 1, 1585-6.²

MONSEIGNEUR,—Monsieur Castol, nostre frere, a pris la charge de vous dire comment nous estions apres pour aviser des moyens d'executer la volonte et commandement de Messieurs du Conseil, et comment sa venue a beaucoup servi a avancer l'affaire laquelle nous voyons estre au contentement de Maistre Maire, et Messieurs

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, Eliz. vol. clxxxvii. No. 1.

² *Ibid.* No. 2.

ses freres et compaignons en la conduite de ceste ville, tellement qu'il ne reste plus sinon vous supplier tres humblement que ceux qui se retireront en corps avec un pasteur pour l'exercice de la Religion, soyent aydes de lettres de faveur au Magistrat et habitants du lieu qu'ils trouverront le plus commode pour faire leur demeure, jusque a ce qu'il plaise a Dieu les rappeler par le moyen d'une bonne paix en France: ce sera lendroit, Monsigneur, apres vous avoir tres humblement baise les mains, ou nous prierons le Seigneur augmenter vostre grandeur a son honneur et gloire: ce premier mars.

Voz treshumbles et tres obeissants serviteurs, au nom de nostre compaignie,

A. DE LICQUES,
M. CARTAULT.

[Endorsed] From the Mynesteres of the French Church at Rye.

RETURN OF STRANGERS IN RYE, MADE BY THE MAYOR AND
JURATS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL, MAY 3, 1622.¹

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,—Our hartie commendacions remembered. According to directions in two severall letteres, which we latelie received from yourselfe, & from the Attorney Generall and Solliciter to his Majestie sent unto your worships to your letteres annexed, wee have called before us the French and Dutch now residing with us, which are as followeth:

John Steye (?), hat trimmer, Dutchman, who hath dwelt here at Rye about fiteene yeares, and came from Sandwich to this place, who (as he saith) was brought from Iper out of Flanders to Sandwich when he was two yeares old, who hath ben a denizen some eight years;

Francis Cosheire, husbandman, was borne at Sandwich, his father's name was likewise Francis Coshire, he hath dwelt here at Rie about foureteene yeares;

Obedia (?) de Mountdenis, minister;

David Carne (?), chyrurgion;

John Vassague; and

Silvestre de la Rocke, merchant of old shoes.

All French men, come over from Diepe by reason of the late troubles, yet continuing here.

Here are be sides women and children xx^{tie} or xxx^{tie}.

From the MAYOR and JURATS of RYE.

From Rye, the iij of May, 1622.

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, James I. vol cxxx. No. 11.

LIST OF STRANGERS IN RYE, JUNE, 1622.¹

Jenne le Preux, sa niessce, et deux enfans.
 Jenne le Berquer, vufue de Pierres le Guagneur, & cinq enfans.
 Jacques Miffaut, sa feme, et six enfans.
 Marie Bisson, et ung enfant.
 Silvestre de la Roque, sa feme, et une fille.
 Madaleine [], vufue de Jacques Boguin, et ung enfant.
 Nicollae Chapelle, & sa niessce.
 Jean Vassaque, sa feme, sa soeur, & quatre enfans.
 Michel Baudouyn, sa feme, et deux enfans.
 La femme d'Abraham Crestien, & deux enfans.
 Marie Guerart, et trois enfans.
 Marie du Ventre, vufue, et une fille.
 Rachel Nes, et trois enfans.
 Marguerite Preuost, vufue de Pierres Guespin, & ung enfant.
 Jenne Guespin, & ung enfant.
 Marie Vincent.

 CERTIFICATE OF THE VICAR OF RYE AND OTHERS IN FAVOUR OF
 THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS SETTLED THERE, APRIL 28, 1682.²

These are to certify all whom it may concerne, that the French Protestants that are settled inhabitants of this toun of Rye are a sober, harmless, innocent people, such as serve God constantly and uniformly, according to the usage and custome of the Church of England. And further that we believe them to be falsely aspersed for Papists and disaffected persons, no such thing appeareing unto us by the conversations of any of them. This we do freely & truely certifie for and of them. In witness whereof we have hereunto sett our hands the 18th of Aprill, 1682.

WM. WILLIAMS, Vicar; THO. TOURNAY; FRANCIS LIGHT-
 FOOT, Coll. [of his] M^{tie}'s Customes; MIL. EDGAR, King's
 Searcher; NOBLE WATERHOUSE, Water and Searcher;
 LEWIS GILLARD, Jurat; MICH. CADMAN, Jurat; THO.
 MARKERICKE.

 CONSENT OF THE INHABITANTS OF RYE TO THE USE OF THE
 PARISH CHURCH BY THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS, MAY 3, 1682.³

Wee, the inhabitants of the toun of Rye here subscribed, doe declare our willing consent that the French Protestants, newly settled in this place, may continue their assemblys in our church,

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, James I. vol. cxxi. No. 102.

² *Ibid.* 1682, No. 65.

³ *Ibid.* 1682, No. 146.

from eight of the clock in the morning unto ten, and afterwards from twelve of the clock untill two in the afternoone, and that they may have use of the pulpit, and of the seats therein, as heretofore, which we do hereby fully grant to them, it being requested of us for their benefitt and service when occasion requires. Made at Rye, the 8 of May, in the year of our Lord God, 1682.

LEWIS GILLART; MICH. CADMAN; FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT;
NOBLE WATERHOUSE; JO. RADFORD; THO. BURCHELL.

FOREIGN NAMES IN THE PARISH REGISTER OF RYE.

Baptisms.

	Date
DE FALLOYSE, John, s. of Mighell de F., 'merchaunt, of Valencis,' 'enhabitant' at Rye 'for religion's sake with his familie.' 'Baptized in the Churche of Rie by Mr. Frauncis St. Poul, Minister of the Reformed Church of France, then being there resident'	Sunday, 8 May, 1568.
MYFFANT, Daniel, s. of Charles M., 'gen Diepe'	18 Feb. 1568-9.
BOURDIN, Josias, s. of Laurence B., 'French' . . .	6 Dec. 1573. ¹
LASNE, Pierre, s. of Guillaum L., 'Professor of Physick and Precher in the Frenche Church, bannished for the Gospell.' Born at Rye, 4 Feb. . . .	4 Feb. 1573.
ABERDNE, Hester, d. of John A., 'Frenche' . . .	11 April, 1574.
RUMIAULL, Davie, s. of John R., 'Frenche' . . .	29 April, 1574.
COIGNARD, Peter, s. of Peter C., 'French, in exile for the Gospel.' Born at Rye, 24 May	24 May 1574.
TOLLER, Jeremie, s. of Nicholas T., 'Minister of the Frenche Congregation'	7 Aug. 1574.
TRESSEANYE, Jhon, s. of Frauncis T., 'French.' Born at Rye, Sunday morning, 9 Jan.	9 Jan. 1574-5.
LASNE, John, s. of William L., 'Minister of the French Church in Rye'	25 April, 1575.
MACQUERRE, John, s. of Fraunceys M. Born 17 May . . .	26 May, 1575.
MINGE, Daniell, s. of Daniell M.	14 (?) Aug. 1575.
GAPEN, John, s. of Petter G. 'of the towen of Dieppe, bannished for the Word of God'	27 Sept. 1575.
BOURDIN, James, s. of Laurence B. Born 29 March . . .	29 March, 1576.
HANSON, Jhon, s. of Hans H., 'straunger'	12 March, 1576-7.
DESPORTES, Petter, s. of Petter D., 'of the towen of Dipe, bannished for the Worde of God'	10 Oct. 1585.

¹ There is a gap in the register between June 1569 and November 1573.

	Date
TAYLOR, Petter, s. of William T., 'of the town of Deipe, bannished for the Word of God'	12 Nov. 1585.
BANQUEMARE, Samuell, s. of Paule B., 'of the town of Rouin in Normandy, bannished for the Word of God'	11 Dec. 1585.
PRESTON, Petter, s. of John P., 'of the town of Deipe, bannished for the Word of God'	9 Jan. 1585-6.
DE LA MAROW, Mathewe, s. of Micheale De la M., 'of the town of Diepe, bannished for the Word of God'	8 Feb. 1585-6.
NELSON, John, s. of John N., 'of the town of Deipe, 'bannished for the Word of God'	11 Oct. 1586.
POWELL, Petter, s. of Roberte P., 'of the town of Deipe, bannished for the Word of God'	11 Dec. 1586.
DE MONCHY, Daniell, s. of Jeffery De M., 'of the town of Diep, bannished for the Word of God'	10 Jan. 1586-7.
BEDFORD, John, s. of Marrin B., 'of Deipe, bannished for the Word of God'	16 March, 1586-7.
AUBERON, John, s. of Erblanc A., 'of Roun, bannished for the Word of God'	29 June, 1587.
WATEBLE, Petter, s. of Anthony W., 'Frenche My-nister, which was banishedd for the Word of God, and one of the Preachers of their Church in Rye'	8 Feb. 1587-8.
MORRELL, Mathewe, s. of Lewis M., 'one of the Minister [sic] in Rye.' 'Baptised in the Church of Rye' 'by Mr. Mathewe Cartoall, one of the Preachers of the said Church, and the God-mother [was] Marye, the wife of John Spylsted'	13 Feb. 1587-8.
NELSON, Davie, s. of John N., 'of Deipe, bannished for the Word of God'	3 March, 1587-8.
DE BEAUMONT, John, s. of Roulyn De B., 'of the town of Dipe, bannished for the Word of God'	29 Sept. 1588.
DEHAMEL, John, s. of Roulyng D., 'of Deipe, banishedd for the Word of God'	17 Oct. 1588.
DESPORTES, David, s. of Petter D., 'of the town of Deipe, bannished for the Word of God'	31 Oct. 1588.
DIGARD, Paule, s. of Nicholas D., 'of Dipe.' 'Baptised in the Frenche Church of Rye by Mounser Morell, Mynster and Preacher. His godfather was Paule De Banquemare, of Roun; godmother — Sussan, the wife of Anthony Kooke'	22 Dec. 1588.
DUNO, Alexander, s. of Jeames D., 'French'	19 July, 1590.
BUCHER, Petter, s. of Elie B., 'Frenchman'	13 April, 1593.
VACKLYN, Charitie, 'the supposed daughter of [] Vacklyn, a Frenchman'	19 Aug. 1594.
EDWARDES, Rebecca, d. of Ric. E., 'Frenchman'	12 Jan. 1594-5.

[After this date I found in the cursory glance I was able to give no indications in the register as to the nationality of the persons baptised, but the following names attracted my notice in turning over the leaves:—]

	Date
VALLARD, Henry, s. of Pharo V.	[] Sept. 1628.
HUET, Mary, d. of Mr. William H., 'Minister' . . .	[] Jan. 1628-9.
HERBER, Calib, s. of Abiezer H., 'Minister' . . .	[] Oct. 1631.

[From this date I turned my attention to the volume of the register commencing in 1682—the time at which the refugees again began to arrive in considerable numbers.]

GILLIART, Solomon, s. of Samuell G. and Mary, his wife	29 May, 1684.
BOURNAC, John, s. of John B. and Suzanne, his wife	16 Dec. 1684.
GALLIART, Hanah, d. of Mr. Sam. G. and Mary, his wife	23 Sept. 1688.
CUNNE, Mary, d. of Peter C. 'French'	11 June, 1695.
DE PAU, Elizabeth, d. of John de P. and Amy, his wife	1 Dec. 1695.
JUOSE, Stephen, s. of Stephen J. and Judith, his wife. 'French child'	19 Jan. 1695-6.
GUION (? Guion), James, s. of James G., 'a French fisherman,' and [], his wife	5 April, 1696.
ROBERT, Hester, d. of Peter R., 'a Frenchman,' and Jane, his wife	5 April, 1696.
WILLIAMS, Elizabeth, d. of John W. and Rachel, his wife. 'French parents'	20 April, 1696.
GUERENE, Mariana, d. of Peter G. and Mary, his wife. 'French parents'	[] June, 1696.
BODIN, Mary Ann, d. of John B. and Hester, his wife. 'F. P.'	[]
ROBERT, [] of Peter R. and [], his wife. 'F. P.'	14 June, 1696.
LE VRAND (? VRAUD), Peter, s. of Peter Le V. and Magdalene, his wife. 'F. P.'	19 June, 1696.
RICHARDS, Elisabeth, d. of Daniel R. and Elisabeth, his wife. 'F. P.'	18 Aug. 1696.
BOURNAC, Catherine, d. of John B. and Catherine, his wife. 'F. P.'	30 Aug. 1696.
DEUDE, John, s. of Cornelius D. and Elisabeth, his wife. 'F. P.'	1 Oct. 1696.
FRUGES, Mary, d. of John F. and Susanna, his wife. 'F. P.'	8 Nov. 1696.
VOKELAND, Peter, s. of Nicolas V. and Judith, his wife. 'F. P.'	22 Nov. 1696.
RENAUD, Mary Magdalene, d. of Henry R. and Susanna, his wife. 'F. P.'	13 Dec. 1696.
GUERENE, Susanna, d. of Henry G. and Mary, his wife. 'F. P.'	17 Jan. 1696-7.

	Date
GUERINE, John, s. of Steven G. and Susana, his wife. 'F. P.'	20 Mar. 1696-7.
DE PAW, Jane, d. of John de P. and Amy, his wife .	15 Aug. 1697.
WILLIAMS, Gabriel, s. of John W. and Rachel, his wife. 'French'	5 Sept. 1697.
MORROW, Jane, d. of John M. and Jane, his wife. 'French'	26 Sept. 1697.
GUERENE, Susan Judith, d. of Peter G. and Mary, his wife. 'French'	2 Jan. 1697-8.
GUERENE, Susanna, d. of Stephen G. and Susanna, his wife	26 Feb. 1697-8.
GIOT, Susanna, d. of James G. and Anne, his wife. 'French'	3 May, 1698.
RICHER, Susanna, d. of Daniel R. and Elisabeth, his wife. 'French'	22 May, 1698
LURAND, Frances, d. of Peter L. and Magdalene, his wife. 'French'	10 June, 1698.
BOUMER, Jane, d. of John B. and Margaret, his wife. 'French'	31 July, 1698.
SIGGINS, Lewis Jeames, s. of Jeames S. and Elizabeth, his wife. 'Fre'	28 Nov. 1698.
RENAUD, Jeames, s. of Jeames R. and Renee, his wife. 'French'	26 Feb. 1698-9.
TILLON (?), Vincent, s. of Vincent T. and Elizabeth, his wife. 'French'	19 Mar. 1698-9.
RIECHE, Francis, s. of Denne R. and Susan, his wife. 'French'	26 Mar. 1699
GUERIN, Francis, s. of Henry G. and Mary, his wife. 'French'	10 (?) May, 1699.
GOURRY, Susanna Celeste, d. of Peter G. and Marie, his wife. 'French'	[] Oct. 1699.
GUERIN, Sarah, d. of Peter G. 'French'	8 Jan. 1699-1700.
JOULLE, Judith, d. of Stephen J. and Judith, his wife. 'Fr'	11 Jan. 1699-1700
RICHER, Mary Ann, d. of Daniel and Elizabeth R. 'French'	25 Jan. 1700.
DE OURNEY, Sarah, d. of Stephen de O. 'French' []	Oct. 1700.
RENOW, Henry, s. of Henry R. 'French'	[] Oct. 1700.
WILLIAMS, Matthew, s. of John W. and Rachel . .	11 Dec. 1700

[I searched the baptisms to the year 1710, but the names have no longer any word or mark against them to indicate the nationality of their owners.]

Marriages.

COCKE, Anthonye, to Susane SYERE (? FYERE) . . .	2 May, 1569.
HANSON, Hanns, to Helena SEKYNT; both 'strangers.' 'Maryd at the Parish Church of Rye'	27 Feb. 1569-70.

	Date
CAUCHIE, Frances, to Mercy FRANKKE . . .	8 Dec. 1570.
MACKAYE, Frances, to Martyn CAUCHIE . . .	8 Dec. 1570.
RAMSEY, Andrew, to Katherine COOK . . .	14 Jan. 1570 1.

Burials.

DECAR, Gyllam, 'a French man' . . .	8 Jan. 1559-60.
DONNE, Symon, 'a Calys lad' . . .	6 Jan. 1559-60.
RASSE (? RAFFE), Mark, 'a Calys man' . . .	1 Feb. 1559-60.
MASONE, Edward, 'a Flemynge' . . .	25 Jan. 1562-3.
MESANTT (? MEFANTT), John, s. of Thomas M. . .	7 Feb. 1562-3.
PEWS, Phelypp, 'a soldar of Newehavyn' . . .	2 June, 1563. ¹
CLAYSONE, Lambard, 'of Watterynge in Holland' . . .	11 June, 1563.
ADRYSONE, Adryan, 'Hollander' . . .	16 June, 1563.
JOHN, Alexander, 'of New havyn' . . .	26 July, 1563.
JOHNSON, Henry, 'a Flemynge' . . .	31 July, 1563.
DONKYRKE, Barbary, wife of Gylse D., 'a Flemynge' . . .	1 Aug. 1563.
LARN, Thomas, 'a priste' . . .	18 Aug. 1563.
PETER, William, 'a Flemynge' . . .	22 Aug. 1563. ²
VYNSENTT, Robartt, s. of Philypp V. . .	9 Sept. 1563.
TURKE, Anthony, 'a Douchman' . . .	9 Sept. 1563.
HUBBARD, Elys, 'a Flemynge' . . .	17 Sept. 1563.
WHYTMAN, Francis, 'a Flemynge' . . .	17 Sept. 1563.
BUSSARD, Philypp, 'a householder, Frenchman' . . .	1 Oct. 1563.
BOYS, John, 'from John Gogyll's' . . .	8 Oct. 1563.
' WILLIAM, a Flemynge, from Jone Jacobsons's house' . . .	8 Oct. 1563.
SHARE, Cristyn, 'a Frenchman' . . .	5 Oct. 1563.
LE GRANT, Peter, 'a Frenchman' . . .	5 Oct. 1563.
DOBSKYN, Garratt, 'a Flemynge' . . .	11 Oct. 1563.
PEYNPLE, John . . .	11 Oct. 1563.
' JOHN, a Frenchman, bery'd from Thomas Gylls' . . .	12 Oct. 1563
BENNETT, John, 'a Frenchman, bery'd from John Gogyll's' . . .	14 Oct. 1563. ³
DE BOWTER, Bengamyn, 'a Frenche childe' . . .	20 Sept. 1563.
JACOB, Andron, 'a Duche boy' . . .	30 Jan. 1563-9.
JOHN, 'a poor [](?)' . . .	2 June, 1569.
WILLIAM, 'a stranger dwelling with Thomas Yonge' . . .	15 April, 1570.
WARFAN, John, 'Dutchman' . . .	22 May, 1570.
MOLLOVER, Margerye, 'servaunt' . . .	15 Aug. 1570.
HARROLL, Nycolas, 'a straunger that came hurte from y ^e water' . . .	15 Aug. 1570.

¹ The entries for 1563 (old style) are headed 'The tyme of the Plage.'² At this period the mortality in Rye was enormous.³ The Plague had abated in the spring of 1564. From this date I have only noted the names of those persons whose nationality is expressed in the register.

	Date
'MARYAN, a poor Calis woman'	23 Dec. 1570.
WOLLFORD, 'a Dutche man owght of a shyppe of warr namyd <i>The Gally</i> & was born at Brownswycke'	22 May, 1571.
'A poore Frencheman'	28 Dec. 1571.
HACKMAN, 'marchant of Dyeppes'	31 Dec. 1571.
JONSON, Jone d., and John s. of Thomas J., 'aliens'	2 [?] 3] May, 1572.
'SYMON, a Dutchman, of Hamburg'	23 Oct. 1572.
PAULMEE, Clement, 'a stranger'	20 Nov. 1572.
'ANDREW, a stranger'	19 Dec. 1572.
LAMBERTSON, Lambert, 'a Dotchman'	29 Jan. 1572-3.
'A poore straunger, unknown'	11 Mar. 1572-3.
CORNELIUS, Adrian	19 Dec. 1573.
DUGARD, Francis	8 Feb. 1573-4.
ESTERBACK, Robert, 'a straunger, married'	7 July, 1574.
VENECENT, John, 'servaunt to Robert Cock'	4 Mar. 1575-6.
HERLEY, John, 'a stranger'	1 April, 1577.
FOX, George, 'a stranger'	24 April, 1577.
TABUTT, John, 'a stranger'	25 June, 1577.
QUYNBY, Walter, 'a stranger'	20 Aug. 1577.
THOMSON, Daniell, 'a stranger'	27 Sept. 1577.
LAMBART, Thos., 'a stranger'	17 Dec. 1577.
John, 'a Duch man'	17 Feb. 1577-8.
SALL (?) Thomas, 'a stranger'	15 Sept. 1578.
'Richard, a stranger oute of the house of Gavatt Hygenc (?)'	24 Sept. 1578.
CARTER, Hugh, 'a stranger'	6 Nov. 1578.
'Michell, a French boy with Anthony Cock'	14 Oct. 1579.
MACURY, Davie, s. of Frauncys M.	16 Oct. 1579.
POLMAN, Barnard, 'a stranger'	6 Nov. 1579.
WEEBB, Jhophett, 'stranger'	24 Jan. 1579-80.
CORRAUNT, 'a stranger'	11 April, 1580.
GARRETT, 'Margarett G., a frenchewoman and her daughter'	20 April, 1580.
FIZELET, 'Jeames F., a frenche boye'	12 May, 1580.
'Nicholas, a stranger'	14 May, 1580.
'Adam, a stranger'	17 May, 1580.
'Oswell, a stranger'	25 May, 1580.
'The wife of the Frenche baker'	27 May, 1580.
'The wife of the Frenche cobler'	30 May, 1580.
JERLON, Johan, d. of Robt. J., 'the Frenche gardnar'	9 June, 1580.
'Pette[r], a French man'	13 June, 1580.
BUCHER (?), Wm., 'a Frenchman'	24 June, 1580.
'A French woman'	27 July, 1580.
DOWEN, Frauncys, 'a stranger'	2 Aug. 1580.
DUGARD, Unsant, 'a stranger'	11 Aug. 1580.
PETTITT, Davie, 'a Frenche chyld'	11 Aug. 1580.
Pavretta, 'a French woman'	26 Aug. 1580.

	Date
VALANIC, Jeames, 'a French chyld'	7 Sept. 1580.
MARGERYN, 'the French cobbler, his wiff, his daughter' .	22 Sept. 1580.
'A French boye'	27 Sept. 1580.
'Another Frenche chyld'	29 Sept. 1581.
'Cocke,' 'The son of Anthony'	80 Sept. 1581.
HOULSE, Phyllip, 'a stranger'	24 Sept. 1581.
'An ould Frenchman'	11 Oct. 1581.
'The joyнар's chyld, being a Duchman'	18 March, 1581-2.
'Anthony, a stranger, oute of Mr. Maior's house' .	21 Sept. 1582.
GEORONS, Nicholas, a Dutchman	22 Aug. 1583.
'Thomas, a stranger out of Ecall'	14 Sept. 1584.
WATTERMAN, Stephen, 'a stranger'	16 Nov. 1584.
VAN, Anthony, 'the bestreat of Bryssells, in Brabant, out of the house of Frauncys Harrys'	5 Jan. 1584-5.
TRADIS, 'Jacobe, a French Mynisters' (sic)	16 Aug. 1585.
BAKAR, George, 'a payntare, being a stranger'	21 July, 1586.
MACQUARY, Frauncys, 'a free denison, who was slayne with a pece upon the watter'	15 Sept. 1586.
[. . .], Peter, 'a Duchman out of Earles, in the Wish'	29 Aug. 1587.
MACKRY, 'Martyn, the widowe of Frauncys'	11 May, 1588.
GOVAN, William, 'a stranger'	5 Oct. 1588.
'A French chyld'	15 Oct. 1588.
THORNELL, Gydion, 'a stranger'	1 Feb. 1589-90.
GODFREYE, Nicholas, 'a Frenchman'	11 Feb. 1589-90.
COPOULD, Thomas, 'a stranger'	9 Dec. 1590.
FRONTER, John, 'a Frenchman'	21 June, 1594.
COCKE, Aaron, s. of Antony	20 Oct. 1596.
CALLIET, John, 'Frenchman, of Pollet by Depe'	25 Aug. 1597.
VYE, Robarte, 'a stranger, slayne in taking of a peece' .	1 April, 1598.
WILLIAMS, <i>née</i> GOSLINGE, Marie, 'native French, wiffe to Philipe Williams, was executede for murderinge her oune childe'	24 June, 1598.
LOEGKE, Henry, 'a stranger, slayne by misfortune'	23 Nov. 1598.
[I made no search for foreign names entered in the register from this date until 1682, but in turning over the pages I noticed an entry of the burial on September 24, 1625, of John Duggard, a churchwarden.]	
TOMENS, James, 'a French youth'	7 May, 1682.
'A French childe'	27 July, 1683.
'A Frenche childe'	2 Aug. 1683.

[Entries of the burials of numerous unnamed strangers then follow, such as: November 7, 1685, 'a Frenche woman'; November 14, 1685, 'a frenchman that was drowned'; February 5, 1686-7, 'an ancient Frenchman'; August 11, 1687, 'a French minister's wife.']

¹ The Mayor was Mr. Dudesbury.

² Their daughter Anne was buried on June 2.

	Date
ROYTUT, Katherine, 'A French woman.' 'G. B.' ¹	9 Aug. 1688.
GODFREY, Amie, 'y ^e wife of Michall G.'	26 Aug. 1688.
[Numerous entries of the burials of unnamed strangers follow.]	
SAUEROY, 'Mounsere,' 'a Frenchman'	20 Oct. 1688.
PAINE, Mr. William, 'a French marchant. G. B.'	10 March, 1688-9.
BUSHUT, Mr., 'a Frenchman'	30 March, 1689.
GUFET, Mary, 'a French maid'	3 Nov. 1690.
DRICE, George, 'a Duch cap ^t of Y ^e Oringe Rose. G. B.'	10 Aug. 1691.
DEEPAU, Syiae, 'a Frenchman'	16 Aug. 1691.
[Several entries of the burials of unnamed strangers follow, amongst them that of 'a frenchman that was drowned.']	
VOKELEY, Peter, 'a Frenchman'	31 May, 1695.
PEROO, John, 'a French taylor'	28 Nov. 1696.
VOKELAND, Nicolas, 'a poor Frenchman'	5 Dec. 1696.
GUERENE, Susanna, d. of Henry G. and Mary, his wife. 'F. P.'	30 Jan. 1696-7.
GUERENE, John, s. of Stephen G. and Susanna, his wife. 'F. P.'	26 (?) March, 1697.
FRUGIE, Mary, d. of John F. 'F. P.'	7 May, 1697.
MOUROU, Rene, 'a barber-chirurgeon. French'	18 May, 1697.
'VOKELAND,' 'a childe of Goody.' 'French'	26 Aug. 1697.
BENECH, Jane, d. of Peter B., 'the French Minister of Rye. French'	5 Nov. 1697.
MOREAU, Joana, d. of John M. 'French'	6 Nov. 1697.
'An infant child of a Dutch travelling woman'	[] Feb. 1697-8.
WILLIAMS, Gabriel, s. of John W. and Rachel, his wife. 'French'	18 March, 1697-8.
BRIDIO, Mary, 'a French maid'	6 Dec. 1698.
WILLIAMS, an infant, 'unbapt ^d ,' of John. 'French'	2 Feb. 1698-9.
BUSHE, Catherine, 'a poor widow. French'	19 Feb. 1698-9.
JOSEE, 'Stephe,' s. of Stephen J. 'French'	27 Feb. 1698-9.
RICHER, Jane, d. of Dennis R. 'F.'	25 Nov. 1699.
BRIDON, Francis, s. of Francis B. 'French'	26 Nov. 1699.
BENECH (?)	21 Feb. 1700.
DUPY, Eliz., d. of [] D. 'French'	28 Sept. 1701.
KING, } Thomas K. and Peter C. 'French.' These two were 'both drowned'.	4 Nov. 1701.
CUNNY, }	
DUPASS, John, s. of John D. 'French'	4 Jan. 1702-3.
BASCHETT, Katherine. 'French'	20 July, 1703.
'Barne Johna, a french-man'	2 April, 1703.
'A stranger, being reputed an highe Germane'	5 Oct. 1703.
RENEW, Henry, 'a French refugee'	1 Nov. 1703.
HANSON, Hilbrand, 'a Dutch man'	5 May, 1704.
RICHARDS, Susan, d. of Daniel R. 'French refugee'	22 Aug. 1704.
REOYNALD, Adrian, s. of Adrian R., 'a Frenche refugee'	9 Sept. 1704.

¹ Stands for 'Great Bell.'

	Date
BOURNET, Margret, 'a French refugee'	4 Oct. 1704.
BOURNET, John, 'a French refugee'	16 Oct. 1704.
GARREN, Peter, s. of Peter G., 'French refugee'	1 Nov. 1704.
FRETT, Joanna, 'French refugee'	15 Nov. 1704.
DUPREE, Ester, 'F. R.' ¹	29 Nov. 1704.
BOUCHETT, Mr., 'French minister'	28 (? 18) Aug. 1706.
SHAPPAROUN, Andrew, 'a French refugee'	22 Oct. 1706.
THOMEPAU (?), Peter, s. of John T., 'French refugee'	7 March 1707-8.
MERIDMAN, John, s. of Lewis M., 'Fr. Ref.'	17 Sept. 1708.
TUCKEN (? TUCKEY), Francis, 'a French refugee'	21 Oct. 1708.
GORREN, Peter, s. of Peter G., 'French refugee'	4 Dec. 1708.

¹ French refugee.

Sir Theodore de Mayerne.

THE following letters form interesting *addenda* to the paper on Sir Theodore de Mayerne, by Lieut.-General Layard, in the last number of the 'Proceedings,' p. 392. They have been transcribed by Miss F. Layard from the Balfour Collection of MSS. in the library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, and were addressed by Sir Theodore de Mayerne to King James I. (VI. of Scotland) during his Majesty's absence in Scotland, reporting on the Queen's illness.

I.

'SIRE,—Je desirerois pouvoir estre en mesme temps en divers Lieux pour servir vos maj^{tes} egualmente. Les nouvelles que j'ay entendu de L'indisposition de V. M. m'ont mis en une extreme peine, me trouvant esloigné de mon maistre au besoing. Quand on m'a dit que ce n'estoit qu'une morfondeure, je me suis asseuré sur La force de La nature qui est accoustumée de cuire les rheumes en un jour ; mais entendant que V. M. a esté travaillée de continuelles foiblesses par deux ou trois jours, cognissant que ce sont des fruits des Travaux d'esprit qui sont exercé violemment à Londres, L'apprehension de pis a augmenté La pointe de mon desplaisir. Si L'occasion qui me retient ici par Le commandement de V. M. ne m'eust arrêté, je n'eusse gueres mis a m'aller rendre à mon devoir. Maintenant je loüe Dieu que le mal est passé, & supplie tres humblement V. M. d'avoir esguard à sa facon de vivre, sur tout pour La qualité & frequence de sa boisson afin que toutes choses, conspirent à sa conservation ; le plaisir qu'elle prend a L'exercice & la Diete qui est le principal article de La Santé. Sa nature est assés forte, il ne fault sinon, luy sous-

traire les empeschements, & jamais elle ne manquera a faire bien. Quant a La Roine dont La convalescence est la tasche précieuse qui m'a este commise par V. M. elle va de bien en mieux. Ceste humeur aigueuse qui luy boursoufflait le visaige s'évanouit de jour en jour. La couleur vermeille reprent Sa premiere place aux joues et aux levres, L'appetit revient peu a peu. En fin nous sommes en tres beau chemin pour Le général, & le danger qui nous menacoit commence de disparoistre. Le tout est, ayant si bien commencé de perseverer car tous effaits legers sont inutiles en un mal de telle conséquence, & quand on se lasse à l'entrée, sous l'apparence, voire sous le sentiment d'un peu de bien, La rechute, plus dangereuse que le premier assault n'est pas loing. V^{re} M. y peut donner ordre en fomentant, par les persuasions La bonne volonté que S. M. apporte a continuer. L'ulcere de la jambe suit La condition de tout le corps. Les bords s'abaissent, La chair revient belle & vermeille, & pour le temps & la constitution du corps passée nous n'y voyons que matiere de bien esperer. Depuis un jour seulement une petite fluxion s'est faite sur le gros orteil & sur le hault du pied du mesme costé : mais cest le mal ancien qui passera dans peu de jours : Le bon est que L'autre n'en est aulcunement empiré. Voyla l'histoire veritable de L'estat present des choses. Dieu conserve V. M. & me face la grace de La bien servir, puis que j'ay l'honneur d'estre.

' De V. M^{te}

' Sire

' Le tres humble tres obeissant & tres fidelle serviteur

' DE MAYERNE

' a Grinwich ce 2^e May 1615.'

II.

' SIRE,—Le Commandement expres que j'ay receu de La Royne d'advertir V. M. De L'estat present de [sa] sante, servira d'escuse à L'importunité que mes Lettres luy pourroyent apporter. Depuis mes dernieres La goutte (car ainsi La fault il hardiment nommer) nous a fait La guerre, estant sautée d'un pied à L'autre. Celuy qui est ouvert a esté Le moins affligé.

La matiere qui y decoule des entrailles ayant une large et commode issue. L'autre a ressenti des plus vives pointures de douleur, & tous deux à l'ordinaire restent foibles & enflés. De tous les annés passés celsuy cy a esté Le plus court & le plus tolérable mais en cela fascheux, qu'il a interrompu & arresté encor pour quelques jours le cours de nos principaulx remedes qui visent à La conservation du total, & esloignement du danger qui nagueres estoit imminent. Nous y retournerons Le plus tost qu'il nous sera possible, avec esperance de tout bon Issue (?) puis que Le commencement a esté desja si heureux. Cependant La liberté des fonctions revient peu à peu. La couleur estmeilleure, L'appetit n'est pas mauvais. Le repos assés doux, en fin pour le peu que nous avons faict, apres La bourrasque qui nous a lié Les mains nous ne scaurions attendre mieux, &, n'eussions osé croire si bien. Quant à L'ulcere il amande à veüe d'œil qui est un signe que les remedes internes profitent. Dieu veuille parachever L'œuvre commencée, & conserver Vos Maj^{tes} Longuement L'une à L'autre en Santé de corps, & tranquillité d'esprit, qui Sont Les plus dignes vœux que Scauroit offrir

' De V. M.

' Sire

' Le tres humble tres obeissant & tres fidele Serviteur

' DE MAYERNE

' a Greenwich ce 10 May 1615

' [Endorsed.] Au Roy.'

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